M E M O R A N D U M

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
June 16, 1965

TO: NAC members
FROM: George Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: Monthly Report

I have had good intentions of sending out weekly reports to the NAC on activities within the organization. I am afraid I have not even managed the monthly report asked for of me by the NAC. Let me bring you up to date on a few key items at least.

There have been no minutes from my weekly meeting of department heads to send out, because there have been essentially no meetings. The reason for this, of course, is that there are practically no department heads to meet. As you know, Marvin Rich has gone to SEDF and our Fund Raising and Public Relations Departments, created from the Community Relations Department, are headless. With McCain in South Carolina (and vitally needed there, particularly in the light of the Watson election June 15th) and Bob Gore having resigned over a month ago, there are no professional staff in the Organization Department. Joyce Ware has come in as much as she can to help wind things up for the Convention. Needless to say, Ed Day and I have both been spread a bit thin in the last six weeks.

As you can imagine, it has been practically impossible to do anything beyond caretaker activities. The most significant accomplishment I can record is that we have met payroll, and with a little luck we should make it again today. There have been several occasions when it has been necessary for a number of us to forebear for a week or two on an individual basis. We have also managed to maintain enough cash flow to keep our creditors out of court.

To compound our fund raising problems, Eva Levy, who had been working like a Trojan in Marvin's absence, has had to withdraw almost completely to care for her husband, who several weeks ago underwent a serious operation.

As the NAC had authorized, I made arrangements with Alan Gartner to work in fund raising on weekends and during his spring vacation. His school is now out, and as of this week we are bringing him in on a full-time basis. At the Convention NAC meeting we will ask for ratification of his appointment as Director of the Fund Raising Department for three months or longer, depending on the state of our recruitment efforts.

To date we have had a number of inquiries about the job of Public Relations Director and I anticipate a number of applications within the next week or so. For fund raising, in addition to Alan Gartner, we have had one applicant for fund raising trainee from within the staff and two nibbles from without. These two people have been sent the job descriptions and were encouraged to apply for jobs at whatever level they feel qualified. We have had several applications for Field Secretary positions. We are accepting the recommendation of Ike Reynolds and Lou Smith and appointing Bob Bailey to the position of Field Secretary for the Western Region. We have two members of the field staff who are interested in the positions open in the Organization Department.

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At the suggestion of Ike Reynolds, we have closed the Western Regional Office temporarily. We felt that since the office could not be properly staffed at the present time, it was better that the money be diverted to field use. He has gone to Louisiana to work with that project. We will attempt to augment the western field as soon as we are more solvent and hopefully reopen a western office some time in the fall with proper staffing.

As you probably know, the Gandhi Award is being given posthumously to James Chaney, Andy Goodman and Mickey Schwerner on June 21st, which is the anniversary of their disappearance. Farmer will be the principal speaker. The Sunday preceding, that is June 20th, there will be a motorcade from Meridian to the Philadelphia jail to the site of the burned church outside of Philadelphia, where a memorial service will be held.

This weekend is a big weekend, in that from the 17th to the 20th is the orientation session for all of our volunteers for the summer projects. In addition, there is a big FDP rally to be held in Brooklyn on Sunday.

On May 31st to June 2nd we had a three-day meeting of the full southern staff for training and preparation for the summer projects. This was held at the Mississippi headquarters of the National Council of Churches Delta Ministry, which is called Mt. Beulah in Edwards, Mississippi. The meeting was followed by two additional days of meetings of the Louisiana staff. I thought it was a very successful and important meeting. I was pleased at the growth and maturation of our southern staff which was evident since our last staff conference in January.

The orientation sessions for the summer volunteers are being held in Waveland, Mississippi, which is actually not far from New Orleans. I think we have a good crop of volunteers, though not as many Negroes as we had hoped for and not as many college students from Louisiana as we had hoped for. Also there were fewer people able to supply their own cars than we had hoped, so we are going to have more expensesthan we had planned by way of car leasing.

We are going into the summer on a wing and a prayer. Our summer projects, and indeed our survival, are going to be dependent upon the immediate exploitation of some new directions in fund raising. Direct mail is not very good during the summer anyway, and we are normally, and will be again, between major appeals. We are counting heavily on two new sources; one, a tin can coin collection campaign in New York City being launched in conjunction with the New York chapters to extend through most of the summer; and two, fund raising parties, both large and small,which we hope will be conducted across the country. We will have more discussion of that at the Convention.

Farmer was not able to get an African head of state to keynote the Convention, but Farmer is contacting the Kenya Minister of Education, Mr. Koinange, who is scheduled to leave the country for Kenya just before the Convention, and trying to persuade him to delay his departure for a week and address the Convention. This should be settled by Monday.

There will, of course, be the usual two-day NAC meeting on Tuesday and Wednesday preceding the Convention. Nancy has enclosed the usual form for making travel arrangements. You should arrive Monday night, June 28th, if at all possible, so we can begin early Tuesday morning with meetings.

We are bringing in a representative group of field staff for a one-day meeting on Monday, June 28th to precede the NAC meeting and then these staff people will be available for the NAC meeting, and some of them for the Convention. We expect to have all of the northern field secretaries, plus a representative group of the southern field secretaries, project directors and task force workers.

We are in the process of working on the annual report for the Convention, which we will try to have available a little ahead of time so that it can be the basis for discussion at the pre-Convention NAC meeting.

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
September 8, 1965

TO: NAC members and staff
FROM: George Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: Interim Report

Since the convention and particularly in the last few weeks I have been devoting a major amount of my time and energies to fund raising. As you will see from the enclosed report on our financial situation, we have squeeked through another crisis, but our basic financial problems are far from solved.

This fall we must take a stand and reverse the trend of our steadily increasing debt. Toward this end I am preparing the fall budget, attempting to stay within a figure of $50,000 per month. If it is possible, it will represent a 17% cut in operations. This seems necessary because it is imperative that we begin producing surplus income which will apply toward reducing our suppliers debt.

I believe it is also important to develop links between sources of income and categories of expense. For example, funds raised by chapters within regions could be designated to expansion of field staff within that region. Also, I believe that the chapters should assume the responsibility for raising the cost of NAC meetings. The NAC members themselves, of course, would have key responsibility in both of these matters.

Floyd is planning the next NAC meeting for late september or early October. Bill Bradley has expressed interest in having it earlier so that the question of setting the fall budget for the various projects may be discussed. Whenever it is to be, it will cost an average of $100 per NAC member attending.

PERSONNEL CHANGES: Ronnie Moore has left the Louisiana Project. Ike Reynolds and Bruce Baines will be in charge of the Louisiana operation. Ronnie has for some time expressed interest in being relieved of those duties. He will temporarily be assigned to the Organization Department in the National Office until the question of a permanent assignment is settled. Dick Jewett has also asked to be relieved as director of the Mississippi Project and George Raymond, who has recently been promoted to field secretary, will replace him. Dick's exact status is still to be worked out. He wants to do program work in the South, particularly in the area of education. Karin Berg has resigned and has been replaced in the direct mail operation by Ben Peterson. Jean Jones of the bookkeeping department has taken a one year leave of absence to be a full time mother and Alex Manguel, one of the stock room clerks, has resigned to join the Navy. Doris Castle has requested transfer to the Southern Office for personal reasons, effective September 10; this has been approved. The N.E. Regional Office has been closed as of September 1; part of the money saved is being used to hire another field secretary for that area. Walter Brooks of New Haven has been hired and will service New England. Fran Creighton, N.E. Regional Office secretary, has been transferred into the National Office to fill one of the secretarial vacancies here. The position of head bookkeeper in the National Office has been reinstated and Jan Jennings has been appointed to that position. Marie Simmons will be transferred from the switchboard to fund raising as soon as a replacement can be found for the switchboard. Winston Lockett indicated to me yesterday that he intends to resign effective about October 1st.

We have immediate need for at least one secretary, a switchboard operator and one field secretary, in addition to public relations and fund raising people.

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
September 8, 1965

TO: Chapters, Staff and NAC members
FROM: George Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: Financial situation

We managed to survive the financial crisis described in my memorandum of August 11th. The determining factor was that Farmer returned from his vacation five days early and secured a $1,000 contribution plus a $10,000 loan from a new contact. In addition, the Eartha Kitt benefit went off on the originally scheduled date and was very successful. It netted an income to National CORE of over $3,000. Much credit goes to Bergen County CORE.

One of the unfortunate aspects of the way we survived the situation was that once again it was due to a very major effort by relatively few people. For example, since the convention only seven chapters have sent in more than $100 on their assessments, taxes, or as special contributions to the National organization. These seven chapters have accounted for over 3/4 of our income from chapters. This lack of involvement of chapters with the problems of the National organization must be solved if we are to survive.

We are still faced with financial problems of gigantic proportion. Our debt is well over a quarter of a million dollars and I would estimate that when all the bills are in for the summer projects our total debt will be around $300,000.

At the beginning of this calendar year we trimmed the National CORE operating budget to a level of approximately $60,000 per month. It would now appear to be necessary to trim further to a level of approximately $50,000 per month, unless new sources of income are found soon! It will be particularly unfortunate to have to do this when the convention mandated the creation of new departments for program and research, as well as the hiring of personnel to work on training. A number of other important staff vacancies have not been able to be filled. In addition, the Northeast Regional Office has closed, partly as an economy measure.

The importance of chapters devoting more effort to fund raising for the National organization cannot be too strongly stressed. Ed Day's analysis of our income for the first three months of this fiscal year, which is enclosed, gives clear indication of the erosion of some of our old sources of income. The need for us to raise more money through our chapters is paramount.

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
October 5, 1965

TO: NAC Members
FROM; George Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: Interim Report

The last couple of weeks we have been devoting major energies to the development of budgetary proposals and reorganizing for the fall. Information on an interim budget is enclosed, which we are using provisionally through October pending the NAC meeting at the end of the month at which time priorities can be set for November on.

The budget as it is presented provides for considerable belt-tightening over even our spring operation. I estimate that we have trimmed an additional 5 to 7 thousand dollars from our operation as compared to the spring. This was done basically because at the end of the summer project the Task Force is in considerable state of limbo with people leaving to go back to school. We have not permitted expansion back to its pre-summer level. I regard this October budget both as experimental and interim, in that the NAC may wish to grossly alter the priorities which this budget reflects. The staff has made no major changes in the pre-summer budget priorities. I will be forwarding in a week or so additional financial information for your consideration prior to the NAC meeting.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter to the Reverend Douglas Moore of Washington, D.C. describing a rough outline of a proposal for a Washington office. Mr. Moore was suggested to me by Floyd McKissick as a possible man for a staff job with CORE. I talked with Moore at some length before sending him the enclosed letter. He is a guy with considerable insight into the Movement and interesting program ideas. I believe the concept of establishing a program department in Washington, given our interests in developing a program with political implications is consistent with the mandate of the Convention. I send this letter along as background information to facilitate consideration of these matters at the October 23rd meeting.

Let me hasten to point out that the question of raising new money to support a Washington operation should be part and parcel of that consideration. Moore recognizes this problem and would be willing to begin work on fund raising to support the office even before he might come on staff.

Both Mike Lesser and Judi Nusbaum are now free from their assignments with the summer project and it would be my intention between now and the October 23rd meeting to have them work on the development of proposals for both the funding and the operation of a Washington office.

Since the end of the summer project, Ronnie Moore has been working in the Organization Department and is doing an excellent job. In the meantime, however, SEDF's Board has decided to take on the responsibility for developing a major training program along the lines mandated by the CORE Convention as our number one priority. They hope to raise about $40,000

for the program and want to get started fairly soon. They would like to have Ronnie Moore as full-time administrator of the training program. Since it appeared to us that there are a number of important policy matters involved in exactly how this training program is to be set up and run, we asked that Andy Norman, Chairman of the SEDF Board, and Marv Rich, the Executive Director, make themselves available to the NAC during the upcoming meeting. They will be available to meet with you on Sunday morning. No final agreements were made with SEDF pending this discussion.

We have now had at least preliminary contact with most of the prospects that we have been able to find for Public Relations Director and Fund Raising Director or Fund Raising Associate. Unfortunately we have found no promising prospects for fund raising, one pretty good guy for public relations, but there is some question as to his availability.. This is being further pursued. We again urgently solicit any suggestions you may have for either of these positions. <u>It is of particular importance that we fill the public relations position soon</u>!

[illegible] SEPT. [illegible]

[illegible] A. DAY, DEP. MGR.

NATIONAL CORE INCOME -- AUGUST, 1965

AUG.	DATE	DIRECT MAIL INCOME	INCM FROM ORGAN'T'AL CONTRIB's	CIT. ED GRANT INCM. (CSEDF)	OTHER CONTRIB. & SALES	INCOME FROM CHAPTERS	DAILY TOTAL INCOME	WEEKLY TOTAL INCOME	LOANS - (DEBIT- NOT INCM.)
	1								
MON.	2	673.00	513.35		30.00	58.00	1,274.35		
TUE.	3	1,499.50			171.90		1,671.40		
WED.	4	590.00	50.00		988.90	20.00	1,648.90		
THR.	5	231.65	137.00		144.00		512.65		
FRI.	6	236.00	42.31	186.63	110.00	480.44*	1,055.38		
	7/8							6,162.68	
MON.	9	459.49	200.00		259.46	35.00	953.95		
TUE.	10	1 154.25			6.00	303.00**	463.25		
WED.	11	603.57	2,000.00***	1,469.75¢	257.95		4,331.27		
THR.	12	470.00	100.00		361.50	78.00	1,009.50		
FRI.	13	848.00	75.00		3.75	100.00#	1,026.75		
	14/15							7,784.82	
MON.	16	1,995.00	50.75		125.00		2,170.75		@@
TUE.	17	891.50	3,360.00##		528.50@	66.21	4,846.21		720.00
WED.	18	575.95	2.50		1,033.30@@@	149.22	1,760.97		&
THR.	19	948.50			177.00	35.50	1,161.00		10,000.00
FRI.	20	562.00			92.50	515.00&&	1,169.50		
	21/22							11,108.43	
MON.	23	1,037.00	90.00		269.00		1,369.00		
TUE.	24	596.00			162.90		758.90		
WED.	25	315.00					315.00		
THR.	26	734.00	5,000.00&&&	1,230.00	51.00	751.00$	7,766.00		
FRI.	27	304.00		55.00	300.00	100.00	759.00		
	28/29							10,957.90	
MON.	30	927.64	357.06		482.97	365.00$$	$2,132.67		
TUE.	31	316.50			252.50	55.20	624.20		
								2,756.87	
TOTALS		14,968.55	11,977.97	2,941.38	5,808.13	3,111.57	38,770.70		10,720.00

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* TOTAL INCOME, AUGUST, 1965 = $ 38,770.70 *

* TOTAL OPERATIONAL FINANCES (INCOME PLUS LOANS) = $ 49,490.70 *

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SEPT. 2, 1965
[illegible] A. DAY, BUS. MGR.

NATIONAL CORE INCOME -- JUNE, 1965

DAY/DATE	DIRECT MAIL INCOME	INCM. FROM ORGAN'T'AL CONTRIB's	CIT. ED. GRANT INCM. (CSEDF)	OTHER CONTRIB. & SALES	INCOME FROM CHAPTERS	DAILY TOTAL INCOME	WEEKLY TOTAL INCOME
TUE. 1	531.50	500.00		564.00	213.00*	1,808.50	
WED. 2	709.31	52.14	50.00	383.84		1,195.29	
THR. 3	631.85	25.00		817.50		1,474.35	
FRI. 4	2,105.05			43.50	100.00**	2,248.55	
5/6							6,726.69
MON. 7	4,284.15		1,795.86@			6,080.01	
TUE. 8	3,992.10	750.00		23.00		4,765.10	
WED. 9	4,474.30					4,474.30	
THR. 10	4,599.00	50.00		1,104.01		5,753.01	
FRI. 11	2,575.00			47.00		2,622.00	
12/13							23,694.42
MON. 14	4,215.35	60.00		8,770.75###	850.00***	13,896.10	
TUE. 15	2,378.53		46.56	126.00	10.00	2,561.09	
WED. 16	1,736.60		1,569.74@@	109.90		3,416.24	
THR. 17	1,199.50	2,000.00		250.31	35.00	3,484.81	
FRI. 18	1,309.63					1,309.63	
19/20							24,667.87
MON. 21	965.50	76.00	30.00	517.79	547.26#	2,136.55	
TUE. 22	1,592.00	135.30	38.00	851.15	266.39##	2,887.84	
WED. 23	978.80	105.00		688.00	20.00	1,791.80	
THR. 24	1,045.50			610.00		1,655.50	
FRI. 25	943.50	94.00	87.09	958.00		2,082.59	
26/27							10,554.28
MON. 28	2,129.57	130.00		79.70		2,339.27	
TUE. 29	848.07			614.50	20.00	1,482.57	
WED. 30	701.25	150.00		83.60		934.85	
							4,756.69
TOTALS	43,951.06	4,127.44	3,617.25	16,642.55	2,061.65	70,399.95	

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KEY - National Income, August, 1965

* 100.00 San Fernando Valley, Calif. CORE / 130.44 Columbia Univ., N.Y. CORE / 250.00 Camden, N.J. CORE

** 300.00 Ann Arbor CORE

*** 2,000.00 Corporation Contribution Facilitated by Assoc. Nat. Director

\# 100.00 Syracuse CORE

3,360.00 Contribution from Minnesota Task Force Foundation Facilitated by Assoc. Nat. Director

720.00 Anonymous Loan (30 day note for Direct Mail Postage) Facilitated by Assoc. Nat. Director

@ 460.00 Contributions raised from delegates at N.E. Regional Conference, Facilitated by Nat. Chairman

@@ 110.00 Syracuse CORE

@@@ 1,000.00 Anonymous Contribution Facilitated by Nat. Dir. and Assoc. Nat. Director

& 10,000.00 Loan (120 day note) Facilitated by National Director and Assoc. Nat. Director

&& 510.00 Cleveland CORE

&&& 5,000.00 Industrial Union Dept., AFL-CIO Contribution for Voter Registration, Facilitated by Ex. Dir CORE SEDF

$ 741.00 from Bergen County CORE Eartha Kitt Benefit

$$ 100.00 Norwalk CORE

$$$ 200.00 Trumbull County CORE / 125.00 Lexington, Ky. CORE / 40.00 Columbia Univ., N.Y. CORE

¢ 1,469.75 Salaries, South Carolina and Northern Florida C.E.P. Staff

¢¢ 1,200.00 From 1,600.00 grant for Louisiana Voter Registration

# # # # # # # # #

KEY - National CORE Income, June, 1965

* 113.00 Eugene Oregon CORE / 100.00 Baltimore, Md. CORE

** 100.00 Middlesex County, New Jersey CORE

*** 750.00 Miami, Fla. CORE / 100.00 Sacramento, Calif. CORE

\# 263.55 Seven Arts, N.Y. CORE / 208.39 Eugene Oregon CORE / 65.32 Alameda County, Calif. CORE

184.89 Detroit, Mich. CORE / 71.50 Columbus, Ohio CORE

8,132.01 Bequest

@ 1,719.63 Payroll, South Carolina and Northern Florida C.E.P.

@@ 1,569.74 Payroll, South Carolina and Northern Florida C.E.P.

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NATIONAL CORE INCOME, BY ACCOUNTING AREAS
JUNE, JULY, AUGUST, 1965

PREPARED BY EDWIN A. DAY
BUSINESS MANAGER
SEPTEMBER 2, 1965

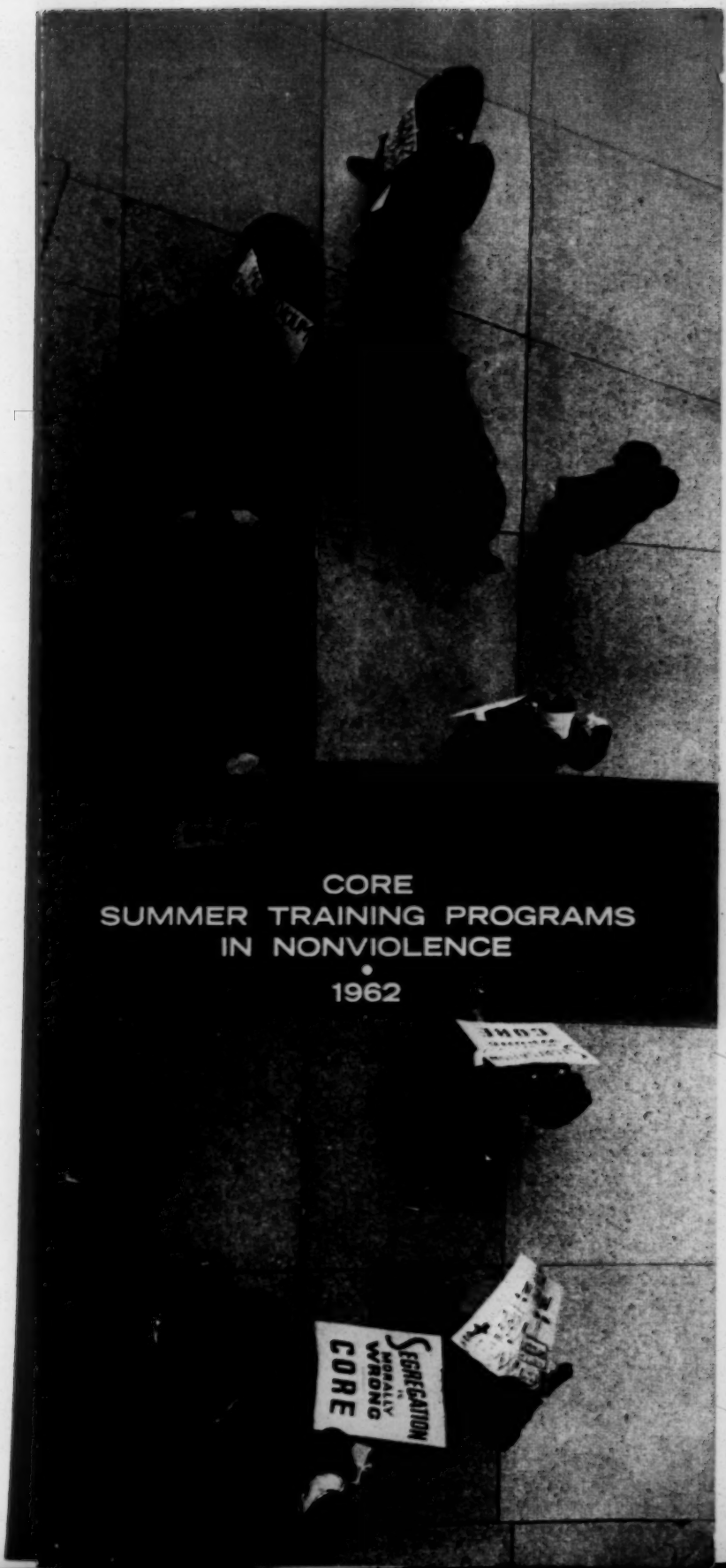
	DIRECT MAIL INCOME	INCOME FROM ORGAN'T'AL CONTRIB.	CIT. ED GRANT INCM (CSEDF)	OTHER CONTRIB &SALES	INCOME FROM CHAPTERS	TOTAL INCOME	LOANS (DEBITS NOT INCM)	TOTAL OPERATIC FINANCES
JUNE	43,951.06	4,127.44	3,617.25	16,642.55	2,061.65	70,399.95	NONE	70,399.
JULY	14,519.10	5,392.75	6,378.18	17,419.58	2,[illegible].96	45,943.39	17,425.00	63,368.
AUGUST	14,968.55	11,977.97	2,941.38	5,808.13	3,[illegible].57	38,770.70	10,720.00	49,490.
TOTAL	73,438.71	21,498.16	13,136.18	39,870.26	7,[illegible].18	155,144.04	28,145.00	183,259.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1965

NATIONAL CORE INCOME - JUNE, JULY, AUGUST, 1965
(rounded to nearest thousand dollars)

PREPARED BY EDWIN A. DAY
BUSINESS MANAGER

	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66
JUNE	92,000	43,000	70,000
JULY	59,000	102,000	46,000
AUGUST	36,000	70,000	39,000
THREE MONTH TOTAL	187,000	215,000	155,000
% of yearly income	21%	27%	19%-if income same as 1964-65 14%-if income equals theoretical budget of 1,100,000



CORE
SUMMER TRAINING PROGRAMS
IN NONVIOLENCE

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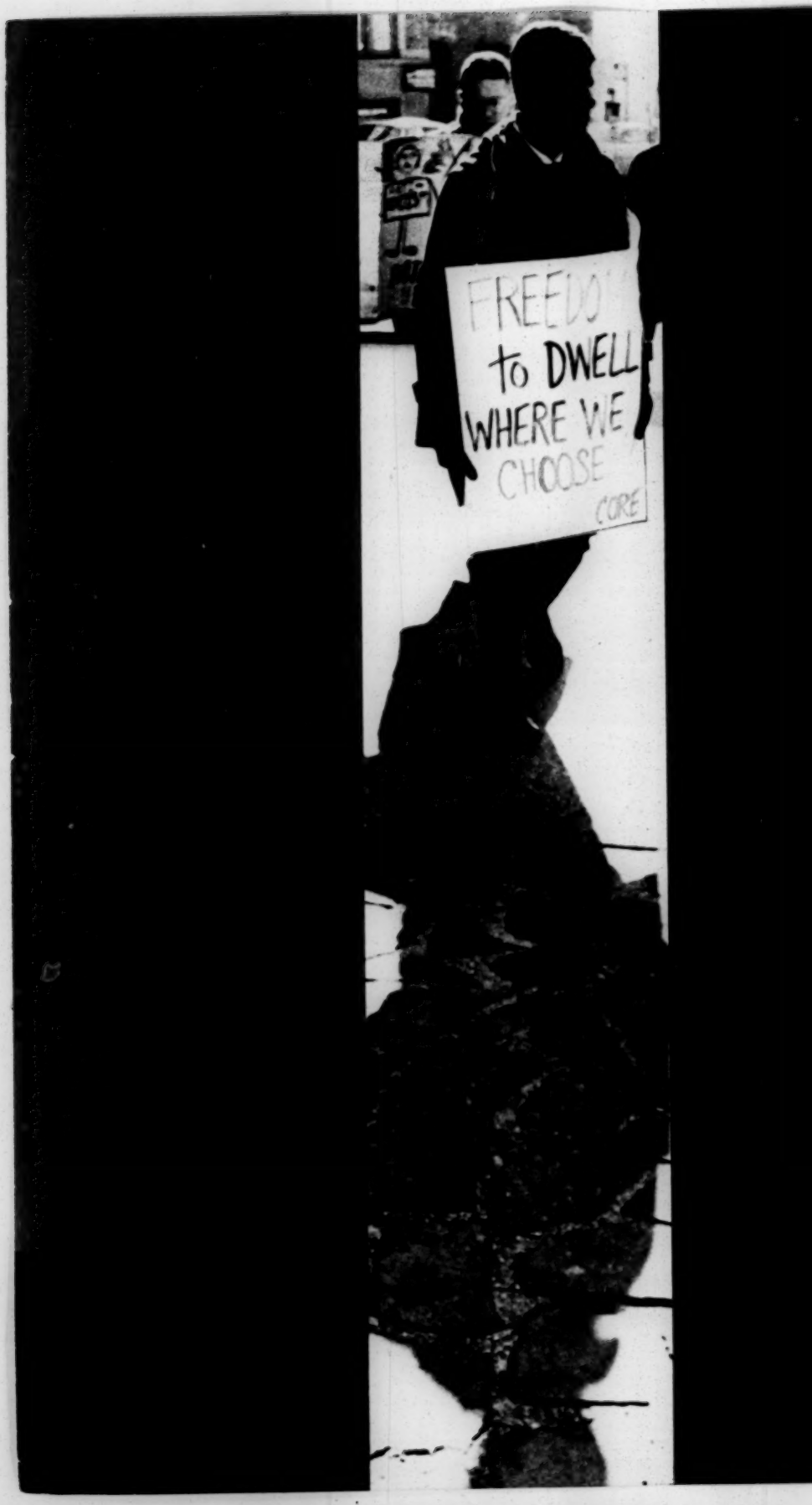
1962


FREEDO
to DWELL
WHERE WE
CHOOSE
CORE

1962 INTERRACIAL ACTION INSTITUTE

EMPLOYMENT-HOUSING INSTITUTE

COLUMBUS, OHIO
JULY 14-28

COST: $100.00

The Housing and Employment Workshop is directed to the problems of where to live and of securing the means to live. These problems call for new techniques and increased effort. Housing and employment have become prime targets for most northern and western CORE groups.

EMPLOYMENT is of major concern in the South as well. Increasingly, CORE emphasizes upgrading of Negroes into executive and professional jobs. Frequently, fair employment is the key to progress in other phases of the struggle.

HOUSING is the one area where segregation has increased in the last two decades. It is the key to *de facto* school segregation. CORE is developing exciting new action techniques to meet this situation. The Institute will train leaders from all over the country in the use of these tools.

Institute members will use these techniques in action projects in Columbus. They will test, they will negotiate, and they will take direct action.

Intensive study will be devoted to the meaning and philosophy of nonviolence in America today.

JOIN AN INSTITUTE

Learn to Use Nonviolent Action for Brotherhood

The new vigorous challenge to segregation is using the methods and techniques CORE developed 20 years ago when the first sit-in action was taken in Chicago. If these assaults are to continue successfully we must develop additional trained leadership. This is a necessity not only for the Southern integrationist movement, but also for varied nonviolent action for integration in all parts of the country.

Persons wishing to participate in either Institute should write for applications as soon as possible to **Program Department, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.** It is understood that selection of Institute members will be made exclusively by CORE, and the Institute Director can terminate participation by an Institute member at any time. Some scholarships for both Institutes will be available.

If you cannot join . . .

SHARE BY GIVING

Most of the Institute participants will be able to defray only a small part of their expenses. With your help, CORE will be able to provide scholarships. Excessively high bond set by segregationist Southern officials; the high costs of the Freedom Riders; and our increased Southern staff have all but depleted CORE's budget. We must look for financial help to you who share our belief in an America of complete equality of opportunity.

As you write your check, think of the tremendous courage the American Freedom Fighters have shown and must continue to show. Salute their courage and bravery with your generous support.

file

NONVIOLENCE AND PEACEMAKING

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

With the growing peace movement it is but natural that the need for more extensive and serious study of subjects involved also grows. This is evident from the numerous efforts being made in many countries to compile bibliographies in different languages. Some very useful ones have already been produced during the past few years.

The peace movement has reached the stage when it has become necessary to reinstate the fundamental principles involved, to modify them, or draw up new policies and codes of action. It is therefore all the more important that literature giving philosophical, historical and technical information on peacemaking and nonviolence be made available.

This bibliography has been prepared by David Hoggett and most of the books listed are available from the Commonweal Collection of which he is Librarian. This is a growing collection which needs a growing circle of friends and supporters.

I hope this bibliography will encourage local groups of all peace movements to build up their own small libraries. I also hope that it will be welcomed by the peace movement as a whole and all those interested in the question of peacemaking.

DEVI PRASAD
Secretary
WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Published by the COMMONWEAL TRUST

Summer 1963

The appearance of this bibliography would not have been possible without the advice and suggestions, or material help, of April Carter, Alfred Heslegrave, Theo Hoggett, Devi Prasad and Mary Thomas. Of considerable use in selecting titles were the Bibliography of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation compiled by William Robert Miller, and the NVA Abstract Project, Oslo, of Gene Sharp. However, I am responsible for the rather arbitrary nature of the selection, especially of sections D & E where the field is so wide and where the choice was largely governed by what was already included in the Commonweal Collection. I must also apologise for the classification; my only plea is that this may be of more use than a simple alphabetical order of authors.

Merthyr Tydfil, July 1963. D.H.

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Explanatory Note

The price at the end of an entry is the postage at Printed Rate including packing. N.y.a.: not yet available from the Commonweal Collection (see back cover). Books whose authors are underlined are recommended by the compiler for those needing a short list.

OBTAINING BOOKS

Most of the titles listed, especially those published in India, can be purchased through Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N.1. For borrowing books there are several sources:-

a. one's municipal public library
b. the National Central Library
c. the Commonweal Collection
d. the library of Scott Bader & Co., Wollaston, Wellingborough, Northants (especially books on industrial democracy etc.).

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THE COMMONWEAL COLLECTION

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NONVIOLENCE and PEACEMAKING - A Bibliography — Summer 1963

A. NONVIOLENT SOCIAL ORDER

A.1. The Nonviolent Society

BHAVE, Vinoba: Swaraj Sastra: The Principles of Non-Violence (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1958, pp.91) - A systematic analysis. 5d*

DE MADARIAGA, Salvador: Democracy v. Liberty? The Faith of a Liberal Heretic (Pall Mall Press 1958, pp.124) - Suggested changes in Western society. 7d

GREGG, Richard: Which Way Lies Hope? An Examination of Capitalism, Communism, Socialism & Gandhiji's Programme (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1957, pp.219) 7d

HUXLEY, Aldous: Ends & Means: An Enquiry into the Nature of Ideals & into the Methods Employed for their Realization (Chatto & Windus 1938, pp.336) 9d

MANNIN, Ethel: Bread and Roses: An Utopian Survey and Blue-print (Macdonald 1944, pp.192) 8d

MASHRUWALA, K.G: Gandhi and Marx (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1951, pp.112) - A comparison and contrast of their philosophies. 5d

MORGAN. Arthur E: The Community of the Future, and the Future of Community (Yellow Springs: Community Service Inc. 1957, pp.166) 10d

" : The Small Community: Foundation of Democratic Life: What It Is and How to Achieve It (N.Y: Harper 1942, pp.312) 1/1d

MORRIS, William: News from Nowhere; A Dream of John Ball (included in "Stories in Prose and Verse..." Nonesuch Press 1944, pp.671) - Socialist Utopias of the future and the past (Fiction) 1/2d

NARAYAN, Jayaprakash: From Socialism to Sarvodaya (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1958, pp.49) - Party politics to the Gandhian way, and the reasons. 5d

" : A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order (Tanjore: Sarvodaya Prachuralaya 1957, pp.139) 5d

" : A Plea for Reconstruction of Indian Polity (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1959, pp.89) - Draft for private circulation. 5d

RUSKIN, John: Unto This Last: 4 Eassays on the First Principles of Political Economy (Allen 1895, pp.199) - The book that strongly influenced Gandhi. 9d

STEINER, Rudolf: The Threefold Commonwealth (N.Y. Anthroposophic Press 1943, pp.xl,206) - Capital & Labour reconciled. 8d

WELLOCK, Wilfred: New Horizons: Build the Future Now! (Housmans 1956, pp.96) 4d

" : Rebuilding Britain: A New Peace Orientation (Hallmark Books 1949, pp.47) 4d

* Postage at Printed Rate (See back cover)

A.1. The Nonviolent Society (Cont'd)

See also: C2a. "India of my Dreams", "Sarvodaya", "Unto This Last"; E4. Nikam (pp.233-255-Wellock)

* *

A.2. Economic and Political Decentralization

AGARWAL, S.N: The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India (Bombay: Padma 1944) n.y.a.*

BHAVE, Vinoba: Democratic Values & the Practice of Citizenship (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1963, pp.237) - From Vinoba's addressess 1951 - 1960. n.y.a.

DAVIES, D.J: Towards an Economic Democracy (Cardiff: Plaid Cymru 1949, pp.65) - Decentralist economic aims of Welsh Nationalism. 4d

ELTZBACHER, P: Anarchism: Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy (Freedom 1900, pp.xxxii,272) - Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tucker, Tolstoy. 1/-

GREGG, Richard B: A Philosophy of Indian Economic Development (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1958, pp.232) 8d

Khadi & Village Industries Board (publ): Building from Below (Bombay:1955, pp.91) - Abolishing poverty in India through full employment. 6d

KROPOTKIN, Peter: Fields, Factories & Workshops: Industry combined with Agriculture & Brain Work with Manual Work (Sonnenschein 1901, pp.259) 1/3d

KUMARAPPA, J.C: Why the Village Movement? A Plea for a Village Centred Economic Order in India (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1960, pp.210) n.y.a.

" : Economy of Permanence: A Quest for a Social Order Based on Nonviolence (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1958, pp.208) n.y.a.

" : The Gandhian Economy, & Other Essays (Wardha: Village Industries Assoc. 1948, pp.83) 5d

" : A Plan for Rural Development (Wardha: Village Industries Assoc. 1947, pp.29) - A pre-Independence plan for India. 5d

NARAYAN, Jayaprakash: Swaraj for the People (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1961, pp.34) - Summary of "A Plea....." (see A.1.) n.y.a.

Plaid Cymru, Scottish Nationalists, Common Wealth (publ): Our Three Nations: Wales, Scotland, England (1956, pp.79) - Devolution in the U.K. 5d

Sarva Seva Sangh (publ): The Paths of Planned Economy in India (Varanasi: 1961, pp.84) - Report of Poona seminar. 5d

" (publ) : Planning for Sarvodaya (Varanasi: 1955, pp.124) 5d.

*n.y.a. Not yet available from the Commonweal Collection

A.2. Economic and Political Decentralization (Cont'd)

WELLOCK, Wilfred: The Crisis in Our Civilization: Reorganization of Industry a Key to World Peace (Demintry 1960, pp.23) 2½d

" : Which Way America? Which Way Britain? Abundance or Abundant Life (Demintry 1958, pp.52) 4d

See also: A1. Gregg (V11); A1. Huxley (V111); A1. Narayan ("A Plea....."); B2. Dhawan (X1); C2. Bose (11-1V); C2. Ray (pp.177-182); C2a. "Hind Swaraj"; E3. Huxley

* * * *

A.4. Experiments in Community

ARMYTAGE, W.H.G: Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England 1560 - 1960 (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1961, pp.458) 1/5d

BISHOP, Claire Huchet: All Things Common (N.Y: Harper 1950, pp.274) - French Communities of Work. 1/-

BUBER, Martin: Paths in Utopia (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1949) n.y.a.

COLE, G.D.H: The Life of Robert Owen (Macmillan 1930) n.y.a.

Community Service Committee (publ): Community in a Changing World (West Byfleet: 1942, pp.194) - Articles on many aspects of community. 9d

DARIN-DRABKIN, : The Other Society (Gollancz 1962) - Kibbutzim in Israel. n.y.a.

HOLLOWAY, Mark: Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America 1680 - 1880 (Turnstile Press 1951, pp.240) 11d

INFIELD, Henrik F: Co-operative Communities at Work (Kegan Paul 1947) n.y.a.

" : The Sociological Study of Co-operation: An Outline (Co-op. College Papers no. 3: Loughborough : Co-operative Union 1956, pp.71) 5d

METTLER, Artur: A New Perspective: The Bruderhof Way of Life (Bromdon: Plough Publ.Ho. 1959, pp.15) 2½d

MURRY, John Middleton: Community Farm (Peter Nevill 1952, pp.255) Delights & disillusion of community life. 1/1d

NOYES, John Humphrey: History of American Socialisms (Philadelphia: Trübner 1870, pp.678) - Classic of 19th century community experiments. Ref. only

SHAW, Nellie: Whiteway: A Colony on the Cotswolds. n.y.a.

SPIRO, Melford E: Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia (Harvard U.P. 1956, pp.266) - Detailed study of an Israeli collective. 1/-

THOMSON, Watson: Pioneer in Community: Henri Lasserre's Contribution to the Fully Co-operative Society (Toronto: Ryerson Press 1949, pp.123) 9d

See also: A1. Morgan "Community of the Future" (XV) & "Small Community"; C5. Wellock (pp.65-71); E3. Fromm (pp.306-321 - Boimondeau).

* * * *

A.5. The Land-Gift Movement

BHATTA, Shrikrishna Datta: ...And They Gave Up Dacoity! (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1962, pp.303) - The surrender of bandits to Vinoba 1960. 10d

BHAVE, Vinoba: Bhoodan Yajna - Land - Gifts Mission (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1957, pp.134) - A collection of speeches 1951-1953. 5d

" : Science and Self-Knowledge (Varamsi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1959, pp.83) - Collected addresses 1957-1959. n.y.a.

DEL VASTO, Lanza: Gandhi to Vinoba: The New Pilgrimage (Rider 1956, pp.231) - Life story of Vinoba Bhave & eye-witness account of his mission. 11d

MASANI, R.P: The Five Gifts (Collins 1957, pp.192) - The story of Bhoodan up to 1954. 8d

MISHRA, R.R: V. for Vinoba: The Economics of the Bhoodan Movement (Longmans, Green 1957) n.y.a.

NARAYAN, Jayaprakash: The Dual Revolution (Tanjore: Sarvodaya Prachuralaya 1959, pp.30) - Both material & spiritual. Address given in England 1958. 2½d

SURESH RAM: Vinoba And His Mission - Being an Account of the Rise & Growth of the Bhoodan Yajna Movement (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh, 3rd edn.1962, pp. 516) 1/4d

TENNYSON, Hallam: Saint on the March: The Story of Vinoba (Gollancz 1955, pp. 223) - A Westerner's impression of a remarkable movement. 8d

WELLOCK, Wilfred: India's Social Revolution - Led by Mahatma Gandhi and now Vinoba Bhave (Preston: Wellock 1959, pp.32) 4d

* *

A.6. Creative Education

BAZELEY, E.T: Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth (Allen & Unwin 1928, pp. 200) - The transformation of delinquent children. 9d

BHAVE, Vinoba: Thoughts on Education (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1959, pp.262) - Translated & compiled from speeches & writings. 7d

CORNELIUS, Ruth: All Together: A Manual of Co-operative Games (St. Louis: Attitude Research Laboratory 1950, pp.16) - mimeograph 4d

GANDHI, M.K: Basic Education (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1956, pp.112) - Compiled from writings & speeches. 6d

A.6. Creative Education (Cont'd)

KRIPALANI, J.B: The Latest Fad: Basic Education (Sevagram: Hindustani Talimi Sangh 1948, pp.94) - An outline of Gandhi's scheme for India. 5d

MARSHALL, Sybil: An Experiment in Education (Cambridge Univ. Press 1963, pp.222 & 51 plates) - New life in an English village school. n.y.a.

MONTESSORI, Maria: The Discovery of the Child (Adyar: Kalakshetra 1948 - 1st publ. 1929 - pp.507) - Revised & enlarged edition of "The Montessori Method". 11d

NEILL, A.S: The Problem Child (Herbert Jenkins 1934, pp.256) - ... is an unhappy child. The solution through freedom. 9d

" : Summerhill ( ) - "That dreadful school". Education through creative love. n.y.a.

READ, Herbert: Education for Peace (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1950, pp.131) - "Play is the prophylactic of war". n.y.a.

WILLS, W. David: The Barns Experiment (Allen & Unwin 1945, pp.148) - Educating maladjusted children through self-discipline & affection. 9d

See also: De Madariaga (pp.45-54); Al. Huxley (XII); Al. Mannin (IV); A4. Community Service Committee (pp.66-73); Bl. Weaver (pp.31-37); C2. Tendulkar (vol.IV: pp.186-203)

* *

A.7. Spiritual Growth

DESAI, Mahadev: The Gospel of Selfless Action (Navajivan 1951, pp.392) - Gandhi's understanding of the Bhagavad Gita. A commentary on a commentary. 1/-d

GANDHI, M.K: From Yeravda Mandir: Ashram Observances (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1957, pp.67) - The 11 Ashram vows. Weekly letters from jail. 4d

" : Truth is God (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1955, pp.168) - Compiled from his writings. 5d

GREGG, Richard B: Self-Transcendence: "A Compass for Civilization" (Gollancz 1956, pp.224) - A search for meaning through meditation. 10d

HEARD, Gerald: Training for the Life of the Spirit (Cassell 1944, pp.64,61) - An introduction & guide to meditation. 6d

HUXLEY, Aldous: The Perennial Philosophy (Chatto & Windus 1947, pp.358) - The unity behind all religions. 11d

KELLY, Thomas R: A Testament of Devotion (Hodder & Stoughton 1957, pp.114) - A Quaker's quest for reality. 6d

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A.7. Spiritual Growth (Cont'd)

TAGORE, Rabindranath: The Religion of Man: Hibbert Lectures 1930 (Allen & Unwin 1931, pp.239) - The faith of a poet & philosopher. 10d

TOLSTOY, Leo: The Morals of Diet: or the First Step (Free Age Press 1900, pp. 48) - Self-indulgence or self-discipline. 2½d

See also: B2. Dhawan (II-V): C2. Gandhi; C2a."In Search...."; C3. Society of Friends.

* *

B. NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE

B.1. General Introduction to NVR

BELL, R.G: Alternative to War (James Clarke 1959, pp.83) - The ineffectiveness of militarism & pacifism, & the case for NVR as a means of national defence. 5d

BONDURANT, Joan V: Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict (O.U.P. 1958, pp.269) - An excellent analysis. Essential reading. 1/1d

CARTER, April: Direct Action (Peace News 1962, pp.34) - An examination of nonviolent methods of opposing war & tyranny. 2½d

CASE, C.M: Non-Violent Coercion: A Study in Methods of Social Pressure (Allen & Unwin 1923) n.y.a.

DIWAKAR, R.R: Satyagraha (Chicago: Regnery 1948) n.y.a.

GALTUNG, Johan & SHARP, Gene: Unarmed Strategy (Hyderabad: Mankind, August 1958, pp.11) - "Notes on Research & Analysis of Non-violent Struggles." 2½d

GREGG, Richard B: The Power of Nonviolence (N.Y: F.O.R. 1959, pp.192 - 1st publ. 1935) - Description & analysis of NVR, explaining the psychological factors involved. Still essential reading after nearly 30 years. 10d

HARVEY, Arthur: Theory & Practice of Civil Disobedience (U.S.A: Harvey 1961, pp. 27) - Mimiograph. 4d

B.1. General Introduction to NVR (Cont'd)

Mankind (publ): World Satyagraha Number (Hyderabad: No. 43, March 1960, pp.106) - Global survey of NVR past & present. Articles by Muste, Sharp, Lohia etc.6d

PYARELAL: Gandhian Techniques in the Modern World (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1959, pp. 66) - An outline prepared for the Delhi seminar 1953. 5d

SHARP, Gene: The Meaning of Non-violence (Housmans 1957, pp.12) - A brief survey & classification. 2½d

" : Which Way to Freedom? A Study in Non-violence (Cardiff: Plaid Cymru 1957, pp.17) - A brief introduction to NVR. 4d

SHRIDHARANI, Krishnalal: War without Violence: A Study of Gandhi's Method & Its Accomplishments (N.Y: Harcourt, Brace 1939, pp.xI,351) 1/2d

WEAVER, Anthony: War Outmoded - as a Method of Settling Disputes: A Guide to Thought & Action (Housmans 1960, pp.62) - Very handy introductory booklet.4d

See also: E2. Conflict Resolution (pp.41-64-Sharp); E5. Capitini.

* *

B.2. Philosophy of Nonviolent Resistance

BOSE, Nirmal Kumar: Satya & Ahimsa: Truth & Non-violence: Mahatma Gandhi's Interpretation (Calcutta: World Pacifist Meeting 1949, pp.37) 2½d

DE LIGT, Bartelemy: The Conquest of Violence: An Essay on War & Revolution (Routledge 1937, pp.306) - "The more violence the less revolution." 11d

DHAWAN, G.N: The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (Navajivan 1957, pp. 363) - An exhaustive study, including the place of Satyagraha in a democracy. 1/-

GANDHI, M.K: For Pacifists (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1949, pp.106) - Compiled from his writings. 6d

" : Non-violence in Peace & War - 2 vols. (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1948, pp. 512,393) - Extensive collection of writings & speeches on nonviolence & NVR. 1/2d,10d

" : Satyagraha: Non-violent Resistance (Ahmedabad:Navajivan 1958, pp.404) - Compiled from writings on NVR. 10d

" : The Science of Satyagraha (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 1957, pp.126) - Compiled. n.y.a.

SHARP, Gene: Civil Disobedience in a Democracy: Constitutional Issues in the Committee of 100 'Secrets' Trial (Peace News 22 Feb. 1963, pp.4) - Chapter from book to appear soon, on the theory & dynamics of NV action. 2½d

B.2. Philosophy of Nonviolent Resistance (Cont'd)

THOREAU, Henry David: On the Duty of Civil Disobedience (Peace News 1963, pp.21) - The essay that strongly influenced Gandhi. 2½d

TOLSTOY, Leo: Appeal to Social Reformers (Free Age Press 1900, pp.26) - Change of self before change of society, & the ineffectiveness of violence. 2½d

" : The Kingdom of God is within You: Christianity not as a Mystic Religion but as a New Theory of Life - 2 vols. (Heinemann 1894, pp.261,266) The philosophy of non-resistance to evil, by a Christian anarchist. 2/3d

" : Law of Violence & the Law of Love (incl. in "A Murderer's Remorse" Free Age Press 1909, pp.191) - Jesus - not the Church. Tolstoy's last message. 8d

" : Letter to a Hindu (Peace News 1963, pp.12) - Non-resistance not violence - A brief exposition. 2½d

B4.

See also: BI. Gregg (IX); BI. Bondurant (II, IV, VI); Pyarelal("Pilgrimage"..); C2. Bose (V & VI); C2. Tendulkar (Vol. VI: pp.60-70); D4. A.F.S.C. ("Speak Truth..." IV - VI).

B.2a. Pacifist Writings

DAVIES, George M. Llewellyn: Essays towards Peace (Sheppard Press 1946, pp.140) - Occasional writings on aspects of peace & war. 6d

FAINLIGHT, Leslie: You are Not Powerless! (Broadacre Books 1960, pp.99) - A pacifist indictment of war. 6d

HOUSMAN, Laurence: The Preparation of Peace: (Cape 1940, pp.252) - The faith of a pacifist. Collected writings & talks. 11d

MACGREGOR, G.H.C: The New Testament Basis of Pacifism (N.Y: Fellowship 1960) nya

PLOWMAN, Max: The Right to Live (Dakers 1942, pp.319) - Essays 1917 - 1941. Literature, war & peace. 9d

POLLARD, Francis E: War and Human Values: An Essay on the Immorality of War (Peace News 1953, pp.102) - With a memoir by his son. 7d

RAVEN, Charles E: The Theological Basis of Christian Pacifism: R.T. Paine Lectures 1950 (N.Y: Fellowship 1951, pp.87) 6d

RICHARDS, Leyton: The Christian's Alternative to War: An Examination of Christian Pacifism (Student Christian Movement 1936, pp.126) 7d

See also: C4. Bell; Cadoux; Morrison; Thomas; D4. Catlin; Ferguson.

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B.3. Organizing and Training

BHAVE, Vinoba: Shanti Sena (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh 1961, pp.184) - "Peace Army". Compiled from addresses 1957-1960. 6d

GREGG, Richard B: A Discipline for Non-Violence (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1954, pp.32) - The importance of manual work. 5d

LYTTLE, Bradford: National Defense thru Nonviolent Resistance (Chicago: Shahn-ti Sena Publ. 1959, pp.69) - A detailed programme for the U.S.A. 5d

NAESS, A: A Systematization of Gandhian Ethics of Conflict Resolution (N.Y: Conflict Resolution 1958, pp.16) - Rules for NVR. A Sociological Analysis. 2½d

STEERE, D.V: A Manual on the Need, the Organization, & the Discipline of Cells for Peace (N.Y: F.O.R. 1953, pp.15) - Strength through group activity. 2½d

WALKER, Charles C: Organizing for Nonviolent Direct Action (U.S.A: Walker 1960, pp.43) 2½d

WEAVER, Anthony: Schools for Non-Violence (Committee of 100 1961, pp.11) - A guide & bibliography for direct actionists. 2½d

See also: B1. Bell (pp.69-75); Bondurant (pp.36-45); Gregg (XI); Gregg (1935 edn. - XV & XVI); Shridharani (V); B2. de Ligt (Appx.I); B2. Dhawan (VIII); D5. King-Hall ("Defence..."Pt III); E2. Conflict Resolution (67-84 - Galtung)

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B.4. Examples of Nonviolent Resistance : Indian

CHAUDHURY, P.C. Ray: Gandhiji's First Struggle in India (Navajivan 1955, pp.167) - Champaran NVR against indigo planters 1917. 6d

DESAI, Mahadev: Epic of Travancore (Ahmedabad: Navajivan) - The Temple Satyagraha. NVR by & for 'untouchables' 1924 - 25. n.y.a.

" : A Righteous Struggle: A Chronicle of the Ahmedabad Textile Labourers' Fight for Justice (Navajivan 1951, pp.97) - 1918 strike led by Gandhi. 5d

" : The Story of Bardoli: Being a History of the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928 & its Sequel (Navajivan 1957, pp.249) - Peasants against the Government. 9d

GANDHI, Manubhen: The Miracle of Calcutta (Navajivan) - Hindu - Muslim riots 1947, & Gandhi's successful fast. n.y.a.

KRISHNADAS: Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi (Navajivan) - An inside view of the noncooperation movement of 1921 - 22. n.y.a.

PRASAD, Rajendra: Satyagraha in Champaran (Navajivan 1949, pp.224 - 1st publ. 1928) - Peasants oppressed by planters. Gandhi's 1st NVR in India 1917. 8d

B.4. Examples of Nonviolent Resistance : India (Cont'd)

PYARELAL: A Pilgrimage for Peace: Gandhi & Frontier Gandhi among N.W.F. Pathans (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1950,pp.xx,216) - M.K.G. & Abdul Ghaffar Khan. 11d

SHARP, Gene: Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power: 3 Case Histories (Navajivan 1960, pp.316) - Contains detailed account of the 1930-31 campaign. 10d

TENDULKAR, D.G: Gandhi in Champaran (Delhi: Govt. of India 1957, pp.115) - Authoritative & most recent version of the 1917 satyagraha. 7d

YUNUS, Mohammad: Frontier Speaks (Lahore: Minerva Bookshop 1942, pp.248) - The Pathans, & the movement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi'. 1/-

See also: A5. Bhatta; B1. Bondurant (III); B1. Gregg (I); B1. Mankind; B1. Shridharani (III & IV); B1. Weaver (pp.48-59); C2. Pyarelal ("Epic Fast" & "Last Phase"); C2. Reynolds ("To Live..."IV); C2. Roy (pp.212-229); C2. Tendulkar (Vol. I:pp.198-213, 240-264; Vol. II: pp.31-102, 327-330; Vol.III: pp.1-73,151-178;Vol.VI: pp.1-16,169-250); C2a."Correspondence with Govt. 1942 - 47".

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B.5. Examples of Nonviolent Resistance : Non-Indian (Cont'd)

PECK, Jim: Freedom Ride (N.Y: Simon & Schuster 1961) - Against racial discrimination on transport, U.S.A. 1961. The story by a participant. n.y.a.

PROUDFOOT, M: Diary of a Sit-In (O.U.P. 1962) - Knoxville 1960. A peak in the desegregation struggle. n.y.a.

REYNOLDS, Earl: The Forbidden Voyage (U.S.A: McKay1961) - Pacific nuclear test zone 1958. Personal account of a protest. n.y.a.

SHARP, Gene: Tyranny Could Not Quell Them! (Peace News 1958, pp.23) - The Norwegian teachers' nonviolent resistance to German occupation. 2½d

WALKER, Roy: A People Who Loved Peace: The Norwegian Struggle against Nazism (Gollancz 1946, pp.111) 6d

See also: B1. Gregg (I); C2. Gandhi; C2. Roy (pp.111-120, 190-195); C2. Tendulkar (Vol.I: pp.88-151); C3. Dingwall & Heard; C4. all books (incl. Bell, pp.269 - 279 - Dockers strike 1920); D4.A.F.S.C. ("Speak Truth..."IV); E4. Fulford; E5. de Ligt.

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B.6. Direct Action in Britain

BROCK, Hugh: The Century of Total War (Peace News 1962, pp.36) - The growth of the nonviolent civil disobedience movement in Britain. 2½d

CLARK, George: Second Wind: The Story of the Campaign & the Committee of 100 (Workshop Publications 1963, pp.16) 2½d

I.L.P. - Solidarity (publ): The 100 versus the State: Trafalgar Square, Wethersfield, the Trial (1962, pp.19) - Discussion of the implications. 2½d

Peace News (publ): On Trial: A Report of the Old Bailey Official Secrets Act Trial (1962, pp.12) - 6 members of the Committee of 100 in the dock. 2½d

WALTER, Nicolas: Nonviolent Resistance: Men Against War (Committee of 100 1963, pp.) - An essay on disobedience & direct action. 2½d

B.6a. Arrest & Prison Conditions

FUXTON, Jane & TURNER, Margaret: Gate Fever (Cresset Press 1962, pp.198) - Account of a six months' sentence served in Holloway Prison. 11d

DEUTSCH, Francis (ed): Prisoners against the Bomb: Prison Conditions for Unilateral Nuclear Disarmers (Committee of 100 1962, pp.12) 2½d

KLARE, Hugh J: Anatomy of Prison (Penguin 1962, pp.160) - What prison is like, & some proposals for the future. 7d

B.6a. Arrest & Prison Conditions (Cont'd)

National Council for Civil Liberties (publ): Arrest : A Guide to the Citizen's Rights (1962, pp.10) - Handy reference booklet for British demonstrators. 2½d

Prison Reform Council: Inside Story (Housmans 1963, pp.24) - Criticisms of prison conditions & suggestions for improvement, by a group of ex-prisoners & direct actionists. 2½d

STOKES, Sewell: Come to Prison (Longmans, Green 1957, pp.224) - A survey of British prisons. 1/-

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C. PIONEERS OF NONVIOLENCE

C.1. Individual Pioneers

ANDREWS,C.F :Sykes, Marjorie: Charles Freer Andrews n.y.a.

BHAVE,Vinoba: (See A5. all books)

BUDDHA : Arnold, Edwin: The Light of Asia: ...Life & Teaching of Gautama, Founder of Buddhism (Kegan Paul 1945, pp.XI,157) - A biography in verse. 6d

" : Byles, Marie B: Footprints of Gautama the Buddha: Being the Story of Portions of His Ministerial Life (Rider 1957, pp.227) 11d

CERESOLE, Pierre: (See C5. Ceresole)

DAY,Dorothy : (See C5. Day)

DOLCI : (See D1. Dolci)

FOX, George : (See C3. Fox; Society of Friends, Nos. 1-14)

FRANCIS,St :

FRY,Elizabeth: (Whitney, Janet: Elizabeth Fry (Guild Books 1947, pp.256) - Biography of the courageous prison reformer. 7d

GANDHI : (See C2. all books)

C.1. Individual Pioneers (Cont'd)

GHAFFAR Khan: (See B4. Pyarelal; Yunus; C2. Tendulkar, Vol.IV: pp.283-305)

JESUS : Cadoux,C.J: The Life of Jesus (Penguin 1948, pp.224) - A presentation of the historical man behind the texts. 6d

" : Kumarappa,J.C: Practice & Precepts of Jesus (Navajivan) n.y.a.

KAGAWA : Davey,C.J: Kagawa of Japan n.y.a.

" : Simon,C.M: A Seed Shall Serve: The Story of Toyohiko Kagawa: Spiritual Leader of Modern Japan (Hodder & Stoughton 1960, pp.153) 7d

KING,Martin Luther: (See B5. Fellowship of Reconciliation; King; D2. Lomax)

LUTHULI : (See D2. Luthuli)

PENN,William: (See C3. Dingwall & Heard; Penn; Society of Friends, Nos. 37-40)

PIERRE,Abbé : (See D1. Simon)

SCHWEITZER : Augustiny, Waldemar: The Road to Lambarene: A Biography of Albert Schweitzer (Frederick Muller 1956, pp.228) - See also: C5. Schweitzer. 9d

SOCRATES : Plato: The Last Days of Socrates: The Apology; Crito; Phaedo (Penguin 1955, pp.168) - The trial, imprisonment & death. 6d

THOREAU : Derleth,August: Concord Rebel: A Life of Henry David Thoreau (Philadelphia: Chilton 1963) n.y.a.

" : Groff,Richard: Thoreau & the Prophetic Tradition (Los Angeles: Manas 1961, pp.42) - A thoughtful essay on a great man. 4d

TOLSTOY : Lavrin, Janko: Tolstoy: An Approach (Methuen 1948, pp.167) - An interpretation of the man, the artist & the thinker. 7d

" : Birukoff,Paul: The Life of Tolstoy (Cassell 1911, pp.168) 1/1d

WOOLMAN : Reynolds, Reginald: John Woolman & the 20th Century (Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill 1958, pp.33) - A talk given to young people. 4d

" : Reynolds, R: The Wisdom of John Woolman: With Selection from his Writings as a Guide to the Seekers of Today (Allen & Unwin 1948, pp.178) 9d

See also : B1. Mankind (pp.56-63); B1. Shridharani (VI); B2. Dhawan (I); C3. (Society of Friends Nos.1-115); E2. Sorokin ("Altrusistic Love")

* *

C.2. Gandhi

All-India Radio (publ): Homage to Mahatma Gandhi (Delhi: 1948, pp.112) - Broadcast talks by 33 of those who knew or worked with Gandhi. 7d

ANDREWS, C.F: Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas (Allen & Unwin 1931) n.y.a.

BARR, F.Mary: Bapu: Conversations & Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi (Bombay: Internat. Book House 1956, pp.237) 8d

BOSE, Nirmal Kumar: Studies in Gandhism (Calcutta: I.A.P.C. 1947, pp.359) - A valuable study of the philosophy & springs of action of M.K.G. 1/1d

DATTA, Dhirendra M: Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (Univ. of Wisconsin 1953) n.y.a.

DESAI, Mahadev: The Diary of Mahadev Desai - 2 vols. (Ahmedabad: Navajivan) - Gandhi in Yeravda jail 1932. n.y.a.

DOKE, Joseph: M.K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa. n.y.a.

GANDHI, M.K: The Story of my Experiments with Truth: An Autobiography (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1956, pp.528 - 1st publ. 1927) - A frank self-portrait. Essential reading for understanding the man & his work. 1/2d

FISCHER, Louis: Gandhi: His Life & Message to the World (N.Y: New American Library 1954, pp.192) - A pocket biography. 7d

" : Life of Mahatma Gandhi - 2 vols. (Cape 1941) n.y.a.

IYER, R.N: The Political & Social Thought of Mahatma Gandhi n.y.a.

JACK, Homer A. (ed): The Gandhi Reader (Indiana Univ. Press 1956) - Articles by Gandhi, Bhave, Holmes, Nehru, Rolland, Tagore & others. n.y.a.

MAURER, Herrymon: Great Soul: The Growth of Gandhi (N.Y: Doubleday 1949, pp. 128) - An ordinary man who lived Truth. 7d

POWER, P.F: Gandhi on World Affairs n.y.a.

PYARELAL: The Epic Fast (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1932, pp.328) - September 1932. Gandhi's supreme protest against separate electorate for "untouchables". 9d

" : Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase - 2 vols. (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1956, pp.xxix,750,887) - The definitive & exhaustive work on Gandhi's last years. 1944 - 48. Approx. 2/6d each

" : A Nation Builder at Work: Gandhi Memorial Lectures 1951 (Navajivan 1959, pp.69) 4d

RADHAKRISHNAN, S. (ed): Mahatma Gandhi: Essays & Reflections on his Life & Work (Bombay: Jaico 1957, pp.426) - Einstein, Gilbert Murray, Smuts, etc. 8d

C.2. Gandhi (Cont'd)

REYNOLDS, Reginald: To Live in Mankind: A Quest for Gandhi (Deutsch 1951, pp.215) - With Gandhi 1929-30, & return visit to India 1949-50. 9d

" : The True Book about Mahatma Gandhi (Frederick Muller, True Books,1959, pp.144) - A biography for children. 8d

ROY, Kshitis (ed): Gandhi Memorial Peace Number (Santiniketan: Visva-Bharati 1949, pp.338) - Symposium prepared for the World Pacifist Meeting 1949. 1/6d

SHARP, Gene: Gandhi Faces the Storm (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1961, pp.71) - The agony of Gandhi's last two years. 5d

SHEEAN, Vincent: Lead Kindly Light n.y.a.

SHUKLA, Chandrashanker: Gandhi's View of Life (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 1954, pp.xix,213) - An essay in understanding. 7d

TENDULKAR, D.G: Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi - 8 vols. (Delhi: Govt. of India 1960, pp.xxiv,338,394,327,330,355,315,) - The official biography. Detailed & exhaustive. A work for students. Approx. 1/6d each vols. 7 & 8 not yet available.

WATSON, Francis & BROWN, Maurice: Talking of Gandhiji - BBC series 1957. n.y.a.

WELLOCK, Wilfred: Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary (Preston: Wellock 1957, pp. 32) - Implications for Western civilization. 2½d

See also: B1. Shridharani (II); B4. all books; B5. Gandhi; C5. Slade; E5. Rolland.

C.2a. Writings of M.K. Gandhi

GANDHI, M.K: All Men Are Brothers: Life & Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi as told in his own Words (UNESCO - Navajivan 1960, pp.253) - Compiled. 8d

" : Bapu's Letters to Mira: 1924 - 1948 (Navajivan 1949, pp.387) - To Mira Behn, Madeleine Slade, Gandhi's English disciple. 10d

" : The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (Delhi: Govt. of India 1958, pp.xxxii, 404, 398, 498, 520,520) - First 5 volumes of an official compilation of writings & speeches, that will probably run into more than 60 volumes. A reference work for students. Ref.

" : Constructive Programme: Its Meaning & Place (Navajivan 1945) n.y.a.

" : Correspondence with Government: August 1942 - April 1944 (Delhi: India Govt. Publ. 1944, pp.125) - Concerning the "Quit India"request. 7d

" : Correspondence with Government: 1944 - 1947 (Navajivan) n.y.a.

C.2a. Writings of M.K. Gandhi (Cont'd)

GANDHI, M.K: Delhi Diary (Ahmedabad: Navajivan 1948, pp.xxiv,406) - Post-prayer discourses given during his last months. 11d

" : Hind Swaraj: Indian Home Rule (Navajivan 1958, pp.110) - Avoiding the mistakes of Western civilization. Gandhi's first book written in 1908. 5d

" : In Search of the Supreme - 3 vols. (Navajivan 1961, pp.xx, 388,344,356) - Compiled. 11d each

" : India of My Dreams (Navajivan 1959, pp.339 - 1st publ.1947) - Compiled. 8d

" : The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi (O.U.P. 1946, pp.226) - Compiled. 8d

" : Sarvodaya: The Welfare of All (Navajivan 1958, pp.215) - Compiled. 7d

" : To a Gandhian Capitalist n.y.a.

" : Unto This Last: A Paraphrase (Navajivan) - Gandhi's summary of Ruskin's book (See A1). n.y.a.

" : Women & Social Injustice (Navajivan 1947, pp.216) - Compiled. 9d

See also: Gandhi A3, A6, A7, B2, B5, C2; & A2. Gregg (Appx.A); A7. Desai.

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C.3. The Quakers

BRAYSHAW, A. Neave: The Quakers: Their Story & Message (Allen & Unwin 1921, pp.356) 11d

BRINTON, Howard H: The Peace Testimony of the Society of Friends (Philadelphia: A.F.S.C., pp.16) A brief history. 2½d

CADBURY, Henry J: The Character of a Quaker (Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill 1959, pp.32) - William Penn Lecture 1959. Outline of an ideal. 4d

DINGWALL, E. & HEARD, E.A: Pennsylvania 1681-1756: The State without an Army (Daniel 1937, pp.134) - Successes & failures of the "Holy Experiment". 8d

FOX, George: Journal (Pitman 1905, pp.xviii,512) - Trials & tribulations of the Quakers' founder. 11d

PENN, William: The Peace of Europe; The Fruits of Solitude & Other Writings (Dent, pp.xliii,292) - Thoughts on government & the moral life & on the Quaker movement. Contains a brief biography on Penn. 9d

Society of Friends (publ): Christian Faith & Practice in the Experience of the Society of Friends (1960) - The authoritative exposition of Quakers at worship, in business & in family life. Contains brief biographies. 1/-

C.3. The Quakers (Cont'd)

WOOLMAN, John: The Journal & Other Writings (Dent 1952, pp.xxi,268) - The simple & courageous 18th century pioneer of anti-slavery. 8d

See also: A7. Kelly; C1. Whitney; C1. Reynolds.

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C.4. War Resisters

BELL, Julian (ed): We Did Not Fight: 1914-18 Experiences of War Resisters (Cobden-Sanderson 1935, pp.392) - Angell, Pollitt, Russell, Sassoon,etc. 11d

CADOUX, C.John: The Early Christian Attitude to War: A Contribution to the History of Christian Ethics (Headley 1919, pp.xxxii,272). 10d

HASSLER, Alfred: Diary of a Self-Made Convict (N.Y: Fellowship 1958, pp.182) - Journal of an American C.O. imprisoned during World War II. 7d

HAYES, Denis: Challenge of Conscience: The Story of the Conscientious Objectors of 1939-1949 (Allen & Unwin 1949, pp.406) In Britain. 1/1d

MORRISON, Sybil: I Renounce War: The Story of the Peace Pledge Union (Sheppard Press 1962, pp.108) 6d

No-Conscription Fellowship (publ): Rex v. Bertrand Russell: Report of Proceedings before the Lord Mayor.... Monday 5th June, 1916 (1916, pp.23) 2½d

PECK, Jim: We Who Would Not Kill - American C.O.s during World War II. n.y.a.

SIBLEY, Mulford & JACOB, P.E: Conscription of Conscience (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. 1952, pp.580) - Conscientious Objectors in the U.S.A. 1940 - 47. n.y.a.

THOMAS, Norman: Is Conscience a Crime? (N.Y: Vanguard Press 1927, pp.303) - A history of C.O.s in America during & after the first world war. 9d

See also: C5. Hennacy; C5. Wellock (pp.37 -42); D4. Ferguson (III - Early Christians)

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C.5. Personal Commitment (Autobiographical)

BRITTAIN, Vera: Testament of Youth: An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900-1925 (Gollancz 1948, pp.465) - The meaning of war to a young woman. 10d

" : Testament of Experience: An Autobiographical Story of the Years 1923-1950 (Gollancz 1957, pp.480) 11d

CERESOLE, Pierre: For Peace & Truth (Bannisdale Press 1954) - Spiritual journal of the founder of the work-camp movement. n.y.a.

C.5. Personal Commitment (Autobiographical)(Cont'd)

DAY, Dorothy: The Long Loneliness (Harper 1952) - Autobiography of a brave woman & editor of the Catholic Worker. n.y.a.

GILL, Eric: Autobiography (Cape 1944, pp.283) - Sculptor & letter-cutter. A Catholic apostle of beauty through simplicity. 10d

HENNACY, Ammon: Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist (N.Y: Catholic Worker 1954, pp.314) - American war resister & valiant opponent of the State. 1/-

SCHWEITZER, Albert: My Life & Thought (Guild 1955, pp.240 - 1st publ.1933) - Autobiography of the philosopher, musician & missionary doctor. 7d

SCOTT, Michael: A Time to Speak (Faber 1959, pp.365) - Autobiography of a fighter for the rights of Africans. 1/2d

SLADE, Madeleine: The Spirit's Pilgrimage (Longmans 1960, pp.318) - Autobiography of Mira Behn (See C2a. "Bapu's Letters to Mira") 1/1d

THOREAU, Henry David: Walden (Dent 1959, pp.294 - 1st publ.1854) - Solitary life in the woods, by the American apostle of simplicity & integrity. 9d

TOLSTOY, Leo: What Then Must We Do? (O.U.P. 1950, pp.392 - 1st publ. 1886) - An indictment of wealth & property. Much autobiographical material. 8d

WELLOCK, Wilfred: Off the Beaten Track: Adventures in the Art of Living (Tanjore: Sarvodaya 1961, pp.203) - Autobiography of the apostle of a decentralized economy based on spiritual values. 9d

YOUNG, Mildred Binns: A Standard of Living (Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill 1941, pp.46) - Voluntary poverty & integrity. 4d

See also: C2. Gandhi; C3. Fox; C3. Woolman.

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D. INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

D.1. Hunger and Other Crises

BARR, Stringfellow: Let's Join the Human Race (Univ. of Chicago 1951, pp.30) - A plea for aid without strings. 4d

BERNAL, J.D: A Prospect of Peace (Lawrence & Wishart 1960, pp.80) - What man's future could be without war. 5d

BOYD ORR, John: The White Man's Dilemma: Food & the Future (Allen & Unwin 1953, pp.124) - Bombs & power politics - or help for the world's needy. 8d

CALDER, Ritchie: Common Sense about a Starving World (Gollancz 1962, pp.176) - Food & the population explosion. 6d

DE CASTRO, Josue: The Geography of Hunger n.y.a.

DOLCI, Danilo: To Feed the Hungry: Enquiry in Palermo (MacGibbon & Kee 1959, pp.327) - A sociological survey of misery. 1/1d

" : Waste (MacGibbon & Kee 1962) - of water, land & people in Sicily. n.y.a.

FARIS, Donald K: To Plow with Hope (Gollancz 1958, pp.223) - Thoughtful survey of world problems & technical assistance. 11d

HURST, Leonard: Hunger (Edinburgh House Press 1961, pp.36) - Christian Focus Pamphlet No.14. A brief survey. 2½d

HYAMS, Edward: Soil & Civilization (Thames & Hudson 1952) n.y.a.

JACKS, G.B. & WHYTE, R.O: The Rape of the Earth: A World Survey of World Erosion (Faber 1944, pp.313) 1/1d

OSBORN, Fairfield: Our Plundered Planet (Faber 1948, pp.192) - The crisis of erosion, man's biggest problem. 9d

PIRE, Dominique: Europe of the Heart: The Autobiography of Father Dominique Pire (Hutchinson 1960, pp.221) - The story of his work for refugees. 1/-

ROBERTS, Michael: The Estate of Man (Faber 1951, pp.156) - Land, population & intelligence. The crisis in our resources. 10d

RUSSELL, E.J. & WRIGHT, N.C. (eds): Hunger : Can it be Averted? (British Assoc. for the Advancement of Science 1961, pp.80) - The role of science. 5d

SEARS, P.B: Deserts on the March n.y.a.

SIMON, Boris: Abbé Pierre & the Ragpickers (Harvill 1955, pp.200) - A Catholic priest's efforts for the homeless in France. 11d

VOGT, William: Road to Survival (Gollancz 1949, pp.335) - Comprehensive survey of erosion & its effects on man's life. 1/1d

D.1. Hunger & Other Crises (Cont'd)

WALKER, Derek: The Ancient Enemies: Objectives in the War on Want (War on Want 1961, pp.32) - A brief survey & plea. 4d

See also: D4. Ferguson (V); Lonsdale ("Is Peace Possible?")

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D.2. Racialism

American Academy of Polit. & Social Science (publ): Racial Desegregation & Integration (Philadelphia 1956, pp.211) - Sociological survey. 8d

BENENSON, Peter: Persecution 1961 (Penguin 1961, pp.152) - Nine case studies of brutality & intolerance, from both sides of the ideological fence. 5d

BIRTWHISTLE, Allen: Colour: The Problem of Racial Discrimination (Livingstone Press 1952, pp.32) - Christian Focus Pamphlet No. 3. A brief survey. 2½d

HUDDLESTON, Trevor: Naught for your Comfort (Collins 1956, pp.256) - The lot of the negro in South Africa. 6d

KAUNDA, Kenneth: Zambia Shall Be Free (Heinemann 1962) - By the Northern Rhodesian leader & believer in nonviolent methods of struggle. n.y.a.

LOMAX, Louis E: The Negro Revolt (Hamish Hamilton 1963) n.y.a.

LUTHULI, Albert: Let My People Go - Autobiography & political philosophy of the South African leader. n.y.a.

McWILLIAMS, Carey: Brothers under the Skin (Boston: Little, Brown 1946, pp.338) - Racial minorities in the U.S.A. 11d

MASON, Philip: Common Sense about Race (Gollancz 1961, pp.173) - A survey of racial prejudice. 7d

MYRDAL, Gunnar: American Dilemma - An exhaustive analysis of the American negro problem. n.y.a.

PATON, Alan: Cry the Beloved Country (Penguin 1958, pp.240) - The South African tragedy of Black & White. (Fiction) 6d

REYNOLDS, Reginald: Beware of Africans: A Pilgrimage from Cairo to the Cape (Jarrolds 1955, pp.367) - A personal account of the new Africa. 1/1d

RICHMOND, Anthony H: The Colour Problem: A Study of Racial Relations (Penguin 1955, pp.371) 8d

SAMPSON, Anthony: Drum: A Venture into the New Africa (Collins 1956, pp.256) - An indictment, by the ex-editor of the S. African magazine. 11d

D.2. Racialism (Cont'd)

VAN RENSBURG, Patrick: Guilty Land (Penguin 1962, pp.207) - The tragedy of South Africa. An analysis of apartheid. 6d

See also: B5. Houser, King, Kuper, Peck, Proudfoot; C3. Society of Friends (Nos. 654-658); C5. Scott (VI-XVIII)

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D.3. War & International Tension

COOK, Fred J: Juggernaut: The Warfare State (N.Y: The Nation, Oct.1961, pp.61) - The threat of "the military-industrial complex" in the U.S.A. 5d

CURTIS, Lionel: World War: Its Cause & Cure (O.U.P. 1945, pp.xx,274) 11d

GULICK, Edward Vose: The Balance of Power (Philadelphia: Pacifist Research Bureau 1943, pp.59) - A concise analysis. 5d

Internat. Sociological Assoc.: The Nature of Conflict (Paris: UNESCO 1957, pp. 314) - Studies on the sociological aspects of international tensions. n.y.a.

MILLS, C.Wright: The Causes of World War Three (N.Y: Ballantine 1960, pp.188) - Analysis of the drift towards nuclear war. 5d

NEF, John U: War & Human Progress (Harvard Univ. 1950, pp.464) - "Comprehensive study of the debilitating effects of war on culture in all its aspects" n.y.a.

PONSONBY, Arthur: Falsehood in War-time:... Lies Circulated throughout the Nations during the Great War (Allen & Unwin 1942, pp.192 - 1st publ.1928) 7d

" : Wars & Treaties:1815 to 1914 (Allen & Unwin 1919, pp.104) - Brief summaries of 42 major conflicts in the century preceding World War I. 6d

TOLSTOY, Leo: "Bethink Yourselves"; Letters on War (Free Age Press 1904, pp.64; 1900, pp.40) - A Christian pacifist's denunciation. 4d

TOYNBEE, Arnold J: War & Civilization (N.Y: Oxford Univ. 1950, pp.165) - Extracts from "A Study of History". The repeated breakdown of civilizations as a result of war. n.y.a.

WORRALL, R.L: Footsteps of Warfare: A Study of the Origin & Development of War (Peter Davies 1936, pp.236) 1/-

WRIGHT, Quincy: A Study of War - 2 vols. (Univ. of Chicago 1942) - Authoritative & exhaustive analysis. n.y.a.

See also: A1. Huxley (IX); B2. de Ligt; C5. Brittain ("Testament of Youth",Pt. II); D4. Reves.

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D.4. Towards Solving International Tension

American Friends Service Committee (publ): Speak Truth to Power: A Quaker Search for an Alternative to Violence (1955, pp.72) 5d

FEST, Ethelwyn & PIKE, Bernard: International Voluntary Service for Peace, 1920-1946: A History of Work in many Countries for ... Distressed Communities & for the Reconciliation of the Peoples (Allen & Unwin 1948, pp.155) 7d

BOYD, Andrew: United Nations: Piety, Myth & Truth (Penguin 1962, pp.186) - The growing pains of the U.N.O. & a plea for a greater commitment to it. 5d

CATLIN, George etc. (compilers): Above all Nations: An Anthology (Gollancz 1945, pp.88) - World War II stories of humanity overcoming hostility. 6d

CLARK, G.& SOHN, L.B: World Peace through World Law (Harvard Univ. 1958) n.y.a.

Economist Intelligence Unit: The Economic Effects of Disarmament (1962) n.y.a.

FERGUSON, John: The Enthronement of Love: Christ the Peacemaker (Fellowship of Reconciliation 1954, pp.103) - Christian pacifism & the needs of mankind. 6d

JAMES, William: The Moral Equivalent of War (U.S.A: International Voluntary Service 1960, pp.12) - Address 1910. Canalizing man's aggressiveness. 2½d

LENTZ, Theo F: Towards a Science of Peace: Turning Point in Human Destiny (N.Y: Bookman 1955, pp.193) - A proposal for peace research & an introduction to this neglected study. 10d

LONSDALE, Kathleen: Is Peace Possible? (Penguin 1957, pp.126) - A discussion of the problems by a scientist & Quaker. 5d

" : Removing the Causes of War (Allen & Unwin 1953, pp.76) - An analysis & some proposals. 5d

MILLARD, Everett Lee: Freedom in a Federal World: How we can Learn to Live in Peace & Liberty by Means of World Law (N.Y: Oceana Publications 1961, pp. 254) - Includes draft revision of U.N. Charter. 1/-

MITRANY, David: A Working Peace System: An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization (National Peace Council 1946, pp.64) 4d

Peacemakers (publ): A World Re-Born (London: 1963, pp.24) - Human need today, the barrier of fear, & the vital need for a moral initiative. 2½d

REVES, Emery: The Anatomy of Peace (Penguin 1947, pp.253) - A powerful plea for world government. 7d

SEED, Philip: The Undefended: Psychological Aspects of the Problem of Disarmament & Possible Solutions (Friends Peace Committee 1961, pp.15) 2½d

Standing Joint Pacifist Committee: Unarmed: Some Consequences of Total Disarmament (Peace News 1957, pp.23) 2½d

D.4. Towards Solving International Tension (Cont'd)

TENNYSON, Hallam (ed): Minds in Movement: A Quaker Study of Asia & the West (Gollancz 1953, pp.79) - A short survey of S.E. Asia & some proposals. 5d

United World Trust (publ): Disarmament: What it would mean to Britain's Economy (1963, pp.32) 4d

See also: B1. Weaver (pp.20-23); C3. Society of Friends (Nos. 629-647); D1. Bernal; D1. Faris; D3. Curtis; D5. Noel-Baker; E4. Nikam. 4d

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D.5. The Nuclear Issue

BRADLEY, David: No Place to Hide (Boston: Little, Brown 1948, pp.182) - What nuclear radiation involves. A doctor's journal at Bikini 1946. 9d

British Broadcasting Corporation (publ): The Strategy of Survival (The Listener 29 March 1962, pp.15) - Five broadcast talks. 4d

EATHERLY, Claude & Anders, Günther: Burning Conscience - The mental agonies of the pilot who flew the lead plane over Hiroshima. n.y.a.

FROMM, Erich: May Man Prevail (N.Y: Doubleday 1962)- "A well-known psychiatrist discusses the facts & fictions of U.S. foreign policy". n.y.a.

GOLLANCZ, Victor: The Devil's Repertoire: or Nuclear Bombing & the Life of Man (Gollancz 1958, pp.192) 7d

HACHIYA, M: Hiroshima Diary (Univ. of N. Carolina 1955, pp.238) - A personal account of what took place. n.y.a.

HECKSTALL-SMITH, H.W: Atomic Radiation Dangers, and What they mean to You (Dent 1958, pp.106) 7d

HERSEY, John: Hiroshima (Penguin 1958, pp.127 - 1st publ. 1946) - The grim story, told in personal terms, of the first atomic bomb, 6 August 1945. 5d

JUNGK, Robert: Brighter than a Thousand Suns: A Personal History of the Atomic Scientists (Penguin 1960, pp.330) - Development of the atom bomb. 7d

" : Children of the Ashes: The Story of a Rebirth (Heinemann 1961, pp.317) - The attempt of Hiroshima survivors to rebuild their lives. 1/-

KAHN, Herman: Thinking about the Unthinkable (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1962)n.y.a.

KING-HALL, Stephen: Common Sense in Defence (King-Hall Services 1960, pp.48) - Pithy version of the following... 4d

" : Defence in the Nuclear Age (Gollancz 1958, pp.223) - An argument for NVR on grounds of military strategy. 10d

D.5. The Nuclear Issue (Cont'd)

KING-HALL, Stephen: Moment of No Return (N.Y: Ballantine 1961, pp.192) - A novel - but describing events that could easily happen. 5d

" : Power Politics in the Nuclear Age n.y.a.

KOTHARI, D.S.(ed): Nuclear Explosions & their Effects (Govt. of India 1958, pp.342) - Exhaustive scientific study of physical & biological effects.1/6d

LAPP, Ralph E: Kill and Overkill (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1963) - "The threat of annihilation in an atmosphere of public misinformation & inertia".n.y.a.

" : The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon (Penguin 1958, pp.176) - Radiation damage to Japanese fishermen 1957. 5d

MORRIS, Edita: The Flowers of Hiroshima (Four Square 1961, pp.128) - A love story set against the background of the martyred city. (Fiction) 5d

MUMFORD, Lewis: In the Name of Sanity (N.Y: Harcourt, Brace 1954, pp.244) - A plea for an alternative to mass extermination. n.y.a.

NAGAI, Takashi: We of Nagasaki: The Story of Survivors in an Atomic Wasteland (Harborough Publ. Co. 1958, pp.188) - Personal Accounts of 8 survivors. 6d

NEWMAN, James R: The Rule of Folly (Allen & Unwin 1962, pp.64) - "The folly of thinking that atomic wars can be won." 5d

NOEL-BAKER, Philip: The Arms Race: A Programme for World Disarmament (Stevens 1958, pp.579) - Historical & technical discussion. 1/6d

PAULING, Linus: No More War! (Gollancz 1958, pp.254) - Realistic analysis.nya

PIRIE, Antoinette (ed): Fall Out: Radiation Hazards from Nuclear Explosions (MacGibbon & Kee 1957, pp.160) 7d

RUSSELL, Bertrand: Common Sense & Nuclear Warfare (Allen & Unwin 1959, pp.93) - "The case for total & complete disarmament". 5d

" : Has Man a Future? (Penguin 1961, pp.128) - The threat of nuclear weapons & a plea for world government. 5d

SCHWEITZER, Albert: Peace or Atomic War? (Black 1958, pp.28) - Three appeals broadcast from Oslo, April 1958. 2½d

SHUTE, Nevil: On the Beach (Heinemann 1959, pp.312) - After World War III. Man's last days. (Fiction) 10d

STEIN, Walter (ed): Nuclear Weapons & Christian Conscience (Merlin Press 1961, pp.151) - Six essays by Roman Catholics. 9d

See also: B5. Bigelow; B5. Reynolds; D3. Mills.

* *

E. BACKGROUND READING

E.1. Anthropology

BENEDICT, Ruth: Patterns of Culture (N.Y: Penguin 1947, pp.272) - "An analysis of our social structure as related to primitive civilization". 7d

HOEBEL, E. A, JENNINGS, J.D & SMITH, E.R. (eds): Readings in Anthropology (N.Y: McGraw-Hill 1955, pp.417) - A compilation of papers for students. 1/4d

KROPOTKIN, Peter: Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution (Penguin 1939, pp.278) - Co-operation among animals,primitive man, in the medieval city, & today. 7d

MALINOWSKI, Bronislaw: Sex & Repression in Savage Society (N.Y: Meridian Books 1955, pp.251 - 1st publ. 1927) 7d

MEAD, Margaret: Coming of Age in Samoa: A Study of Adolescence & Sex in Primitive Societies (Penguin 1954, pp.240 - 1st publ. 1928) 7d

" (ed): Co-operation & Competition among Primitive Peoples (Boston: Beacon 1961, pp.544 - 1st publ. 1937) - Comprehensive survey of 13 cultures. 1/1d

" : Growing Up in New Guinea: A Study of Adolescence & Sex in Primitive Societies (Penguin 1954, pp.270 - 1st publ. 1930) 7d

MONTAGU, Ashley: Man: His First Million Years (N.Y: Mentor 1959, pp.192) - An introduction to the subject. 6d

THOMPSON, Laura: The Hopi Way - A culture based on peace. n.y.a.

* *

E.2. Psychology & Personal Relations

Conflict Resolution (publ): Studies from the Institute of Social Research, Oslo (N.Y: 1959, pp.100) - Aspects of NV from a sociological point of view. 7d

FROMM, Erich: The Art of Loving (Allen & Unwin 1960, pp.133) - Parental, fraternal, sexual & divine love - a psychoanalytic study. 8d

" : The Fear of Freedom (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1961, pp.257 - 1st publ.1942) - A study of submission to authority. 8d

GLOVER, Edward: War, Sadism & Pacifism: Further Essays on Group Psychology & War (Allen & Unwin 1947, pp.292) n.y.a.

MENNINGER, K. & J.L: Love Against Hate (N.Y: Harcourt, Brace 1959, pp.311) - "A psychological study of man's basic conflicts". n.y.a.

PEAR, T.H. (ed): Psychological Factors of Peace & War (Hutchinson 1950) - A well-documented symposium. n.y.a.

SOROKIN, Pitirim A: Altruistic Love: A Study of American "Good Neighbors" & Christian Saints (Boston: Beacon Press 1950, pp.253) 1/-

E.2. Psychology & Personal Relations (Cont'd)

SOROKIN, Pitirim A. (ed): Explorations in Altruistic Love & Behavior: A Symposium (Boston : Beacon Press 1950, pp.353) 1/2d

" : The Ways & Power of Love: Types, Factors & Techniques of Moral Transformation (Boston: Beacon 1954, pp.552) - An exhaustive study. 2/6d

SPROTT, W: Human Groups (Penguin 1958, pp.219) - Study of social relations. 6d

SUTTIE, Ian D: The Origins of Love & Hate (Penguin 1960, pp.222 - 1st publ. 1935) - The importance of maternal love. A non-Freudian presentation. 7d

See also: A1. Huxley (XI); B1. Gregg (II - IV); E3. Fromm.

* *

E.3. Western Civilization & the Modern Social Crisis

ARENDT, Hannah: The Origins of Totalitarianism (Harcourt, Brace 1951) n.y.a.

BORSODI, Ralph: This Ugly Civilization (N.Y: Simon & Schuster 1929) n.y.a.

FROMM, Erich: The Sane Society (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1956, pp.370) - "A Psychoanalyst diagnoses the cultural neuroses of our time & points the way to a society in which human love & creativity can flourish". 1/4d

GOODMAN, Paul: Growing Up Absurd n.y.a.

HUXLEY, Aldous: Brave New World Revisited (Chatto & Windus 1959, pp.164) - Overpopulation, propaganda, brainwashing, & the decline of freedom. 9d

" : Science, Liberty & Peace (Chatto & Windus 1950, pp.63) - Science as an instrument of enslavement, & its reharnessing for peace. 6d

MANNHEIM, Karl: Diagnosis of Our Time: Wartime Essays of a Sociologist (Kegan Paul 1943, pp.180) - The crisis in Western society. 9d

" : Man and Society n.y.a.

MILLS, C. Wright: The Power Elite (O.U.P. 1956) - "An exhaustive study of the policy-makers in American life". n.y.a.

MUMFORD, Lewis: The Condition of Man (Secker & Warburg 1944, pp.467) - History of Western man, his dreams, art, religion, his purposes & ideals. 1/5d

" : The Culture of Cities (N.Y: Harcourt, Brace 1938, pp.586) - The changing function of the city, & the madness of the modern metropolis. 2/3d

" : Technics & Civilization (Routledge 1946, pp.495 - 1st publ. 1934) - Development of the machine, & its influence on man's environment. 1/4d

The above 3 books were conceived as a whole. They form an exhaustive survey of western civilization from the Renaissance to modern times. A great work.

E.3. Western Civilization & the Modern Social Crisis (Cont'd)

RIESMAN, David: The Lonely Crowd n.y.a.

RÖPKE, Wilhelm: The Social Crisis of our Time (William Hodge 1950, pp.260) - Wartime reflections of an economist. 1/1d

RUSSELL, Bertrand: Power: A New Social Analysis (Allen & Unwin 1938, pp.328) - Its different forms - revolutionary, economic, political- & its taming. 1/1d

TAGORE, Rabindranath: Nationalism (Macmillan 1918, pp.135) - ... in the West, Japan, India. An essay on a modern curse. 9d

TAWNEY, R.H: The Acquisitive Society (Collins-Fontana 1961, pp.191 - 1st publ. 1921) - A critique of our industrial democracy. 7d

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E.4. Miscellaneous

BRAILSFORD, H.M: The Levellers & the English Revolution (Cresset 1962) n.y.a.

CAMUS, Albert: The Rebel: (Hamish Hamilton 1953, pp.273)- A profound essay on liberty & terror. 11d

FULFORD, Roger: Votes for Women: The Story of a Struggle (Faber 1957, pp.343) - 1866-1914. An objective history of the suffragettes. 1/1d

GREGG, Richard B: The Big Idol (Gregg 1963, pp.72-typed MS) - The different functions of money & a proposal for reform. 9d

LENIN, V.I: The State & Revolution: Marxist Teaching on the State & the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution. (Moscow: pp.201 - 1st publ. 1917) 6d

MACDONALD, Dwight: The Root is Man: Two Essays in Politics (Calif.: Cunningham Press 1953, pp.63) - Man & the State. The disillusion of a Socialist. 9d

MASSINGHAM, H.J. (ed): The Natural Order: Essays on the Return to Husbandry (Dent 1945, pp.178) 8d

MORGAN, Arthur E: Search for Purpose (Yellow Springs: Antioch Press 1955, pp. 197) - An evolutionary manifesto. 11d

NIKAM, N.A.(ed): Human Relations & International Obligations: Report of the UNESCO - Indian Philosophical Congress Symposium (I.P.C. 1955, pp.303) 1/1d

U.N.O. (publ): Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949, pp.8) 2½d

* *

E.5. Some Non-English Works

CAPITINI, Aldo: La Nonviolenza Oggi (Milan:Edizioni Di Communità 1962,pp.173)8d

E.5. Some Non-English Works

DE LIGT, Bartelemy: La Paix Créatrice: Histoire des Principes et des Tactiques de l'Action Directe contre la Guerre (Paris: Librairie des Sciences Politiques et Sociales 1934) - 2 vols. n.y.a.

MONASTIER, Hélène: Paix, Pelle et Pioche: Histoire du Service Civil International (Switzerland: S.C.I. 1955) n.y.a.

ROLLAND, Romain: Mahatma Gandhi (Paris: Delamain et Boutelleau 1926, pp.212) The book that introduced M.K.G. to the West. 8d

SCHWARZ, Ernst: Wege zur Gewaltlosen Befreiung (Vienna: Sensen-Verlag 1952) nya

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F. PERIODICALS

The following are some that contain important articles on aspects of peace-making & nonviolence. The task of classifying this material, & of keeping it up to date, remains undone. Copies of those starred, & further details of publications, are available from the Commonweal Collection.

ANARCHY (London: Freedom Press)	Monthly
*BHOODAN (India: Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh)	Weekly
CATHOLIC WORKER, The (New York: Catholic Worker Group)	Monthly
CHRISTIAN ACTION NEWSLETTER (London: Christian Action)	Quarterly
CNVA BULLETIN (New York: Committee for Non-Violent Action)	Irregular
*COMMITTEE OF 100 BULLETIN (London: C. of 100)	Monthly
*COMMON LIFE, The (Bath: Vedanta Movement)	Quarterly
FELLOWSHIP (New York: Fellowship of Reconciliation)	Twice Monthly
FRIEND, The (London: Society of Friends)	Weekly
*GANDHI MARG (Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation)	Quarterly
*IVS NEWS (London: International Voluntary Service)	Quarterly
LIBERATION (New York: Independent pacifist monthly)	Monthly
*MANAS (Los Angeles: Independent)	Weekly
OUR GENERATION AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR (Canada: Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament)	Quarterly
*PACIFIST, The (London: Peace Pledge Union)	Monthly
*PEACE NEWS (London: International pacifist weekly)	Weekly
*PEACEMAKER, The (Cincinnati: Peacemakers)	Fortnightly
RECONCILIATION (London: Fellowship of Reconciliation)	Monthly
SANITY (London: Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament)	Monthly
*SARVODAYA (India: Sarva Seva Sangh)	Monthly
*WAR and PEACE (London: Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament)	Quarterly
*WAR RESISTANCE (London: War Resisters International)	Monthly

ADDENDA July, 1963

A.2: WOODCOCK, George: Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas & Movements (Penguin 1963, pp.480) 8d

B.1: LAKEY, George: Nonviolent Action: How It Works (Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Pamphlet 1963) - An outline on the sociology of NVR. n.y.a.

SHARP, Gene: Alternatives to War & Violence (Friends Peace Committee 1963 - mimeograph) - An exhaustive study of nonviolent action.

B.2: SIBLEY, Mulford Q. (ed): The Quiet Battle (N.Y: Doubleday-Anchor 1963) - Theory & practice of NVR. Extracts from world scriptures, Origen, de la Boétie, Shelley, Thoreau, de Ligt, Gandhi, Gregg, Martin Luther King, etc.

URQUHART, Clara (ed): A Matter of Life (Cape 1963) - A study of the ethics of civil disobedience. Essays by Kaunda, Russell, Scott, Dolci, etc. n.y.a.

B.3: SHARP, Gene: Non-violent Action: An Introductory Outline for Study Groups (Friends Peace Committee 1963, pp.16) 2½d

B.5: JAMESON, A.K: Unarmed against Fascism (Peace News 1963, pp.16) - Norwegian resistance to the German occupation during World War II. 2½d

KING, Martin Luther: Letter from Birmingham City Jail (Philadelphia: A.F.S.C. 1963) - Answers to criticisms of his freedom demonstrations.

D.2: Benson, Mary: The African Patriots (Faber 1963) - History of the African National Congress. n.y.a.

BALDWIN, James: The Fire Next Time (Michael Joseph 1963) - The status of the Negro in the United States. n.y.a.

FRIEDMAN, Marion (ed): "I Will Still Be Moved" (Arthur Barker 1963) - Statements of Nelson Mandela & others on trial in South Africa. n.y.a.

D.3: WAGAR, W. Warren: The City of Man (N.Y: Houghton Mifflin 1963) - Review of 20th century thought & proposals for survival thro' world organization. nya

D.5: RUSSELL, Bertrand: Unarmed Victory (Penguin 1963, pp.120) - His part in the Cuba crisis & an assessment of the India-China dispute. 5d

F: NEWSLETTER (New York: Council for Correspondence) - Independent Monthly.

PEACE INFORMATION BULLETIN (Geneva: International Peace Bureau) - for the International Confederation for Disarmament & Peace (Oxford Conference) Monthly

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Tendulkar. B4,C2
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Tolstoy. . . .A7,B2,C5,D3
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United World Trust . . D4
VAN RENSBURG D2
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Vinoba (See Bhave)
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Wills. A6
Woolman. C3
Worrall. D3
Wright D3
YOUNG C5
Yunus B4

non-violence

JAY RICHARD KENNEDY
1155 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 28

To: Mr. James Farmer

Date: 11/5/63

Re: Three-point Program

POINT I: Direct Action: Economic - Punishment and Reward.

Premise: Almost all retail stores, theaters, hotels, service stations, transport services, etc., as well as non-consumer industries, throught the land, are nationally owned and/or controlled directly or through interlocking directorates. All of them will respond in local situations to national economic pressure, both negative and positive.

The weapon: Purchasing power.

Method: A bulletin giving advance information to Negroes and whites of specific pinpointed targets of CORE and other organizations that will be picketed in any part of the country and who their counterpart is everywhere else in the country (by direct ownership, subsidiaries or interlocking directorates.) Negro and white consumers throughout the country phone or send postcards or personally visit the local store, theater, etc., of the national complex being picketed in some other locality, north or south, to advise that they will not buy in store A in their community until the pickets' demands are met in store B, however far removed A is from B geographically, because they are connected and indivisible as to national ownership and centralized authority. This would use national sympathy, both active and <u>passive</u>, of Negro and white consumers power to back the direct action on the picket line in the

smallest village in America. (Obviously the job of doing this where a retail chain with a common name is involved requires far less research.)

The reverse must also be part of this plan: <u>reward</u>. When a national operation or complex employs Negroes without discrimination and accords them the privileges and facilities of all citizens without discrimination, the bulletin should contain the names of such national corporations or interlocking directorates, and they should reap the benefits that go with compliance. Consumers should phone, send postcards or personally inform managers of outlets in their localities that the non-discriminating policy of their national organization has earned their patronage and that patronage should be forthcoming.

If such a program receives sufficient publicity, a well-placed ad in a national publication on the morning new picketing or negotiation begins could implement a swift CORE victory by reaching <u>unattached sympathizers</u> the Bulletin does not reach. (Consumers Union and college campus publications as well as other hourse organs whose members have strong consumer power could supplement the direct action Bulletin, publishing its data and keeping the facts current at no line space cost to CORE.)

Summary: This program seeks to achieve maximum mobilization of all areas on whatever level of commitment and maximum impact on industry based upon (a) the fact that most consumer outlets are national in scope regardless of local trade names, with

central authority on the corporate level; (b) the need to tap widely varying degrees of readiness for action on the part of sympathetic whites; (c) reward is as vital as punishment in seeking to remedy discriminatory practices. Reward comes first, most and fastest to those corporate structures that need no correction, and/or correct themselves swiftly, thus freeing manpower and money for CORE to use elsewhere. It should also go to those who may disagree and even fight at first, but see in this reward system an <u>incentive</u> for accepting the inevitable and settling with CORE. A simple list of three classifications:"Endorsed," "Condemned," "Specially favored" companies with their various different <u>regional trade names</u> and national names, which is kept current, could aid such a program of reward and punishment. Obviously a list of national companies with subsidiaries and how they measure up would have to be prepared accurately, responsibly and from unimpeachable materials, such as S.E.C., applications for New York and American Stock Exchange listing, or over-the-counter registration. It would then have to be broken down <u>tactically</u> with respect to (a) competitive factors within industries (b) in order to establish an order of priorities for direct action, and (c) to expose contradictory situations where, let us say, subsidiary A is non-discriminatory, but subsidiary B is discriminatory and yet both take policy directive from a common parent company.*

*Means for compiling such lists exist.

Point II: Global importance of the <u>non-violent</u> nature of the direct action Civil Rights movement.

Premise: In the nuclear age and constricting world of Space Age travel and communications, violence - however traditional as a method - is both archaic and contagious. It can spread with lightning speed and pose the immediate question of war. Local wars can become global wars. Losers are desperate. Losers with nuclear weapons or allies who have them, can use them. Violence as a method for redress of rightful grievances in our neclear age, and regardless of purpose, thus contains a new danger that can, by racial, ethnic or other interaction, threaten human survival.

The non-violent social revolution taking place in the United States today potentially involves twenty million Negroes and allies. Larger numbers are drawn daily into its direct action program. Nonviolent, it is an example for developing nations, oppressed peoples, minorities, "second-class citizens" everywhere. If it is violent, it ultimately threatens peace. Therefore, both by example and as a concrete national phenomena, it bears on and is affected by the global issue of peace.

Thus the non-violent social revolution of American Negroes has a new, deeper, wider, more crucial relevance than did the Ghandi or earlier Tolstoyan movements.

Target: In an age when nuclear war can destroy the human race, CORE reconciles <u>by method</u> the need to complete the old, unfinished business of pre-nuclear mankind, namely, it recognizes that war as a political-economic method and therefore violence as a socio-economic method, are obsolete. Old forms of struggle

and violence must give way to new methods and forms, if human progress and human survival are both to continue.

Method: The leadership of direct action non-violence for racial equality in America must make known to the rest of the world its acute awareness of the example they set and have set for twenty-two years; the moral leadership obligation and opportunity it faces. It must clarify the newer, larger issues involved. It can show their relevance to all liberation movements everywhere. It can formulate deterrent programs against those who would provoke, impose or inject violence and set the pace and clarify the new problems for all integration movements everywhere.

Open communication between this non-violent, <u>interracial</u> Civil Rights movement of the American Negro and all of the peoples in ferment must be firmly established so that its moral leadership and example may develop.*

This will require a conscious program, stubbornly carried out despite all pressure of domestic, regional and day-to-day work and strife.

*Swift access to such developing countries and movements is possible.

Gordon Carey

Fits: Training

WORKSHOPS IN NONVIOLENCE--WHY?

FEB 18 1964

In these few pages we have pulled together a few practical examples of situations which can be used in workshops on nonviolence, in training sessions prior to action, etc. Emphasis is on civil rights. We are indebted to Charles Walker, Middle Atlantic Regional College Secretary of American Friends Service Committee, for some of these ideas. We cannot emphasize sufficiently the importance of workshops and training sessions, especially just before actions are undertaken--no matter how imperfect they may be. Some of the reasons for this are:

1 - If you're going into action in a potentially dangerous situation, you need to have confidence in yourself and in your buddies. In the workshop you have a chance to get to know yourself and your buddies and to see how you and they behave in a kind of mock action. You also get an idea of what to expect, and what you are afraid of--and why. All this helps your morale, and the morale of the group. It makes for a better group, one which is more likely to succeed out in the streets.

2 - Everybody has tensions. Especially those of us who are victims of segregation. When we get out in the streets we need to keep our personal tensions under control. But in a crisis, tensions build up. People blow up. In a long campaign people begin to "crack"; in other words, they suffer from "battle fatigue." In workshop situations everybody has a chance to blow off steam, to get rid of a lot of those tensions. Then when we get into the streets we are cooled off. Let loose in the workshop so you can be cool in the streets, make cool decisions, carry out a cool action.

Brief Note to Instructors

-- These particular scenarios are meant only to provide guidelines for a practical demonstration of role-playing. The instructor should modify the situations in accordance with local conditions and specific issues.

-- In any single session it will be impossible to run through all the scenarios from beginning to end; the instructor should choose those situations which will fit the local requirements, and should also feel free to interrupt and stop the action at any particular point. There is no logical or conclusive "end" to any of these scenarios. But:

-- The instructor should try not to interrupt the scenario until he is ready to stop it altogether because otherwise the flow of ideas, feelings, and action will be blocked.

-- It is extremely important to raise the right questions to the group at the end of each scenario. Let the group express itself on how individuals feel.

The questions given as suggestions here are only rough outlines--you will have to phrase the questions more specifically and if possible let the group raise them.

-- You will note that only about half of these scenarios actually need to involve physical action. Make sure that there is a good "mix" between talk and action in any single workshop.

-- It does take experience to run a good workshop. Don't be discouraged if the first few don't work too well. Try to keep the situations as "close to home" as possible, and above all try to have workshops for participants in actions before the action takes place, even if they are not perfect.

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SAMPLE SCENARIOS FOR ROLE-PLAYING

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A group of civil rights demonstrators is blocking access to a tenement to prevent a constable from evicting a tenant who has been participating in a rent strike. The constable and several citizens urge the group to obey the law and move out of the way; then the constable and a police officer threaten the group with arrest if it does not move. (You may want to continue this scenario to the point of actual arrest and being taken to the wagon.)

Questions: How do the demonstrators respond to the other citizens and to the constable? How do they respond to the officer?

Cast: Three or four demonstrators, two or three citizens, a constable, one or more police officers.

II - The Congressman

Congressman Blank, a Negro representing a predominantly Negro district--with a do-nothing record so far, and a reputation for being a "tool" of the local political machine--is having a change of heart. He has even gone so far as to invite a group of civil rights people to his office in order to get their ideas. He has a group of his own advisers present. The Congressman, the civil rights people, and the Congressman's advisers, discuss the issue in a hard-headed, unsentimental way.

Questions: What will the relationship of the civil rights people be to the Congressman and his staff? How will the Congressman and

his staff react to the ideas presented? What kind of information is needed in order to present a coherent case to the Congressman?

Cast: Congressman, two staff persons, three or four civil rights persons.

III - The Barber Shop

A Negro civil rights demonstrator is attempting to integrate a barber shop. All other participants in the situation are whites: a barber, an assistant, two clients in the chairs, one client waiting, one police officer. All the whites are segregationists, but one of the whites in the chair is particularly rabid. The action begins when the other whiteis finished and gets up. It is the Negro's turn, but the head barber calls "you're next" to the waiting white client.

Questions: What is the response of the Negro client? What kinds of actions and remarks raise and lower tensions? How does the segregationist really see the situation? What does he really feel? What are the real issues as far as he is concerned? As far as the civil rights demonstrator is concerned?

Cast: As listed above. You may add an additional onlooker (white) who sympathizes with the Negro and who intervenes at a later point in the action in order to show how this will affect the situation.

IV - MAGISTRATE'S COURT

A group of civil rights demonstrators has been arrested for "disturbing the peace" and "refusing to obey an officer" in a demonstration involving a school boycott. The action was peaceful picketing, but some of the demonstrators came in without training, and in fact did some calling out, jeering, and stepped onto school property. The officers had ordered them off the property, they had refused to get off, and had been arrested together with some of the "regulars" on the picket line. The scene is magistrate's court the next morning. The action begins when the magistrate asks, "Who is the complaining officer in this case?"

Questions: What is the relationship of the regular demonstrators to the undisciplined demonstrators? How should the defense be handled (assume that one of the "regulars" is an attorney)? What should the attitude of the group be towards the officer? Towards the magistrate? In case of conviction, what should

the group's policy be? You may want to divide the scenario in half--the course scene, and a discussion among the defendants as to policy.

Cast: Four "regular" demonstrators; two "undisciplined," newcomer demonstrators, a magistrate, a police officer, a court clerk or bailiff, several newsmen and other onlookers.

V - Sit-In

Six demonstrators, including one white boy and one white girl, sit at a lunch counter in a southern community in an effort to secure service. A white waitress does not serve them. Two white troublemakers come and harass the demonstrators. A policeman stands by but does not interfere. There are some other people at the counters. The action begins when the demonstrators take their seats.

Questions: What is the effect of refusal of service upon the demonstrators? What is the effect of heavy harassment? How do the demonstrators see the situation? What of the effects on the onlookers?

Cast: Six demonstrators, white waitress, troublemakers, police officer, two or three other customers, all white.

VI - The Cell

A white civil rights demonstrator has just been arrested in a southern civil rights demonstration. Since the jail is segregated, he is lodged in a cell with three other white men, all of whom are ardent segregationists. The segregationists are sitting on the two bottom bunks, and one has his feet on the only chair in the place. Action begins when a police officer, with appropriate remarks, pushes the demonstrator into the cell.

Questions: How do you communicate your ideas in a hostile environment, and still survive? What kinds of techniques might be developed to help in this situation?

Cast: Police officer, white demonstrator, three other white men.

VII - Committee Meeting

A meeting of a local civil rights organization's emergency executive committee is taking place to discuss what appears to have been the murder of a Negro citizen on the way to the police station in a police car. One member of the committee has been in touch with the local ACLU chapter and has an approximate idea of what happened, but the others have chiefly rumors. There is considerable community sentiment to take action. Another community civil rights group has already announced a march on city hall, and it is known that some of the marchers will be armed and that the march will be without any real discipline. One member of the committee is solidly in sympathy with this tactic already. The problem is to work out a tactic for the whole group.

Question: What should the group do about the other civil rights group, if anything? What should the group's attitude towards the potential for community violence be? What kinds of tactics can the group effectively undertake?

Cast: Five persons, integrated. One of these is informed on what actually happened. Another has already made up his mind on what tactic to follow. One person is chairman.

VIII - The Picket Line

Any group up to about 25 may participate in this. The instructor picks an issue and a situation, gives instructions for the group to walk an elongated circle, a few feet apart. It is helpful to have signs. Picket captains are assigned for each end of the line. An information officer is assigned, and a captain-in-charge is assigned. A variety of situations may be explored:

1 - harassment by segregationists, including roughing up, taking signs away, name-calling

2 - questions from passers-by

3 - volunteer unknown to the group arrives to join the line

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5 - persons from other integrationist groups not committed to nonviolence arrive with their signs

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Questions: How are decisions made on-the-spot? How are decisions communicated to the group? How are public relations maintained?

IX - The March

This is a situation involving only four persons and demonstrating the problem of decision-making on-the-spot. One of the participants is told he is in charge of a mass march on City Hall; at a mass meeting the night before it was democratically decided, for various reasons, not to have any signs of any kind in the march. The march is about to "take off" when three persons appear, in succession, with signs. They are not connected to each other. The first person is privately instructed to be very stubborn and noncooperative about putting his sign away; the second is cooperative; the third is neutral. The first two were at the meeting the night before; the third was not. Action begins when the first person approaches the march marshall, and the marshall says, "Last night we agreed on no signs, right?" (He poses the same question to each of the others.) The instructor stops the action after the marshall has somehow come to grips with the stubborn individual, then the next person appears. In the course of the discussion with the third individual, the instructor call out, "They're ready to go," referring to the march. It is important that the marshall not know in advance what the reaction of the three persons will be.

Questions: How do the marshall's feelings about the situation change as the pressure builds up? How much should the marshall try to placate the individuals, and how firm should he be? How does time affect the situation?

Cast: Marshall, three persons with signs.

File: Training

MARCH 1964

WORKSHOPS IN NONVIOLENCE -- WHY?

Written by Martin Oppenheimer
of Philadelphia CORE

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Martin Oppenheimer of Philadelphia CORE

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 March, 1964
Att: Norman Hill, Program Director

July 1964

AFTER WATTS--WHERE IS THE NEGRO REVOLUTION HEADED?

By C. Vann Woodward
Sterling Professor of History at Yale, is noted for his historical studies of the South. Two of his books are "The Strange Career of Jim Crow" and "Origins of the New South."

In judging the progress of a revolution, much depends on whether the bottle is seen as half full or half empty; whether one concentrates on what has been done or what remains to be done. From the Negro's point of view, a good deal depends on his class and region. It matters whether one belongs to the small urban middle class pictured in Ebony or the poverty-locked mass in Mississippi or Harlem or Watts; whether one is Southern and senses tangible advances from a low starting point, or non-Southern and disillusioned with gaind yet to be achieved down South.

The mass of recent Federal legislation on civil rights has been directed primarily at conditions in the South at racial discrimination in public schools, public accommodations and voting rights. Insofar as Federal laws are capable of coping with these knotty problems, Congress has just about fulfilled its role.

The result is one of the most impressive achievements in Congressional history. Within the past year, under Administration pressure, Congress has put more teeth in the law on the books than it has in the whole period since 1875. It was as if the first Reconstruction had been endowed with the 14th and 15th Amendments, the Reconstruction Acts, the Freedmen's Bureau, the Civil Rights Acts and the Ku Klux Klan Act by one session of Congress. The Civil Rights Act of July, 1964, was the great breakthrough, and the New Voting Rights Act rounds out the remarkable year.

It remains to be seen how effective the new laws will be. Compliance with public-accommodation provisions has been surprisingly prompt, through less than complete, in Southern cities. In public--school desegregation and voting rights the prodpects are less clear. Much os the progress will have to come in the Deep South where the going is rough. Given the ingenuity at evasion and delay displayed in the past, school desegregation may tend to be an expansion of tokenism and voter registration to be less than sensational.

Granting the limited character of these gains, optimists point out that in absolute terms the last two decades witnessed the most rapid advance of Negro Americans since emancipation. Much of this progress had nothing directly to do with the Negro revolution. It was the product of

an expanding economy and the mass migration of Negroes from the rural South to the cities, North and South. The newcomers shared to some extent at least the relatively higher urban standards of living, health abd education.

The gains are registered in numbers of high-school and college graduates , in expanding opportunities for those few qualified for professional and clerical jobs, in purchasing power, savings accounts and insurance policies. In politics, the new status is evident in the appointment of scores of Negroes to high-level Federal posts, as well as their capture of more than 280 elective offices, including six congressmen and 90-odd state legislators-10 of them in Georgia.

In view of all these gains, why the mounting Negro impatience, bitterness and anger; the slogan that yesterday was too late and the atmosphere that leads to such insane explosions of violence as that on the West Coast? One reason is that many of these gains are limited to a very small class. Another is that they are measured in absolute, not relative terms. The important difference is that the Negro is now measuring his advance, not by what he once was, but by what the qhite man now is; not by outgrown scarcity, but by old expectations, but by new possibilities.

for all his gains, the Negro has not begun to close tha gap between the races in many areas and he sees it widening in several. He thereforefeels himself to be losing out, not only in comparison with other Americans but with the emerging African nations. Northern and Western Negroes even feel at times they are losing out in comparison with Southern Negroes, who get the bulk of attention, enjoy greater relative gains and take key positions or leadership.

The discontented point to several ugly paradoxes in civil rights. The inch-by-inch retreat of de jure segregation in Southern schools has been ironically paralleled elsewhere (and in parts of the South as well) by a rapid advance of de facto segregation of schools. The exploding population of urban Negro ghettos and the white stand on t he neighborhood-school principle largely account for this. Racial "imbalance" and resegregation" are growing, not declining, features of urban schools. The result is that Negroes now have less contact with whites in schools thanthey did a generation ago, and that more Negroes are attending dc facto segregated schools now that when the Supreme Court handed down the schools decision in 1954.

Another paradox of progress is that the Negro's rise in legal and social status has been accompanied by an increase in residential segregation in American cities to peak levels. It is now painfully clear that the late President John F. Kennedy"s Executive order against housing discrimination has proved ineffective. In fact Federal public--housing and urban-renewal programs have often enhanced the trend to segregation. State laws and private action have not made substantial progress in this field. Segregated housing is deeply rooted in our society, is still spreading and seems

destined to remain with us for the foreseeable future. The relation of this type of segregation to problems of the school, the slum and economic opportunity endows housing with a wide significance.

Even more difficult to reconcile with optimistic assessments of the Negro revolution is the Negro's current economic plight and prospects. According to Herbert Hill of the N.A.A.C.P., "the great mass of Negroes, especially in the urban centers, are locked in a permanent condition of poverty." Since 1951 the gap between the median incomes of white and Negro workers has been widening. Automation was wiping out some 40,000 unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in a week in 1964, and since Negro workers are disproportionately employed in such jobs they are bearing the brunt of technological displacement.

The unemployment gap between races has been growing. The Labor Department reported that Negroes constituted 20.6 per cent of the unemployed last year, though they accounted for only 10 per cent of the population. They are effectively excluded from key industries by traditional racial discrimination within organized labor. Prof. Thomas F. Pettigrew of Harvard estimates that at the rate of employment gains from 1950 to 1960, Negroes would not arrive at a proportional representation among clerical workers until the year 1992, among skilled workers until 2005, among professionals until 2017 and among business managers and proprietors until 2730 A.D.

Few Negro spokesmen any longer accept the idea that removal of artificial barriers of racial privilege and discrimination would result in the integregation of the Negro in American life. They impatiently reject the suggestion that with the guarantee of civil rights their experience will repeat that of various European groups who made their way up the social ladder from lowly immigrant beginnings in previous generations. They point out with some asperity that the analogy is lacking in realism.

There is a growing conviction that civil rights alone are not enough, that the movement has outgrown this demand and that the phase "civil rights" is itself a misleading description of the movement. As important as they are, and as far from full realization, civil rights and desegregation--so many feel--are not the way to full equality. Even in complete possession of his civil rights, the Negro would still face automation, urban decay, family deterioration, entrapment in slums and de facto segregation in schools. These are social and economic failures that transcend racial injustice and minority grievances. They call for more drastic remedies, and there are doubts among the more radical leaders that such remedies can be found within existing political and economic institutions.

No two revolutions are alike and none is wholly rational. This one has some remarkable pecularities. No movement is a revolution in the classical sense that derives overt support from the established government, that strives to realize rather than overthrow the social order.

The movement has had its apostles of violence and its v[illegible]lence and

upheavels, but so far this revolution has been mainly nonviolent, predominantly conservative and not wholly Negro.

Nevertheless, it does share some attributes of the classical type of revolution. One of these is that it feeds on hope, not despair. Another is that the closer it approaches its goals, the more intolerant it is of frustration--and the more inclines it is to raise its sights and expand its goals. It responds redically to a widening gap between rising asperations and actual achievements.

Whatever their differences, Negro leaders are generally agreed that their revolution has reached a turning point, but they are not agreed on which way it should turn. The spectrum of opinion runs from radical right to ultra left. In the center, occupied by the N.A.A.C.P. and the National Urban League, there is public adherence to traditional goals of wider opportunity throughlegal action and pressure for full rights through existing institutions. Martin Luther King, striving to maintain a viable leadership of factions from center to the to the left, keeps his organization in working contact with the liberal establishment, but talks of boycott weapons and more and better Selmas. On the radical right, the black nationalists continue to reject all integration with "white devils" and seek to build black middle-class enclaves.

Innovation comes mainly from the left. So far, little effective impact is being made by organized Communists with allegiance to Moscow, Peking or Havana. The old Communist have declined to a new low in numbers, and the "Trots," the Maoists, and the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs are even weaker. Some of them have infiltrated the Negro movement, but their influence is minimal. Ex-Communists as "progressive," any criticism of them as "Red-baiting" and reject the idea of alliances with liberals, organized labor or any other established forces of society. Their significance is also marginal.

More important are the radicals variously known as the Young, Student or Spontaneous Left. They are unorganized and difficult to define. They pride themselves on their militancy, their refusal to compromise. Their heart is in Mississippi or Harlem, not in Moscow or Peking, but often profess a profound alienation from American society, refuse to ally themselves with labor, liberals and church groups, reject established civil-rights leaders and despair of established institutions generally. They proclaim no specific programs but hint at a coming upheav of black and white oppressed people against the whole society and speak of guerrilla tactics.

As it impinges on the Negro movement, the Spontaneous Left is perhaps best exemplified by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. S.N.C.C. has its authentic martyrs and the prestige of bloody frontline encounters with sheriffs, state troopers and Klansmen. Its workers are predominantly Negro and they address themselves the the "grass roots", to the "little people" They not only shun liberals and labor and the establishment in all its guises, but the Negro middle class as well. They scorn "image" talk and decline to discuss Communist infiltration.

They have worked mainly in the Black Belt at the community level among impoverished, deprived and disenfranchised classes. There is more than a touch of agrarian romanticism in their rebellion against "the system" "The movement's strength," writes Tom Hayden, one of their leaders, "comes from the humanism of rural people who are immune to the ravages of competitive society." They fight automation as well as bureaucracy.

S.N.C.C. appeals less to rational self-interest based on material needs, such as liberals and Marxists stress, than to psychological deprivations, needs for expression recognition and fellowship. Its workers insist they have not come to impose leadership or dictate programs. The have none themselves. They seek only to allow the voiceless to find their voice, the apathetic to discover their power, to express their own needs in their own way and demand participation in all decisions affecting themselves. (Students for Democratic Society, also of the Spontaneous Left, apply much the same approach in the urban slums of the North.)

By means of freedom schools, cooperatives and people's conventions, S. N. C. C. encourages the deprived to assert themselves. Their hope is that the spirit engendered will spread and eventually work a revolutionary regeneration in American society.

Most of the great movements of social protest in American History, movements such as the antislavery crusade or the agrarian revolt, have not been able to find full expression in the major political parties. Their left wings have eventually found partial or temporary outlets in third parties such as the Liberty party or the Populist party. One candidate for this role in the Negro movement is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party, a movement that owes much of its inspiration to S.N.C.C.

The M.F.D.P. burst dramatically upon the national Democratic Convention in Atlantic City. Its delegates, including Aaron Henry and Fannie Low Hamer, demanded equal treatment with the white delegation on the ground that Negroes were deprived of the ballot.they refused the offer of two "honorary" seats as tokenism. Their posture then was that they were more loyal to Johnson and and his program that were the "regularly" elected white-supremacy delegation. Today, the propects of the Freedom Democrats keeping the peace with Johnson and gaining full acceptance in the regular party are not good. One alternative is a third-party revolt.

The Freedom Democrats are spreading out into other states and hoping their movement will catch on like wildfire. The odds are against them, They appeal to the historical precedent of Populism and strive for an interracial alliance of the oppressed like that of the nineties. But their appeal to the poor whites has generally met with rebuff in the south.

Negro leaders of more maturity and experience, including some on the left, are critical of the Young Left for its lack of realism and what they call its "no-win" philosophy. They point out that a minority consisting of a mere 10 per cent of

17 August 1964

Mr. Thomas J. Cummins
2033 9th Avenue
Oakland 6, California

Dear Mr. Cummins:

I do want to answer your letter of April 20th and I also regret that I have not been able to do so until now. In addition to your own letter about the Western Regional Conference, we had a number of other comments which have already been handled.

Many persons in CORE believe in nonviolence not only as a tactic and strategy, but also as a way of life. We believe that persons in the nonviolent movement should continually seek to deepen their commitment to nonviolence. We are also aware that nonviolence is a method which can be used--and used effectively--by persons who do not have any reallcommitment other than the commitment that they will act nonviolently on a project. This is as it should be. Everwhere that nonviolence has been practiced on a large scale, it has followed the pattern of dedication on the part of the followers simply to act in a nonviolent manner.

This imposes great burdens on leadership. We must be able to adequately train and discipline our members. We are deeply aware that we have not in many circumstances been able to meet this challenge. We must continue to make increased efforts in training--not only in tactics--but in philosophy and understanding as well.

There is often a fine line between nonviolence and activities which may or may not be truly nonviolent. One must look behind the actual act in many cases in order to be able to judge its relevance. CORE, for example, opposed the stall-in because it was not directed, could not be adequately interpreted to the public, and ended up more as a form of harassment

than as a viable nonviolent protest. This does not mean that under other circumstances we might not approve of the very same tactic. Nonviolence cannot simply be expedient--it must also be effective and in keeping with the ends which we seek. My personal belief is that under any circumstances passive resistance to arrest can be justified and, in fact, may be an important aspect of the nonviolent protest.

I hope that this has clarified to you my own views and the views of the organization. I have also pointed out some of our problems. We need more support, financial and otherwise, in order to do the training necessary.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

2033- 9th Ave.
Oakland 6, Calif.
April 20, 1964

APR 22 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am a member of Oakland CORE, and a charter member of CORE chapters in Long Beach, California, and at Los Angeles State College, California. I have just attended the Western Regional Conference in San Francisco, and I am greatly troubled. I know you have a multitude of duties demanding your time and attention, but since you are the founder of CORE, I believe only you can supply the information I seek. I hope my letter will be answered by you, and not by the usual form-letter-via-secretary bureaucracy.

First, let me say that I am in no sense opposed to direct action and demonstrations; I have participated in a number of varied actions, and would not be in CORE if I doubted the validity of direct action. This being understood, I will move on to my misgivings.

At the Regional Conference, I heard experessions from those in decision-making positions which seemed to me to depart decisively from the principle of non-violence. I heard these officials express willingness to tie-up traffic(via "stall-ins" and similar maneuvers), regardless of the consequences in terms of human tragedy which might result. I heard at least one person in authority say that, since Negroes have suffered and died for 300 years, it is the white man's turn to suffer and die a little(how do you "die a little?"). There was a disturbing atmosphere of lightly-suppressed violence, particularly among the leadership(not all the leadership, but quite a sizable faction). Several people expressed the feeling that CORE must abandon its dedication to non-violence "or lose-out in the civil-rights movement," presumeably to those groups favoring violent retaliation. When questioned as to the advisability of "semi-violent" tactics, these same persons said "It works, it gets results." One plan was advanced, to tie-up traffic on the 5 bridges linking San Francisco to the rest of California, and effectively "holding the city for ransom," to enforce demands. When exception was taken to the possible effects on human life(ambulances being stopped, fire trucks and other emergency vehicles being unable to cross)the statement about it being time to make white people suffer and die was made.

It is my understanding of CORE that it is non-violent; not semi-violent, or "non-violent when it's expedient," but non-violent. I had felt that the examples of Ghandi, George Fox and Jesus were relevant to CORE's work. Now, it seems the example of Lenin and Mussolini is gaining credence. I know what the CORE literature says; I've read it intensively. I also know that the line between non-violent and violent is becoming harder

to discern in the Bay Area. For example, is it non-violent to link arms when being arrested, an action which requires the police to use force in separating demonstrators? Or to chain oneself to an object, compelling violent exertions by the police in order to effect removal? Is vandalism violent or non-violent(such as damaging merchandise in a store, spoiling forms in a bank, etc)?

During the conference, I heard numerous people say, "I believe in non-violence, but only as a tactic?" Does not this imply that when non-violence does not bring results quickly enough, another "tactic" may replace it? If pragmatism is to be the only criterion, will there not be a tendency to adopt the quick-remedy methods of violence, as opposed to the slower appeals to moral force of non-violence?

I have no right to tell a Negro to be non-violent, when that Negro must face more abuse in a week than I will face in a lifetime of demonstrations, but for myself I cannot see a gain to be made in adopting the very tactics of violence which have created the present rotten situation between the races. I can see nothing ahead but disaster, if we retreat from non-violence into violence.

As a CORE member who believes most deeply in the ideals of CORE, I am concerned for the future of the movement, if the violent ones, the expedient ones, gain full control. I am concerned lest ambitious men fan the flames of bitterness into a blaze which could consume all that you and the other leaders have risked so much and suffered so much to build. I am told that "CORE has changed," that we are engaged in a "war," in which the "enemy" is to be "crushed, mauled, humiliated, brought to their knees, to sign an agreement in their own blood." I am told that dissent from this "Armageddon" view constitutes "Uncle Tomism" or "white chauvinism." I see the snow-ball, narcotic effect of violence on people whose hostilities have been breeding a lifetime-long;I see the escalation of violence, unchecked by principle, rising to a rationalization for shattering all society and then "rebuilding the pieces." Having shattered it, what assurance is there that the "new order" will improve upon the old, or that this "new order" will offer even as much individual freedom and liberty as does the present? Violence and hate are poor building blocks up which to construct a "brave, new world," except in the Huxleyan sense of the term.

What, then, is your(and CORE's)position regarding non-violence and violence, as tactic and philosophy? What of hate-filled, hostile attitudes toward agents of discrimination, creation of an inflamed atmosphere during actions, and similar "spiritually violent" acts?

Respectfully,

Thomas J. Cummins

Thomas J. Cummins

file

8 December, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

DEC 11 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Your reply of December 3rd. by way of Mr. Carey has been received. Sorry you were not able to answer directly.

You have made great strides recently, perhaps more than you actually anticipated, and you will probably continue to do so.

My main thoughts lie in the hope that you will flavor your "direct nonviolent methods" with patience. The changes that you hope and work for cannot be expected to occur overnight with the enactment of the civil rights legislation. Remember, it took almost 2000 years for the Jewish people as a race to become exonerated for the responsibility in the death of Christ.

I feel, as an observer, that you and your followers must practise patience, remembering all the while, if you can rationalize, that subtle discrimination is much worse than the type you experiance.

Sincerely,

Samuel Kushner

Samuel Kushner
3804 Greenwich Road
Louisville, Ky. 40218

file Helen
non-violence training

FEB 11 1965

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE
OF
THE CROZER FOUNDATION
UPLAND AVENUE
CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA 19013

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February, 1965

Dear friend,

This is to announce a unique educational opportunity — The Upland Institute. Opening in the Fall of 1965, this Institute will offer a curriculum of study, experimentation, and field work covering areas of social change, characteristic of our contemporary urban society.

The idea of the Upland Institute has evolved over the past several years out of an expressed need by many social, educational, and action agencies for leadership trained in understanding the processes of social change and prepared to deal in a constructive way with the difficult problems inherent in social conflict.

In this time of growing reliance upon violence as a means to achieve social change, the Upland Institute's program of study and field work will explore and experiment with democratic non-violent alternatives as a means of directing conflict into constructive, orderly channels. The Institute will offer a one year professional course. The curriculum will present a unified approach in the history, theory, and techniques essential for effective work on the crucial social issues of contemporary society. Supervised field work assignments with social action agencies will be an integral part of the Institute's program.

We are now inviting qualified students with a high degree of social sensitivity and concern who are anxious to prepare themselves for significant and constructive service in such areas as community and peace education, the freedom struggle, full employment, housing, and urban development.

The enclosed fact sheet offers additional information about The Upland Institute. In the near future, you will receive a descriptive brochure and a general bulletin containing further information. In the meantime, we would be happy indeed if you would call this opportunity to the attention of interested students.

Sincerely yours,

Ronald V. Wells

Ronald V. Wells
President

ANNOUNCING (please post)

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE

A NEW PROGRAM — TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP in social change and conflict management

OFFERING A CORE CURRICULUM of study, experimentation, and field work in several closely related major conflict areas of American society
- — community education and action for peace and international order
- — the freedom struggle
- — full employment and urban development
- — problems in inter-group relations

FIELD WORK OPPORTUNITIES for full-time students with operating agencies to gain practical experience and to help the student find the work for which he is best suited

A PROFESSIONAL COURSE on the graduate level open to students with a B.A. degree or equivalent training and experience who are interested in preparing for professional and volunteer program positions with agencies of social change

A FULL-YEAR PROGRAM commencing September 20, 1965

A FACULTY academically qualified and experienced in areas of social change will be selected. Dr. John W. Thomas, Director of Studies, and Dr. George Willoughby, Director of Field Training, are already at work. The faculty will be augmented by visiting lecturers, many of whom are experienced in working for social change in the freedom movement, the peace effort, labor, urban development, as well as other related fields of social change.

A COUNCIL OF FELLOWS will manage the Institute and formulate its policies and educational program. Members of the Council of Fellows will be selected from individuals who have a record of interest and achievement in some field of social change.

SITUATED in Chester, Pennsylvania, in the center of a highly industrialized metropolitan area extending from Philadelphia to Wilmington, Delaware. The Institute is one of a growing complex of educational institutions developing on the campus of the Crozer-Chester Medical Center and the Crozer Theological Seminary. The Crozer institutions share the Bucknell Library and through it the millions of books available through the Union Catalogue of Philadelphia.

COSTS — Tuition, fees, board and room in dormitory—maximum of $900.

The Upland Institute Upland Avenue Chester, Pennsylvania

The Upland Institute is based on the concept that change is inherent in human institutions, customs, attitudes, and insights, and that the growing complexity of contemporary society necessitates rapid and often drastic change if pressing human problems are to be met in a constructive manner. At a time of increasing reliance upon violence to achieve social change, we believe that man's intellectual abilities, his accumulated knowledge and resources which spring from religious and secular insights and social heritage can be utilized to train men and women to understand the processes of social change through non-violent democratic methods.

The objective of the Institute is to train men and women for leadership in social change. Its faculty and fellows are highly experienced in social action. Its students will in many cases come on assignment from operating social action agencies; and others will seek employment or work as volunteers with these organizations. The Institute itself does not engage in direct action.

Clip and send to above address

Please send me further information about the program of the Institute.

☐ Check here if interested in attending the Institute.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

SOUTHERN MONTHL

ITEM	S.C.	N.C.	MISS.
Field Secretaries (12)	1,733.33 (3)	533.33 (1)	373.72 (1)
Benefits (10%)	173.33	53.33	37.37
Task Force Workers (26)	324.99 (3)	216.66 (2)	758.31 (7)
F.S. Expense			
F.S. Repayments (6,910.59 owed)			
Rent			90.00
Utilities			60.00
Phones for Projects			150.00
Auto Leases (based on 126.04 each)	504.08 (4)		126.04 (1)
Office Supplies	30.00		100.00
Contigencies (Fines, minor accidents, bail, extra travel,			
Car Maintenance (16 cars at 75.00)	300.00 (4)		300.00 (4)
TOTAL			

ONTHLY BUDGET (OCTOBER, 1965)

ISS.	Fla.	La.	S.O.	TOTAL
73.72 (1)	408.33 (1)	8[illegible]1.66 (2)	2,22[illegible].99 (4)	6,115.36 --
37.37	[illegible]0.83	84.16	222.50	611.52
58.31 (7)	216.66 (2)	1.083.30 (10)	216.66 (2)	2,816.58
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90.00	15.00	45.00	100.00	250.00
60.00	15.00		30.00	105.00
60.00	90.00	150.00	200.00	590.00
26.04 (1)	152.08 (2)	630.10 (5)		1,402.52
00.00	30.00	100.00	150.00	410.00
vel, emergencies, etc.)			599.02.	599.02
00.00 (4)	150.00 (2)	450.00 (6)		1,200.00
				15,000.00

file- Non-Violence ? - do we have file? if not make one

REPRINTED FROM Gandhi : His Relevance for Our Times JAN 18 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:-

If this could be of use to any of your training centers for nonviolent action, please put it to work. But don't bother to reply. Your work is truly great.

Thank you.

yours sincerely,
Richard B. Gregg
Rte 2, Box 239A
McMinnville, Oregon

1/12/65

SATYAGRAHA AS A MIRROR

RICHARD B. GREGG

On the faculty of the University of Wisconsin there is a psychiatrist, Dr Carl R. Rogers, who has spent many years giving counsel to people of many ages who are in personal emotional or mental trouble and cannot seem to solve their problems unaided. As a result of his professional experience he has come to believe that nobody will change his habits of thinking, feeling or acting until something happens to change his own picture or concept of himself. Other things being equal, for example, a student will give up preparing to become a journalist and begin to study for the law only when he can see himself as a practising lawyer. A thief will abandon that way of life only if he can see himself as happier in a different way of life and know how he can attain it. For most people, the matter of self-regard is of primary importance.

Dr Rogers's method of treating the person who comes to him for help is not the usual way of most mental physicians, of asking questions and then giving advice. No, he just suggests that the patient start to tell his story and explain his difficulties. Dr Rogers merely listens; makes no comments ; tries never to judge by word, manner or tone of voice; offers no advice. Once in a while at a favourable moment he repeats something that the patient has just said, perhaps

rephrasing it slightly. Suppose the patient is a boy with a very domineering father. The boy has told Dr Rogers a number of instances of that sort of domestic tyranny he has experienced, and finally, overcome with emotion, the boy bursts out, "I hate my father !" Dr Rogers might then calmly say, "You say that you have finally come to feel that you hate your father". The boy feels relieved by his confession, but wants to justify his feeling and so talks on. Later there will be another moment in which Dr Rogers repeats a statement by the boy, perhaps this time a happier statement. In this manner Dr Rogers holds up a mirror, as it were, to the patient, and lets him see himself in substantially his own words, but uttered as an echo by another person. The mirror is the repetition of the patient's own statement, reflected back to the patient without condemnation or approval or comment of any kind.

Dr Rogers finds that by this means the patient comes to see himself objectively, and the patient then can make his own comparisons more coolly, and gradually sees how to find his way out of his difficulties. Dr Rogers helps the patient thus to help himself. The first step has to be a change in the patient's own picture of himself. This is an interesting example of the power of the self-regarding attitude.

I would like to suggest that among the many aspects of Satyagraha, it may be regarded as a sort of mirror held up to the opponent by the Satyagrahi, and that this would be true of both individual and mass Satyagraha. Furthermore, such a mirror seems to help the violent opponent to "cure" himself for some of the same reasons that Dr Rogers's method helps his patients to cure themselves. Let me elaborate on this idea.

Biologically speaking, man is a single species. There are, of course, different races, nations, tribes, castes and religions, and different individuals, but the similarities between people are deeper, wider, stronger, more enduring and more important than the differences. There is first a biological unity among people of all kinds. A man of any race, nation, caste or religion may marry a woman of any other race, nation, caste

or religion and have children by her. Secondly, the young of human beings have a longer period of helplessness and learning than the young of any other species. This is what gives man his enormous power of learning. Thirdly, there is a physiological unity. We all have the same bony structure, nerves, blood circulation, lungs, heart and digestive organs. If any person of any race, nation, caste or religion has an infected appendix, the surgeon operates him exactly the same way regardless of any superficial differences. If an Eskimo gets typhoid fever, the physician treats him just the same way as he treats a Negro who has typhoid fever. Fourthly, all people have some sort of language by means of which they cooperate and find meaning in life. All people have some sort of culture, some sort of tools, some sort of dress; they use some sorts of symbols, believe in some sort of myths, and base their lives on some sorts of assumptions. All people, regardless of superficial differences, have emotions—love, anger, fear, respect, hope, etc. These emotions may be called forth by different sights, events, or actions, but all people without exception, have emotions. All people have minds and use them. Their concepts, the contents of their minds, may differ, but thinking is common to all.

None of these considerations contradicts any belief as to the essential spiritual nature of mankind. But some people can see these aforesaid elements of human unity more easily, clearly and surely than they envisage spiritual unity.

Growing out of these several elements of human unity, we find that man is a gregarious and social creature, and we are at all times aware of and sensitive to the attitudes of other people around us. This awareness is not lessened in times of conflict, but is then rather enhanced. We are always eager for the approval, if possible, of our fellowmen. Writ large, this is the reason for the enormous amount of time, thought and work devoted to propaganda by all governments. Another recognition of this fact is the development within the past twenty years of "public relations" men employed by large corporations and even by universities, to make public explanations and propaganda for their employers. In private life

we adhere to the customs of clothing, speech, food and festivals of our own social group, race or nation in order to retain their approval or at least tolerance.

When a conflict between two groups develops and gains enough intensity so that one group employs violence and, let us suppose, the other group offers Satyagraha, the voluntary suffering of the Satyagrahis is an appeal for recognition by all parties including the spectators, of the unity of all men. The suffering of the Satyagrahis is, as it were, a mirror held up to the violent party, in which the violent ones come gradually to see themselves as violating that human unity and its implications. They see themselves as others see them. The attitude of the onlookers is another mirror. The Satyagrahis do not shout at the violent party, "Now look at yourselves! We'll *make* you realize how unjust you are, what villains you are!" No, there is no such coercion by the Satyagrahis.

It is the very human nature of the violent attackers themselves that compels their attention to what happens before them. They cannot escape for long the recognition of their common human unity. They will try to escape from or hide themselves from that unity, but as long as they are alive they cannot dodge the fact that they are of the same species as the Satyagrahis. Nor can they blink the implications of that fact. The voluntary suffering of the Satyagrahis is so unusual, so dramatic, so surprising, so wonder-provoking. Wonder naturally evokes curiosity and attention. And the desire of the violent party for approval of the onlookers draws attention to the contrast between the behaviour of the violent opponents and the behaviour of the Satyagrahis. When the violent opponents see this contrast in the mirror which the situation has provided, they begin to get a different opinion of themselves. Then they sense the disapproval of the onlookers, and wanting social approval, they begin to search for ways to save their faces and yet change their actions so as to win that approval. This process is now taking place in the Southern States of the United States. Righting an ancient wrong takes time. It took Gandhiji twenty-eight years to win freedom for India, and it will take time for the correction of the racial

injustices in the United States. But all social processes move faster now than fifteen years ago, so we live in high hope that the nonviolent resistance of the American Negroes will soon win their struggle.

All this suggests that Satyagraha operates at a level deeper than nationality, politics, military power, book education or socio-economic ideology. It is a process working in the very elemental human nature of mankind as a biological species. As Satyagraha becomes more widely employed, it will, partly by virtue of this capacity as a mirror, help in the development of man's self-consciousness and confidence in his own capacities.

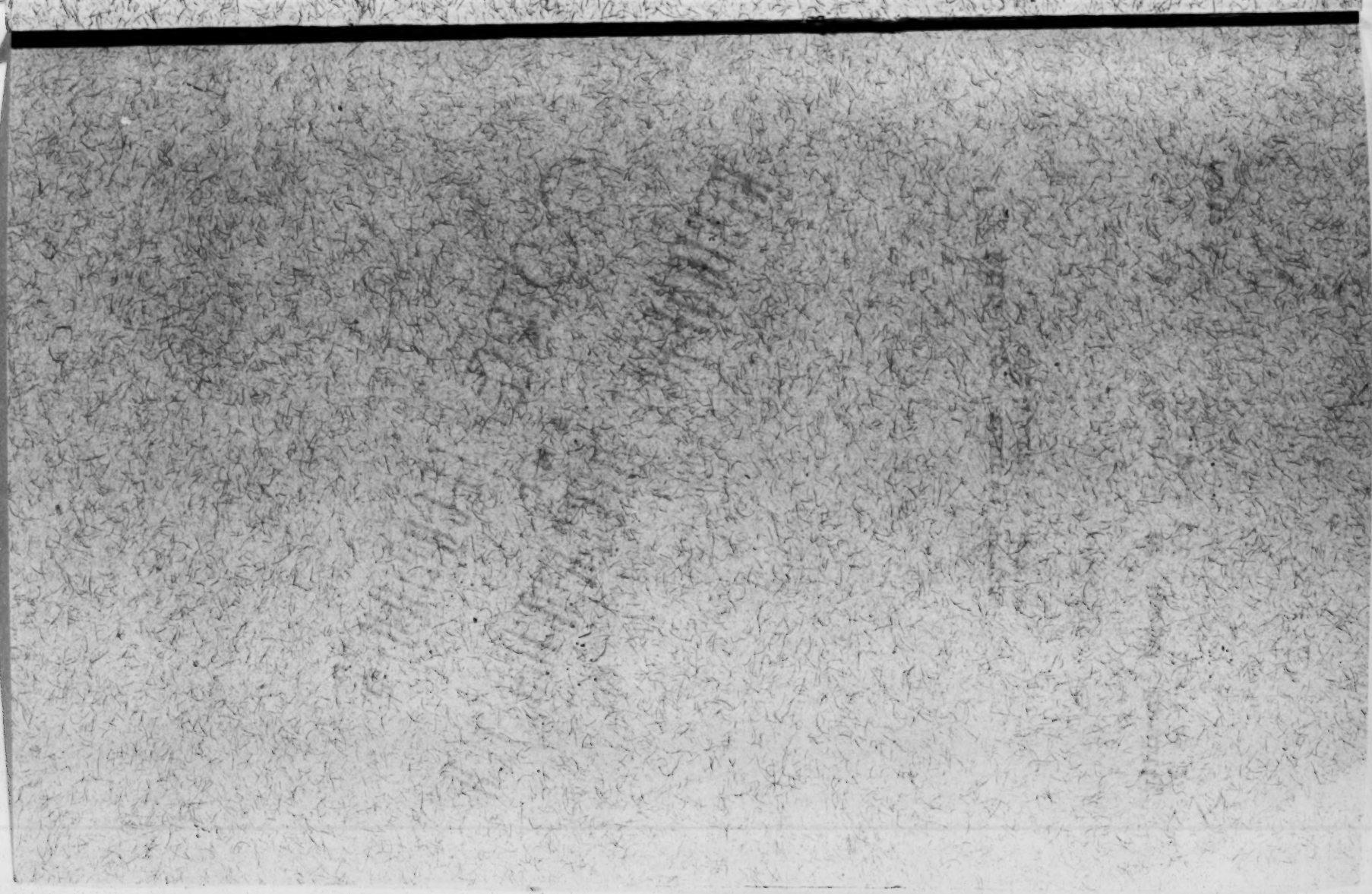
File: Do not misplace — non-violence training

CORE TECHNIQUES AND RESTAURANT DISCRIMINATION

Edited by Catharine Raymond
and George M. Houser

Congress Of Racial Equality
513 West 166 New York 32

5 cents



INTRODUCTION

This pamphlet is a summary of the experience of the groups connected with the Congress Of Racial Equality in combatting discrimination in restaurants in many Northern cities. The outline of the contents for this pamphlet was worked out at a conference organized by CORE in June of 1948. The material is organized along action lines. CORE is an interracial group committed to the use of nonviolent action in opposing discrimination. Nonviolent techniques, in CORE's experience, include the following: investigation, negotiation, public pressure and education, demonstration, and noncooperation. These steps are to be followed more or less in sequence, and many cases can be closed after only two or three of them have been used. The legal method is sometimes resorted to in extremity. Of supreme importance is the spirit of non-retaliation and goodwill which CORE members maintain throughout a project.

INVESTIGATION

If racial discrimination is for some reason suspected at a given restaurant, it may be possible to find out the policy by direct conversation with the manager. However, if there is a civil rights law in the state he may refuse to commit himself, and in this case the more sure way to find out is by a test case, that is, by having Negroes go into the restaurant to ask for service. They may go in in an all-Negro group or in an interracial group. The group should consist of two or three people only, so that the manager of the restaurant won't feel invaded, and probably the best test is to have the group all-Negro, because a restaurant will sometimes serve an interracial group where it will not serve Negroes alone.

When a test case is decided upon, it must be carefully organized and conducted. One or more white observers will be seated in the restaurant before the test group enters. Other observers may follow rather immediately so as to hear anything that is said. The observers will not appear to know the members of the test group, nor will they say anything more than an ordinary patron of the restaurant would. If there seems to be trouble, they may ask the manager or a convenient employee about it; they may speak to a near neighbor if it seems natural; but their main function is to hear and see what goes on. All members of the group must be well dressed for the type of restaurant being tested, and remain quiet, well-bred, and calm throughout the test. One person in the test group will act as spokesman in any discussion with management.

Discrimination may take one or more of a number of different forms. Below are listed the main kinds of discrimination and the suggested immediate follow-up in each kind of case.

A. In a restaurant where a hostess customarily seats patrons she may ignore an interracial or a Negro group. In this case, if a white observer has preceded the test group, he may suggest that the group sit down with him. Or a white group of the same size as the test group may enter the restaurant behind it and if the hostess attempts to seat the second group first, this group may point out that these other people have priority.

If the group meets with outright refusal of a table from the hostess, an appeal must be made to management. The previously appointed spokesman should do the talking, stating the facts of the case in a manner that is calm and serious, and always courteous. If there is a civil rights law that applies he will quote it. If he can give an example of a comparable restaurant that does not discriminate, he will do so.

Of course it often happens that it is impossible to have an interview with management on the spot, but whether or not this is the case a letter should be written to him following the test, which will give the facts (date of discrimination, time kept waiting or type of discrimination, reasons discrimination is suspected) and ask for an appointment to discuss the matter further. This letter should be sent by registered mail so that it can be proved later if necessary that it was received. It is probably superfluous to mention that carbons should be made and kept of all correspondence dealing with the case.

B. Often a test group is allowed to sit down, but is then ignored. Water is not given or orders are not taken. If service is given it may be excessively slow or poor. From the waitress, then, one appeals to the hostess, from the hostess to the manager, and from the manager to the owner if not the same.

C. If spoiled food (garbage, eggshells, too much salt, etc.) is served the group should courteously call the attention of the manager to this. If the possibility of a lawsuit is contemplated the food may be carefully wrapped and taken to the Board of Health for a test.

D. If the manager does not have a clearcut policy of exclusion, but does not require his waitresses to serve all persons, and if a waitress refuses to serve the test group, the possibility of union action should be investigated, if the restaurant is organized.

E. It occasionally happens in a civil rights state that a group is served but that the management will refuse to accept payment for the food. In this case the question should be raised as to why the money is refused. The money should in any case be left.

F. At the other extreme, an overcharge may be made. In this case a request may be made for the menu. If the manager refuses to be reasonable a receipt should be made and his signature obtained on it. The whole incident can then be reported to the Chamber of Commerce or the Better Business Bureau.

G. It may be that it is very clear that the policy of discrimination is straight from the manager, and the waitress is friendly. In this kind of case even more than the usual kind, an effort should be made to leave a generous tip whether or not any service was given, because a table has been occupied for some time, the usual turnover has not taken place, and the waitress has not received her customary tips. In any event, of course, a liberal tip is likely to make for friendly relations with the service, and this should be borne in mind.

H. If food that the customer had intended to eat inside is brought wrapped, ready to be taken out, it should be calmly unwrapped and eaten on the spot. It goes without saying that the wrapping should be handled neatly and not thrown on the floor.

It is important to remember that often discrimination is reported where it does not in fact exist. In some restaurants everyone has to wait a long time for service, or the service to all customers is notably bad. Or discrimination may be other than racial. A good restaurant in Cleveland was once reported to be discriminating against Negroes; investigation proved that although two Negro workingmen had been turned away it was because of their dress, and Negroes dressed properly for that type of restaurant were well received. A similar case in New York proved to have involved two young boys; ordinary adults had no trouble there. In a case in Los Angeles the test group itself behaved so unwisely that the management became convinced that a hold-up was being planned. When this confusion was cleared up no discrimination appeared.

NEGOTIATION

If through discussion with management or the experience of a test group discrimination is found to exist, the next step is negotiation. This may follow the test immediately or it may take place later. It is almost always possible to meet with the manager for an interview. An appointment may be made over the telephone or by letter. If a letter is written a week should be allowed for reply.

Two or three people should go together to see the manager in order to complement one another's points and to check on one another's impressions for the report that is to be written later, but one member of the group should bear the main responsibility for the discussion, acting as spokesman.

Below are listed the most important kinds of arguments that restaurant managers raise in this sort of discussion, and some suggested answers.

A. "I am not prejudiced, but my patrons wouldn't stand for my serving Negroes. I would lose all my business."

1. In most cities, particularly in the North, it is easy to point to good restaurants where there is a successful interracial policy in operation. Give the names of these places to the manager. In Chicago the CORE group tested every restaurant in the Loop in order to be able to answer this argument.

2. Usually the public accepts the policy of a place they patronize. If management takes a forthright position of non-discrimination, the patrons will not protest. This is true not only so far as restaurants are concerned, but also in employment, and even non-segregated transportation in the South.

3. Almost never do white patrons walk out of a restaurant even when an interracial groupsits there for hours.

4. Talk of the civil rights report, recent movies and novels, etc., have made people more conscious of discrimination, and more willing to subdue their prejudices.

B. "We reserve the right to seat our patrons."

Management will often use this means of urging Negroes to leave. They will point to a sign on the wall. This sign has no legal standing. It is only a statement of the intention of the management not to allow any disorderly conduct. It should not apply as far as minorities are concerned.

C. "Why pick on us? If other places change their policy, we will too."

1. If it can be mentioned that some other places do not discriminate this should be done.

2. It should be made very clear that it is not a matter of picking on anyone. This particular place may have been chosen because it was brought specifically to the attention of the group; because it was strategically located for a change to occur, as it bordered the Negro community, was near a factory with many Negro workers, had good food at low cost, etc.; because it was one of only a few places where an interracial policy was not in operation; or just because it was necessary to start somewhere, and other places wouldbe approached as soonas possible.

3. It might be a good idea to suggest a joint meeting with managers of all restaurants so that all can change policy simultaneously. If there is a

Restaurant Association this could be done easily if the owners were willing.

D. "Eating together is social equality, and will lead to interracial marriage. We can't have this."

It is amazing that this argument is brought up, but one runs into it everywhere. It is senseless to get into a discussion of this question if it can be avoided. If it does come up the group should point out that eating has very little to do with marriage, but that marriage is an individual matter and not something for an outsider or group of outsiders to decide. Usually strangers do not strike up acquaintance in a restaurant.

E. "Negroes prefer to go to their own places. Why force them to come here?"

1. No one is being forced to go anywhere. On the other hand, in a democratic community a public place should be open to anyone who is orderly and chooses to go there.

2. People in general like to go where the atmosphere is congenial and where people of their own tastes congregate, regardless of race.

F. "If we let the bars down, Negroes would overrun the place and my establishment would lose its quality. It would become a dive, because Negroes are dirty and boisterous."

1. Experience has shown that when a restaurant changes its policy, Negroes do not become a significantly large proportion of the patrons unless the restaurant is located in or near a Negro community. But a public place should serve its community.

2. People, regardless of color, patronize a place of the quality they want, and where they can afford the price. The quality of a place is not changed by the race of its clientele. No one is asking management to serve persons who do not fit in with the character of the place, but color is not a factor in breeding or worth.

3. Some Negroes and some white people are dirty and boisterous. Most are not. Boisterous and dirty people would not be accepted as patrons, regardless of race.

G. "Things have to change slowly. Education is the answer. You're working too fast."

1. It is true that racial prejudice and discrimination will not disappear overnight. On the other hand, if we don't work for a change now, it will never occur. If we wait for twenty years for things to "change naturally," the change will be put off for another twenty years. We have to start some time if we want to see the change made.

2. A particular restaurant in a community can get rid of discrimination before the total community is unsegregated. The Methodist Building change of 1947 in Washington proved this.

Essentially this argument is escapist. Managers who use it are trying to put off facing the issue. They should not be permitted to do this.

H. "If Negroes come in here, we'll have a race riot."

1. It takes more than a few Negroes sitting in a restaurant to start a race riot. It is extremely unlikely that any patron, no matter how prejudiced, would strike a Negro waiting for service. A nice

restaurant is not conducive to a fight.

2. If this is a genuine fear it may be suggested that the interracial group will be glad to serve as guinea pigs. They are committed to nonviolence and would not retaliate even if struck. Consequently any violence would be short-lived and one-sided.

I. "I have no prejudice. Some of my best friends are Negroes."

1. Ask whether these Negro friends are served in this restaurant. Ask what the manager would do if he were out with a Negro friend and service were refused the friend.

2. If the manager begins to talk of his "wonderful Negro maid" or the like, remind him that that is not the issue.

J. "Don't you feel uncomfortable here?"

1. The question should be raised as to why anyone should feel uncomfortable.

2. If the interview is taking place at a table in the restaurant it can be pointed out that the situation itself makes one conspicuous, but that ordinarily other patrons would not notice any one patron.

3. The more Negroes stay away from ordinary public places, the more danger there is that they will feel conspicuous when they do go.

It sometimes happens that in negotiation a suggestion for compromise is made by management: he will serve a token number of Negroes, he will open up one section of the counter to Negroes, etc. If such a suggestion is made the interracial group may accept it, but with the understanding that this is to be a test to discover

patronage reaction, for instance, and that after a reasonable length of time (which should not be prolonged) they will expect further steps in the right direction to be taken. The group itself may suggest such a test as a first step, particularly in a situation that may be tense -- which would be more likely to exist in other areas than in restaurants -- but no doubt should remain in the manager's mind that such a compromise will not be permanently satisfactory to the group.

PUBLIC PRESSURE AND EDUCATION

Contact should be made with groups (local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or the Urban League, church youth groups, unions, Ministerial Association, etc.) that might be willing to cooperate in ending discrimination. The case can be presented to likely groups through speakers or perhaps a conference. A plan should be formulated to present to these groups for their action.

If newspaper support can be won for the campaign it will be a big help. Any liberal columnist should be notified of what is going on. When anything important happens a press release should be sent out. A press photographer may be used in a dramatic phase of the project. (All of the foregoing of course applies both to the Negro and to the white press.)

Individuals who might support the action should be enlisted, especially those who could help actively by participation. Others who are sympathetic might sign a statement condemning the discriminatory policy; the more prominent these are the better, naturally.

The mere fact that an interracial group is seen in public, enjoying normal pleasures and cultural advantages together, is in itself an important educational

technique. It hardly needs to be emphasized here that the behavior of such a group must be above reproach. The support of the public is of utmost importance, and unjust as it may seem, the public is often influenced by irrelevant factors.

DEMONSTRATION

Leaflets can be passed out in front of the restaurant explaining the discriminatory policy so that the regular patrons will be informed. An appeal can be made to them to register a protest with the management.

A picketing of the restaurant may be carried on in connection with the leafleteering. This will attract more attention to the project.

If the case is of sufficient public interest, a mass meeting may be called with outstanding civic leaders to protest against the discrimination and to demand immediate and direct action for dealing with the problem.

Photographs are of great interest if they can be obtained. However, this is not always easy. Management in general is allergic to photographers, and the sight of a camera is sometimes enough to start violence. Therefore if pictures are taken they should be snapped as unobtrusively as possible or perhaps by a newspaper photographer, and in case of a tense situation careful consideration should be given to the question whether pictures are worth the risk of antagonizing management.

NON-COOPERATION

The general purpose of non-cooperation is to withdraw support from the place which discriminates until the policy is changed.

In some few cases it is possible to organize an effective boycott combined with a picket line. However, a situation favorable for this kind of action would be extremely rare. It is difficult to get largely disinterested persons to refuse to frequent a place they like. It might be possible, for instance, if the restaurant was near a factory where workers were union members and used the restaurant regularly, provided the union would instruct its members not to use this particular restaurant.

Sometimes a strike of employees of the restaurant can be organized, especially if they are in a sympathetic union. Negro workers and kitchen help will often be very willing to refuse to work until jimcrow is abolished. This happened spontaneously in a restaurant in Chicago in 1943 when an interracial group was being refused service.

The sit-down, which should not be used unless other methods have been tried and have failed, has been used with great effectiveness in many cities. In this technique a fairly large group plans to monopolize considerable seating space in a restaurant so that regular patrons will either leave or remain standing until the interracial group is served. It is important that the public be informed as to what is taking place. A number of methods for accomplishing this have been developed, notably by the St. Louis CORE group. Brief slogans may be painted on the back of the shirts or blouses worn by the participants. Signs may be worn with a section for removable insertions, saying "We have been waiting for service for ___ minutes". Boxes labelled "Take one" may carry leaflets on the backs of participants. Participants may space themselves with empty seats between them; as these seats fill they place leaflets on the counters so that the regular customers can easily read them, and then begin a conversation based on the leaflet. Someone already in the restaurant and with no apparent connection with the group — the more

prominent in the community the better — may stand up at his table and make a statement. In case of a waiting line at a cafeteria, leaflets may be passed out at the door to entering customers. At a project to break down discrimination at a theater in Washington slips to be torn off were prepared at the bottom of leaflets so that customers could register their protests to the management against discrimination. This method could be used with equal effectiveness in work on restaurants.

The sit-down may go on indefinitely, but usually a time limit of two to three hours is set beforehand, after which the group leaves quietly. In this case it should be understood by all that they will return at a later date unless the policy is changed in the meantime.

If, as sometimes happens, the restaurant is closed by the management during a sit-down, the group would leave but would remain in the near neighborhood in case it should re-open.

The group should decide before going into the restaurant what to do in case of threatened arrest. There are arguments both for and against allowing oneself to be arrested. In a state with a good civil rights law the chances of arrest are slight, but they are present and should be taken into account. Groups generally have found that keeping the police informed of activities and of their basic philosophy before any overt action makes for better relations in time of crisis. Some groups make a systematic practice of stopping just short of arrest; that is, they carry action to the point of being threatened with arrest and then leave — and a little later do the same thing all over again. Other groups have refused to give in and have submitted to arrest. This if properly handled gives good publicity and arouses interest in the case as few events do. But a law suit can be costly in terms of both money and time and should not be lightly entered upon. If an adverse

decision is rendered in a lower court the case must be appealed if it has legal merit, because an unfavorable decision on the books is likely to stymie both action and policy changes in all restaurants. This of course takes more time and more money. The decision therefore of whether or not to take arrest is a difficult one, and should be made only after thorough consideration of many factors.

It should be understood that in any case, techniques of non-cooperation are used only after everything else has failed and after many weeks of negotiations and other action. Some hard feeling is almost unavoidable, but this arises as much from the fact of discrimination as from the tactics used. Antagonism will not be widespread if the interracial group maintains a friendly, pleasant attitude throughout.

It goes perhaps without saying that throughout the action the door to negotiation is never closed. The group should not be hoodwinked by false promises or by suggestions to compromise, but on the other hand they should welcome any genuine overtures. Trying to understand the manager's point of view and application of the Golden Rule will be in order here.

LEGAL TECHNIQUE

Criminal or civil suits may be brought against a discriminating party in the eighteen Northern states which have civil rights laws. Some groups are well equipped for bringing such action, and in some areas great gains have been won by it. But for a direct action group some other points should be kept in mind.

1. Legal action takes the initiative away from the group and puts it into the hands of an attorney.

2. Group interest lags if the group does not have direct responsibility for a case.

3. Criminal action to put a manager in jail is not in harmony with nonviolent principles and certainly will not change his attitude for the better.

If however it is decided to take legal action, the project should be carefully set up, preferably after consultation with a lawyer. A number of witnesses must be present at the test case. (Getting signatures of witnesses on the spot is unreliable.) Several suits should be brought at once against the same place so that the manager will realize that an organized campaign is underway.

If the interracial group can get a settlement out of court they should do so only if a non-discriminatory policy is agreed to. No money should be accepted as a means of "buying off" the group.

NONVIOLENCE

The nonviolent spirit includes both non-retaliation and goodwill. This means that if attacked either verbally or physically the nonviolent person will not only refrain from counter-attack but will seek a creative and reconciling solution to the problem. While refusing to compromise his position he will also not descend to name-calling or unnecessarily antagonizing his opponent. At every step he will deal honestly, frankly, and fairly both with the public and with the management of a discriminatory place. In a spirit of humility he will recognize the forces that are playing on the manager (pressure from other restaurants and from some of his patrons and friends, real economic fear, comfort in the old way and dislike of admitting himself wrong —

feelings common to us all), and while not condoning a bad policy he will seek solutions that will make it as easy as possible to alter it. He will be anxious to help management to "save face".

The nonviolent direct action method has proved in many regions and in many types of situations to be completely effective. In some cases it is the only method available to a minority group, but in all cases it is the method which is best calculated to assure victory to all sides in a dispute.

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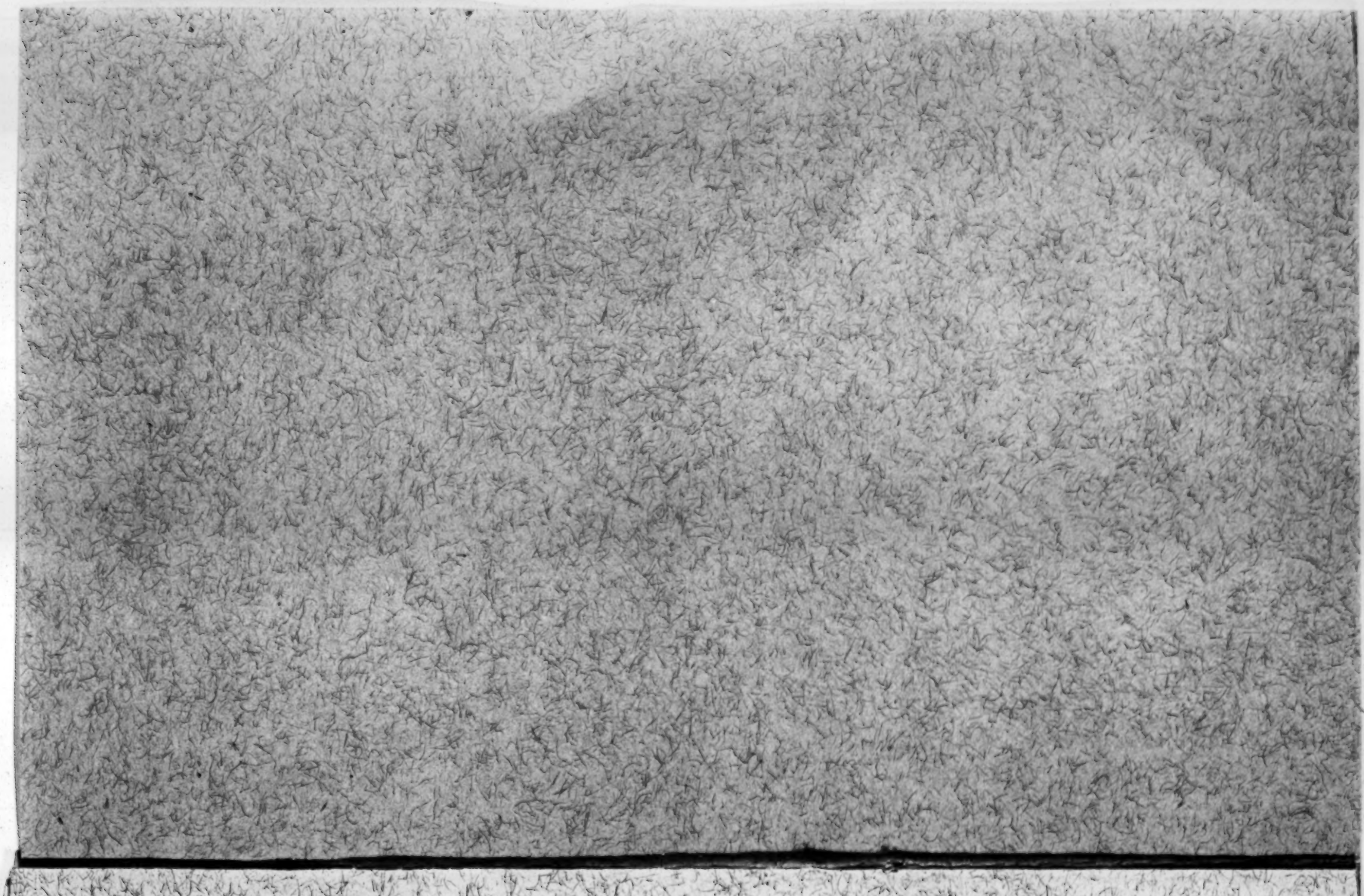

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NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
Extension Division

CIVIL RIGHTS TRAINING PROJECT

BACKGROUND

The School of Industrial and Labor Relations, through its extension division provides educational services to business, labor, and nonprofit community organizations throughout New York State. When evaluating and planning present and future programs of the School, we consider the requests and needs expressed by representatives of significant interest groups. In light of this aim, at our staff meeting on January 19 we discussed the possibilities of conducting a survey of the educational needs of civil rights organisations under the direction of the New York City office.

Since civil rights is one of the prevailing issues of today and since organizations in this field are similar in administrative structure and objectives to other groups that we have serviced in the past (labor and industry), we thought that perhaps our experience might serve as a guideline or model for the civil rights groups. We have already provided training programs to some of these groups; namely, Urban League and CORE.

It was decided that the "survey" should start with national officials of the leading civil rights groups.

OBJECTIVES

The purposes of the study were to:

1. Determine the organizational problems which indicated a need for training.

   a. To what extent can these problems be resolved or alleviated through education?

   b. What were the educational needs of fulltime staff? Office staff? Organizers and field staff? Specialists?

   c. What are the priorities in educational needs:
      as among groups?
      as among subjects?

2. Define the role which Cornell might play in bringing together civil rights, labor, and industrial organizations.

DATA FROM CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS

The national officers of ten leading civil rights organizations were interviewed in their respective national headquarters.

The needs expressed most often by the leaders interviewed may briefly be summarized as follows:

1. Training in the theory of community organizations- how to build and maintain interest in a local project with a community.

2. Training in individual and group "Problem Solving."

3. Counseling and training in goal setting and goal readjustment.

4. Understanding behavioral changes within the community and within organizations.

5. Tutorial programs in:

   a. American history
   b. Negro history
   c. Basic political processes

6. Information about employment trends in the United States as related to the employment status of Negroes.

Most of the leaders interviewed talked about the educational needs of the "civil rights movement" on a broad, general basis. A few were concerned about major projects in the South. Among those requesting specific services were: NAACP, CORE, Urban League, National Council of Churches, and the Protestant Council of New York City.

PROGRAM REQUESTS

NAACP

Dr. John Morsell stated that there were thirty branches of NAACP chapters throughout New York State. Each chapter has a Labor and Industry Committee. He expressed the desire of having some type of training program for the chairman of each Committee. Such a program would be related to the School experiences with labor and industry. This, he thought, would improve their effectiveness in labor relations within the community. The second request from Dr. Morsell was that the Cornell ILR School sponsor a two-day workshop at their national convention in Denver. The convention is on June 28-July 3.

CORE

James Farmer reported that there is an immediate need for training within the organization. There are twenty-seven CORE chapters within the State.

He indicated that there is a need for training of:

1. Chapter leaders
2. Volunteers
3. Field staff
4. Office staff

He was most concerned with the training of field staff. The need in this group was expressed as "community organization."

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND
PROTESTANT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

The representatives of these organizations were able to spell out, from their work with various civil rights groups, areas that indicated a need for special training. They were very much impressed with the services that the School has provided for labor and industry. In light of this background, they could see the School providing similar programs for the civil rights movement. They also could see the School's possibly playing a desirable and useful role in establishing a working relationship between civil rights, labor, and industrial organizations. The idea of holding a national leadership conference was also discussed.

The Protestant Council of New York City asked for the cooperation of the School in organizing a conference of local leaders.

URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER NEW YORK

A. J. Allen, director of the League in New York City asked for assistance from the School in developing training program for his administrative staff.

INTERVIEWS WITH CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS

Name	Organization
Arthur Wright	Catholic Inter-racial Council
A. Phillip Randolph President	Negro American Labor Council
Carol Ragoff Office Manager	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Anna Hedgemann	National Council of Churches
David Smith, Organization and Management Dept.	National Council of Churches (NCC)

Name	Organization
James Farmer, National Director, and staff	Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
Benjamin Payton	Protestant Council of New York City
Benjamin Payton	Inter-Faith
Otis Finley, Executive Director of Education Dept.	Urban League of Greater New York
John Morsell, Assistant National Director	NAACP
The Rev. Milton Galamison, Leader of School Boycott	

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

I. CONTINUATION OF THE SURVEY

A series of interviews similar to the one described in this report has been initiated with local leaders of civil rights, minority and other community groups. Contacts are being established with other individuals and groups that are trying (or have) set up training programs for civil rights groups.

II. PROGRAMS SCHEDULED

A. A one-day workshop has been set up with the cooperation of the Protestant Council of New York City for April 24, 1965, Developing Educational Programs for Local Community Organizations. One-hundred local leaders from the Metropolitan area will attend.

B. A one-day conference for management, civil rights, and union representatives is scheduled for May 27, 1965, Equal Employment Opportunity: Law and Reality. Professor Eric Polisar is conference chairman.

III. PROGRAMS IN PLANNING

A. A two-day workshop is being planned for the NAACP National Convention in Denver on The Problems of Employment in the United States, on June 28-July 2, 1965.

B. Meetings have been arranged with the National Chairman of the Labor and Industry Committee of the NAACP and the director of the Education Department to try to set up training programs for the 30 statewide chairmen of the labor and industry committee.

C. The Urban League of Greater New York has requested a workshop on human relations for its executive staff.

D. The request from CORE for a staff-training institute on Community Organization is being considered.

E. In light of the fact that mose of the national leaders indicating the desire of having a leadership conference, we are considering the possibility of calling such a conference later in 1965 with the aims of:

1. Discussing the initial projects undertaken by the School.

2. Serving as a stimulus to help clarify and define their own educational needs.

3. Exploring the possibilities of establishing coordinated training programs.

non-violence training

leadership

WORKSHOPS IN NONVIOLENCE -- WHY?

Written by Martin Oppenheimer
of Philadelphia CORE

In these few pages we have pulled together a few practical examples of situations which can be used in workshops on nonviolence, in training sessions prior to action, etc. Emphasis is on civil rights. We are indebted to Charles Walker, Middle Atlantic Regional College Secretary of American Friends Service Committee, for some of these ideas. We cannot emphasize sufficiently the importance of workshops and training sessions, especially just before actions are undertaken -- no matter how imperfect they may be. Some of the reasons for this are:

1. If you're going into action in a potentially dangerous situation, you need to have confidence in yourself and in your buddies. In the workshop you have a chance to get to know yourself and your buddies and to see how you and they behave in a kind of mock action. You also get an idea of what to expect, and what you are afraid of -- and why. All this helps your morale, and the morale of the group. It makes for a better group, one which is more likely to succeed out in the streets.

2. Everybody has tensions. Especially those of us who are victims of segregation. When we get out in the streets we need to keep our personal tensions under control. But in a crisis, tensions build up. People blow up. In a long campaign people begin to "crack"; in other words, they suffer from "battle fatigue." In workshop situations everybody has a chance to blow off steam, to get rid of a lot of those tensions. Then when we get into the streets we are cooled off. Let loose in the workshop so you can be cool in the streets, make cool decisions, carry out a cool action.

Brief Note to Instructors

-- These particular scenarios are meant only to provide guidelines for a practical demonstration of role-playing. The instructor should modify the situations in accordance with local conditions and specific issues.

-- In any single session it will be impossible to run through all the scenarios from beginning to end; the instructor should choose those situations which will fit the local requirements, and should also feel free to <u>interrupt</u> and <u>stop</u> the action at any particular point. There is no logical or conclusive "end" to any of these scenarios. <u>But</u>:

-- The instructor should try not to interrupt the scenario until he is ready to stop it altogether because otherwise the flow of ideas, feelings, and action will be blocked.

-- It is extremely important to raise the right questions to the group at the end of each scenario. Let the group express itself on how individuals feel.

The questions given as suggestions here are only rough outlines -- you will have to phrase the questions more specifically and if possible let the group raise them.

-- You will note that only about half of these scenarios actually need to involve physical action. Make sure that there is a good "mix" between talk and action in any single workshop.

-- It does take experience to run a good workshop. Don't be discouraged if the first few don't work too well. Try to keep the situations as "close to home" as possible, and above all try to have workshops for participants in actions before the action takes place, even if they are not perfect.

* * *

SAMPLE SCENARIOS FOR ROLE-PLAYING

I - The Eviction

A group of civil rights demonstrators is blocking access to a tenement to prevent a constable from evicting a tenant who has been participating in a rent strike. The constable and several citizens urge the group to obey the law and move out of the way; then the constable and a police officer threaten the group with arrest if it does not move. (You may want to continue this scenario to the point of actual arrest and being taken to the wagon.)

Questions: How do the demonstrators respond to the other citizens and to the constable? How do they respond to the officer?

Cast: Three or four demonstrators, two or three citizens, a constable, one or more police officers.

II. The Congressman

Congressman Blank, a Negro representing a predominantly Negro district -- with a do-nothing record so far, and a reputation for being a "tool" of the local political machine -- is having a change of heart. He has even gone so far as to invite a group of civil rights people to his office in order to get their ideas. He has a group of his own advisers present. The Congressman, the civil rights people, and the Congressman's advisers, discuss the issue in a hard-headed, unsentimental way.

Questions: What will the relationship of the civil rights people be to the Congressman and his staff? How will the Congressman and his staff react to the ideas presented? What kind of information is needed in order to present a coherent case to the Congressman?

Cast: Congressman, two staff persons, three or four civil rights persons.

III - The Barber Shop

A Negro civil rights demonstrator is attempting to integrate a barber shop. All other participants in the situation are whites: a barber, an assist nt, two clients in the chairs, one client waiting, one police officer. All the whites are segregationists, but one of the whites in the chair is particularly rabid. The action begins when the other white is finished and gets up. It is the Negro's turn, but the head barber calls, "you're next" to the waiting white client.

Questions: What is the response of the Negro client? What kinds of actions and remarks raise and lower tensions? How does the segregationist really see the situation? What does he really feel? What are the real issues as far as he is concerned? As far as the civil rights demonstrator is concerned?

Cast: As listed above. You may add an additional onlooker (white) who sympathizes with the Negro and who intervenes at a later point in the action in order to show how this will affect the situation.

IV - Magistrate's Court

A group of civil rights demonstrators has been arrested for "disturbing the peace" and "refusing to obey an officer" in a demonstration involving a school boycott. The action was peaceful picketing, but some of the demonstrators came in without training, and in fact did some calling out, jeering, and stepped onto school property. The officers had ordered them off the property, they had refused to get off, and had been arrested together with some of the "regulars" on the picket line. The scene is magistrate's court the next morning. The action begins when the magistrate asks, "Who is the complaining officer in this case?"

Questions: What is the relationship of the regular demonstrators to the undisciplined demonstrators? How should the defense be handled (assume that one of the "regulars" is an attorney)? What should the attitude of the group be towards the officer? Towards the magistrate? In case of conviction, what should the group's policy be? You may want to divide the scenario in half -- the course scene, and a discussion among the defendants as to policy.

Cast: Four "regular" demonstrators; two "undisciplined," newcomer demonstrators, a magistrate, a police officer, a court clerk or bailiff, several newsmen and other onlookers.

V - Sit-In

Six demonstrators, including one white boy and one white girl, sit at a lunch counter in a southern community in an effort to secure service. A white waitress does not serve them. Two white troublemakers come and harass the demonstrators. A policeman stands by but does not interfere. There are some other people at the counters. The action begins when the demonstrators take their seats.

Questions: What is the effect of refusal of service upon the demonstrators? What is the effect of heavy harassment? How do the demonstrators see the situation? What of the effects on the onlookers?

Cast: Six demonstrators, white waitress, troublemakers, police officer, two or three other customers, all white.

VI - The Cell

A white civil rights demonstrator has just been arrested in a southern civil rights demonstration. Since the jail is segregated, he is lodged in a cell with three other white men, all of whom are ardent segregationists. The segregationists are sitting on the two bottom bunks, and one has his feet on the only chair in the place. Action begins when a police officer, with appropriate remarks, pushes the demonstrator into the cell.

Questions: How do you communicate your ideas in a hostile environment, and still survive? What kinds of techniques might be developed to help in this situation?

Cast: Police officer, white demonstrator, three other white men.

VII - Committee Meeting

A meeting of local civil rights organization's emergency executive committee is taking place to discuss what appears to have been the murder of a Negro citizen on the way to the police station in a police car. One member of the committee has been in touch with the local ACLU chapter and has an approximate idea of what happened, but the others have chiefly rumors. There is considerable community sentiment to take action. Another community civil rights group has already announced a march on city hall, and it is known that some of the marchers will be armed and that the march will be without any real discipline. One member of the committee is solidly in sympathy with this tactic already. The problem is to work out a tactic for the whole group.

Questions: What should the group do about the other civil rights group, if anything? What should the group's attitude towards the potential for community violence be? What kinds of tactics can the group effectively undertake?

Cast: Five persons integrated. One of these is informed on what actually happened. Another has already made up his mind on what tactic to follow. One person is chairman.

VIII - The Picket Line

Any group up to about 25 may participate in this. The instructor picks an issue and a situation, gives instructions for the group to walk an elongated circle, a few feet apart. It is helpful to have signs. Picket captains are assigned for each end of the line. An information officer is assigned, and a captain-in-charge is assigned. A variety of situations may be explored:

1 - harassment by segregationists, including roughing up, taking signs away, name-calling

2 - questions from passers-by

3 - volunteer unknown to the group arrives to join the line

4 - drunk passes the group and makes remarks

5 - persons from other integrationist groups not committed to nonviolence arrive with their signs

6 - harassment from police officers, including ordering the group across the street in violation of civil liberties

7 - newspapermen attempt to question pickets

8 - single picket becomes ill, or becomes violent. (Instructor may "plant" a person in the group.)

Questions: How are decisions made on-the-spot? How are decisions communicated to the group? How are public relations maintained?

IX - The March

This is a situation involving only four persons and demonstrating the problem of decision-making on-the-spot. One of the participants is told he is in charge of a mass march on City Hall; at a mass meeting the night before it was democratically decided, for various reasons, not to have any signs of any kind in the march. The march is about to "take off" when three persons appear, in succession, with signs. They are not connected to each other. The first person is privately instructed to be very stubborn and noncooperative about putting his sign away; the second is cooperative; the third is neutral. The first two were at the meeing the night before; the third was not. Action begins when the first person approaches the march marshall, and the marshall says, "Last night we agreed on no signs, right?" (He poses the same question to each of the others.) The instructor stops the action after the marshall has somehow come to grips with the stubborn individual, then the next person appears. In the course of the discussion with the third individual, the instructor calls out, "They're ready to go," referring to the march. It is important that the marshall not know in advance what the reaction of the three persons will be.

Questions: How do the marshall's feelings about the situation change as the pressure builds up? How much should the marshall try to placate the individuals, and how firm should he be? How does time affect the situation?

Cast: Marshall, three persons with signs.

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Martin Oppenheimer of Philadelphia CORE

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 March, 1964
Att: Norman Hill, Program Director

PHILOSOPHICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF NONVIOLENCE

WM. STUART NELSON

The gravity of armed conflict today and the absence of other solutions to the distressing problems facing our world have led James Reston of The New York Times to write: "For perhaps the first time in history reflective men have to grapple with the pacifist question: can national interests and human values really be saved by waging a war with atomic and hydrogen weapons?"

In the same spirit The Washington Post has commented editorially upon the tragic possibility of the destruction by modern weapons of the genetic, life-producing material in the human race and has declared that our thinking must rise to a plane above that of the past even as these modern weapons have developed beyond the cave man's club.

Those who are beset by interracial problems in America face a cruel dilemma as they stand on the brink of some form of revolution. History teaches the direction in which action with the club, the knife, the pistol inevitably leads. And yet we know, too, that peaceful paths which members of the American Negro minority have followed have failed to bring them a satisfactory distance toward equal justice in this democracy.

Persuasion they have tried for generations. Before and since the Emancipation they pleaded persistently only to find themselves still denied the basic rights, not only as citizens, but as human beings.

Appeal to law and to the courts has been the rule. Today, however, many a Negro child born in 1954 on the day the Supreme Court rendered its historic decision on school desegregation finds himself with the choice of attending only a segregated school.

The ballot is a precious instrument for the righting of social wrongs, but it is of questionable value to those to whom it is denied; and the

price of its use is very high when even to meet in preparation for voter registration is to invite the destruction of the church in which you have met and the firing of shots into your home.

General Douglas McArthur, who has led us in war, declares that the Korea experience "emphasizes the utter futility of modern war--its complete failure as an arbiter of international dissensions. General Eisenhower warns that "We must devote our energies and substance to fruitful activities and not to the sterile, stupid business of war and preparation for war." Armed conflict is thus repudiated where grievances are deep and much that is precious is at stake. In what direction, then, can we turn for the rectification of wrongs suffered, for example, by the American minority?

We recall that in relation to war, The Washington Post suggests that we must rise in our thinking as high above that of the past as modern weapons are above the cave man's club. Again James Reston admonishes that we must grapple with the pacifist question. I submit that this advice is no less relevant to the internal struggle against evil as to the effort to rectify international injustice. In principle, then, does war--do the instruments of violence--find moral or strategic justification either domestically or among nations as an effective arbiter for the adjustment of human differences?

Let us, therefore, examine the possibilities in the nonviolent direction from the religious, philosophical, ethical points of view.

About four thousand years ago, Hindu seers, attempting to fathom the problem of the right relationship which should obtain between man and God and man and man, proposed a theory of creation recorded in the Vedas, the oldest extant religious record. These seers taught that Purusa, a cosmic being, created the human race by a division of himself his head becoming one portion of the race, his arms another portion, his thighs another, and

his feet the fourth. If implied in this act was a certain division of labor in the human race, there was also implied man's common participation in divinity and each man's basic kinship with the other. Here we have the beginnings of a universal ethic.

Fifteen hundred or two thousand years later, Hindu thought, in the philosophic Upanishads, moved to a monistic theory of the universe, implying the interpenetration of all men and matter by divinity. This synthetic concept led to a certain intellectual and religious forbearance. Distinctions across religions, races, and cultures were minimized and even the gods of other races, nations, and religions were absorbed into the Hindu pantheon. The concepts of love and kindness were stressed. Conflict was viewed as irrational and insupportable. It is then that the word ahimsa (nonviolence) first appeared.

The time came, however, when religion developed into an inflexible cultus and the social order became dominated by the law of caste. In rebellion against this provincial ethic two great religious revolutionaries came upon the scene: Mahavira, the apostle of Jainism, and Gautama Buddha, founder of Buddhism, both ardent apostles of ahimsa. At about this time the prophet Zechariah was recording the message of the angel, saying: "This is the word of the Lord unto Zerrubbabel, saying, 'not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.'" It was during this general period also that Lao-tze, founder of Taoism in China, taught that injuries should be met by superior goodness and that one should "Recompense injury with kindness."

Five hundred years later, Jesus, another religious revolutionary, was born and gave the purest expression to the universal ethic in the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. For three centuries the followers of Jesus strove to live in his spirit, refusing to take up

the sword against their fellowmen, even at the cost of their own lives. When, however, in 325, the church and Emperor Constantine became wedded, the provincial ethic reasserted itself in the Christian community, where it has since played a powerful role. Only smaller religious communities have kept alive, in the Christian tradition, the spirit of nonviolence.

Here then in brief review is the struggle by the religious seer and prophet to find an accommodation in his world outlook for man's kinship with the Eternal and man's universal brotherhood. We err grievously, however, if we conclude that this is a search only by the seer, the priest, and the theologian.

The poet has won a great following by his beautiful statement of this truth of man's kinship to man. John Donne reminds us: "No man is an Iland entire of it selfe; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the maine: ---any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind."

The Greek author, Nikos Kazantsakis, in the novel The Greek Passion, has one of his characters say: "Every man hangs around the neck of all of us.

Walter Lippman, leading essayist in political and moral philosophy, in his book The Public Philosophy has come to grips with the basic question which we are discussing. When, says Lippman, (to paraphrase) Jean Paul Sartre, following Nietzsche, declares that God is dead, he is not simply giving up an anthropomorphic God but an a priori meaning to life. He is denying that beyond our private world there is a public world and declaring that what is good and right and true is what each of us chooses to invent. This view, says Lippman, takes us "outside the traditions of civility. We are back in the war of all men against all men. There is left no accommodation among the variety of men, nor is there in this proclamation of anarchy a will to find an accommodation." Bertrand Russell, Lippman

points out, has recognized that this way leaves us without a check on pride and puts us on the road to an intoxication of power and to the danger "of vast social disaster."

Even Voltaire, to whom we cannot impute starry-eyed gazing or sentimentalism, places in undefined, unlimited perspective an act of violence against one's fellowman. He writes: "Twenty years are required to bring a man from the state of a plant in which he exists in the womb of his mother and from the state of an animal, which is his condition in infancy, to a state in which the maturity of wisdom begins to make itself felt. Thirty centuries are necessary in which to discover even a little of his structure. An eternity would be required to know anything of his soul. But one moment suffices to kill him."

Into our modern world came Mohandas K. Gandhi, a lawyer, but the son of a tradition in which the universe is regarded as one in which God pervades all, and men are in his likeness. Confronted in South Africa by unendurable social and political injustice to his people he sought a path for their extrication.

One choice was the tradition of his persecutors. They still acted in the tradition of President Kruger of the Transvaal who in the 1880's, when confronted by protests from Indians against the vile treatment accorded them, gave the following answer: "You are the descendants of Ismael and therefore from your birth bound to slave for the descendants of Esau. As the descendants of Esau we cannot admit you to rights placing you on equality with ourselves, you must be content with what rights we grant to you."

Gandhi made another choice. Influenced profoundly by his own religious tradition, by the Sermon on the Mount, by John Ruskin, Henry David Thoreau, and Leo Tolstoy, he rejected the provincial ethic in

philosophy and religion and provided his times with a profoundly moving philosophy of universal religious and ethical citizenship. He later expressed it as follows: "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and windows stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible, but I refuse to be blown off my feet by any of them. Mine is not a religion of the prison house, it has room for the least of God's creatures but it is proof against the insolent pride of race, religion or colour."

Asked by Louis Fischer about a picture of Christ upon the wall of his room, Gandhi answered: "I am a Christian, a Hindu, a Muslim, a Jew." Upon another occasion he said his prayer for another person was "NOT 'give him the light that Thou has given me' But 'Give him all the light and truth he needs for his highest development.'"

Fifty-seven years separate us from the day Gandhi was confronted in South Africa by the repressive discriminations of the Black Act, by General Smuts, and by the spirit of President Kruger. But we hear even today the following words from the Governor of the State of Mississippi, when he is pressed by the forces of nonviolence: "The Good Lord was the original segregationist. He made us white and He intends that we stay that way."

Here, then, we see in the instance of the Governor of Mississippi on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi on the other the stark confrontation of a hard, narrowly religious, provincial ethic with a broad, liberally inspired, and universally encompassing ethic. The former, when hard pressed, has relied upon violence. The latter, with Gandhi setting the example, has carved out of the spirit of <u>ahimsa</u> a mode of action bearing the name <u>Satyagraha</u>, meaning truth force, soul force, love force. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his close followers have taken up in America where Gandhi left off in India. Both have grasped the philosophical, religious, and ethical truths of

ancient seers and prophets and from them forged a powerful instrument which they could employ against the injustices of their day. It is this instrument that we call nonviolence. Let us now examine more closely its nature.

For the purposes of this discussion nonviolence is conceived in two lights. First, it is understood as a peaceful movement of protest, a technique or strategy for the rectification of social injustices which have failed to yield to the more conventional modes of governing social relations, such as petitioning, the courts, and the ballot. Nonviolence, in this sense is guided by a definite body of moral principles. Nonviolence, in the second place, is seen as a way of life, personal and social, a spirit or, if you please, a religion.

There are those who discount, on moral or perfectionist grounds, the use of nonviolence simply as a technique, that is, as a means to gain a worthy social end without continued commitment to its moral presuppositions. I am not discomfited by such an absence of commitment. Gandhi freely states that in his early South African movement he employed nonviolence as a mere technique or strategy and that he introduced it to the Congress Party in India as a technique or, as he called it, a policy, and not as a creed. He made no demand upon his vast following in India that each should commit himself to nonviolence as a way of life, realizing, he states, that his following would probably have been reduced to one, that one being himself. He did require that each Satyagrahi, or follower of Satyagraha, abide by the rules of the movement. After all, there are two essentials to a genuine nonviolent movement: namely, that it be led by one or more who are deeply committed to basic nonviolent principles; and that all act in accordance with the rules.

If these requirement can be approximated, there is cause, not for

disappointment, but for hope. My hope lies in a belief in the influence of the moral act upon the moral life. Do what is right in the right way long enough and you are likely to become a better person.

Some months ago I spoke on the second day of a two-day institute on nonviolence. Upon my arrival my host said that I should have been present on the day before when the Reverend Mr. X spoke: "You know," said my friend, "a year or more ago when he joined the freedom movement he was the most violent leader of a nonviolent movement I had ever seen. But now he is a different man--non-pugnacious, understanding, gentle."

There are those good men, now leaders in the American nonviolent movement, who confess to the violence they were prepared to use in the early days when Martin Luther King stood before the angry crowd and advised its members to go to their homes, leave their pistols there, return love for hate and nonviolence for violence. These men who acknowledged their early violent dispositions have grown into devoted apostles of nonviolence.

Martin Luther King writes of himself in relation to his Motgomery experience: "I became more and more convinced of the power of nonviolence. Nonviolence became more than a method to which I gave intellectual assent; it became a commitment to a way of life."

In a weekend workshop on nonviolence in Atlanta, I heard two young participants discuss with some agitation an approach to a problem in the movement. One of them I overheard say: "No, we cannot do that. It would mean the use of the wrong means to achieve a good end." I dare say this young woman did not come to that conviction in college or on her mother's knee, but rather as an active participant in the freedom movement.

In the summer of 1961, President Nabrit of this university received a letter from four Howard students who were then in a Jackson, Mississippi jail. Among other fine sentiments, they wrote: "We are a part of an

expanding army, whose only weapon is love. We follow an idea which has moved the pages of history. We find our strength in the combination of love and an idea whose time has come." These men, one of whom will appear in this conference, will, I think, never be quite the same as they were before they joined the nonviolent movement.

Among the qualities inherent in genuine nonviolent protest is a belief in the persuasive, even compelling, power of self-suffering. This may be a high price for the end that is sought. But what choice remains when persuasion, the courts, the ballot have failed? There is, of course, the alternative of violence, which also is not without its price. Violence eschewed, there remains the pitting of one's spirit against the hardness of the offender, of one's whole soul against another's will.

Gandhi's frail body was useless in the struggle with an empire, except to be yielded. Depending upon his pure motive and his self-suffering he disarmed his opponent. A secretary to General Smuts, speaking to Gandhi, made the following admission: "I often wish you took to violence like English strikers, and then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy. You desire victory by self-suffering alone and never transgress your self-imposed limits of courtesy and chivalry. And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness."

Resort to this kind of soul force has two justifications. One is a belief that as the means, so must the end be. Means and ends must be seen as convertible on the belief that to take care of the means is to guarantee the ultimate achievement of the end. As the seed, so must the tree be.

The author, Kazantsakis, to whom I have already made reference, wrote a novel under the title Zorba, the Greek. Zorba is an old Greek workman and, withal, a philosopher, who engages in a conversation with the narrator in the novel on the relative merits of honesty and murder in securing a

people's liberty. After describing the murders and villainy of which he was a part in the struggle for liberty, he asks why God, instead of wiping out the murderers with a thunderbolt gave them liberty. This he just could not understand. How, he asks, if God exists, it is murder and villainy that are necessary for the liberation of the world.

The narrator explains to Zorba that a plant must grow up in manure and muck. But, then, Zorba observes that "for a plant to sprout there must be a seed." Why, he asks, must a seed of murder and baseness be placed in our entrails? "Why doesn't this seed produce flowers from kindness and honesty? Why must it have blood and filth?"

We who want genuine, enduring freedom, why must we look for it to spring from the seed of violence rather than from the seed of kindness? How can we expect the end we attain to be different from the means we employ?

Abraham Lincoln was at one time, during the Civil War, engaged in conversation with a group of Northern and Southern men. He ventured to speak in a kindly tone to one of the Southern men. A Northerner present objected sternly and asked how the President could speak in such a tone to an enemy. Mr. Lincoln answered: "How can I better destroy my enemy than by making him my friend?"

Underlying the nonviolent act toward an oppressor there is also the conviction that every man is in candidacy for redemption, however revolting may be his present actions. This derives, of course, from the assumption of divine sonship. "No man," wrote Gandhi, "is so bad as to be beyond redemption, no human being is so perfect as to warrant his destroying him whom he considers to be wholly evil." No man is wholly evil. Or, if this we cannot prove, it is proper to assume, with poets and philosophers, what the major religious traditions have taught us, namely the fatherhood of God

with its corollary of man's divine sonship. The nonviolent act is dictated by the assumption that no one in this world is so fallen as to be beyond conversion by imperishable love.

In an earlier translation of Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians is the passage: "Love never faileth." A later translation reads "Love never ends." I fancy that one can draw the same conclusion from both translations. Love's tenacity is likewise supported by Shakespeare in his Sonnet 116:

"Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
But bears it out even to the edge of doom."

"But," one asks, "what about Governor Barnett, who acts upon the theory that God was the original segregationist? The answer is that certainly it is not our business to destroy the Governor. (Of course, he should not have immunity from the law.) He is rather to be pitied. He is the victim of the same system of which Negroes have been victims these hundreds of years. It was a system, a way of life, which has so blinded its victims, such as Governor Barnett, that they profess a religion the meaning of which has never dawned upon them, refer to a God the true nature of whom has never entered their consciousness. Our business is not to destroy the Governor but to rid our country of this system and, if it is too late to save him from its evils, to save yet his children and the children of millions of others like him. It is the system of which the oppressor as well as the oppressed is a victim which genuine nonviolence seeks to destroy.

A good rule for the participants in any movement of nonviolent resistance is to bear in mind that they are not saints fighting devils. They are the aggrieved, struggling against the authors of their grievances. Most of us in other contexts are the authors of the causes of grievances suffered by others.

There is also a widespread assumption that nonviolent resistance is born of physical weakness, which weakness is contrued to be the absence of weapons with which to seek a remedy. This is not true of genuine nonviolence.

The spirit of nonviolent resistance is that its way is born not of weakness but of strength, that the basic laws of the universe are on its side, that any defeat is temporary. As Emmanuel Mounier has written: "Peace, true peace, is not a feeble state in which man gives up. Neither is it a reservoir indifferent to good will and evil alike. It is strength." Let us also remember that virtue taking up the cudgel is virtue inviting, if not creating, vice. Temporary defeat, therefore, has no greater effect than the burning of a saint in the long history of religious struggle. There is no guarantee that right will conquer at once. It might be pointed out, indeed, that violence is not guaranteed to succeed, either in the immediate situation or eventually, as world history appears to testify. To act out of a sense of physical weakness is to abandon nonviolence the moment numbers, arms, or other ingredients become available in quantities sufficient to enable one to overcome the enemy. The moral element immediately disappears and the struggle becomes one of might against might. The victory will bear the same taint of all such victories since Cain killed Abel.

I suggest, then, in relation to nonviolence as a technique, that the nonviolent act of a man which outruns in goodness his convictions is still better than a violent act. I suggest that the continued doing of good, which exceeds one's moral convictions, can lead to the making of a better man. We must still concede that this as a mere technique is an uncertain foundation upon which to build a good and happy society. The prophets have never ceased to demand of men, in addition, a conscious striving toward

perfection. "Be ye therefore also perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect." Nonviolence, then, as a way of life--the second of the conceptions of nonviolence--demands a conscious striving toward that perfection. It makes very special moral demands upon us.

Thus, when we think of nonviolence as a way of life, we think of a congeries of virtues, a spirit, the law of one's being; we immediately include the virtues of compassion; hospitality toward the views, the religions, the cultures, the moral states of others; self abnegation; moral fearlessness; and finally, love, defined as "that state in which the satisfaction and security of another person become as significant to one as one's own satisfaction and security."

If we examine the modern history of nonviolent resistance, whether as a technique or a way of life, we shall see that it has been precisely these qualities which have inspired it.

Thoreau's place is secure as one of the fathers of modern nonviolence. He was a man of compassion. It was Thoreau's unity of spirit with John Brown that led him to defend the martyr of Harpers Ferry in the face of bitter hostility and threatened violence. It was Thoreau, who while protesting against the returning of slaves to the South by Massachusetts, led a slave from his retreat at Walden Pond "toward the North Star"; calmed a fleeing slave in his Concord home where the slave was fed, his swollen feet bathed, and his freedom guarded.

It was John Ruskin's identification with the welfare of all men as portrayed in his book Unto This Last that changed Gandhi's life and thus left mankind an incalculable legacy.

Gandhi was "overwhelmed" by Tolstoy's book, The Kingdom of God is Within You, which made Gandhi a firm believer in ahimsa. As Tolstoy, at the height of his literary power and fame, freed himself of every

outward encumbrance, so Gandhi's path, in considerable part under Tolstoy's influence, "was strewn," as Louis Fischer phrases it, "with the outward possessions and pleasures which he cast off en route to the kingdom of God within him."

Finally, we have Gandhi's statement of the profound influence upon him of the Sermon on the Mount, in which are summed up the moral and spiritual qualities which inhere in nonviolence as a way of life. These are the qualities which have most inspired the two greatest modern leaders of nonviolent resistance--Mohandas K. Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

It is important to realize, moreover, that the kind of world which the spirit of nonviolence hopes to build will never appear in the absence of these virtues. This is not a perfectionist philosophy. It says simply that to the extent that men possess these qualities--compassion, hospitality toward differences from ourselves, self-abnegation, moral fearlessness, love--and other such virtues, to that extent we shall reduce the need to mount nonviolent resistance movements or to employ other expedients which induce trauma by the opposing of will against will and of might against might.

NORTHERN MONTHLY BUDGET (C

	West	North Central
Payroll (F.S.'s)	433 (1)	433 (1)
Payroll (Task Force)		
Payroll (benefits)	43	43
Expenses	50	250
Auto Leases	125 (1)	
Auto Operation	75	
TOTAL EXPENSES	726	726
Special Income [2]		
NET TOTAL		

[1] It is proposed that this money be raised

[2] Funds to come from RWDSU grant.

ET (OCTOBER, 1965)

tral	NORTHEAST Basic	Supplimental[1]	Rochester Proj.[2]	
)	816 (2)	408 (1)	408 (1)	
			208 (1)	
	82	41	41	
	250		50	
		250 (2)		
		150		
	1148	849 [1]	607 [2]	TOTALS
		849 [1]	607 [2]	$4,056
				$1,456
				$2,600

ised in Northeast Region to support extra servicing.

NATIONAL C.O.R.E. STAFF MEETINGS

NOV.----DEC. 1964

DECISIONS:

(1) All invoices will be sent to bookkeeping for daily posting. Where necessary, department head approval will be secured before payment. Exception: Legal department will receive photo copies of all legal invoices.

(2) All department heads asked to submit projections of operating expenses for the months of December and January. Administrative department asked to compile an approximation of housekeeping expenses, i.e. rent, phone, Western Union, supplies etc.

(3) George Wiley suggested consideration be given to split shifts for National office staff, making possible extended office hours.

(4). Only emergency long distance phone calls will be accepted by National CORE.

(5) Further investigation will be made on reducing telephone bills (Watts line, etc.).

(6) Bob Gore asked to prepare a memorandum for the field staff and chapters, requesting free lodging and food, whenever possible, for field secretaries servicing said chapters. This to be accompanied by a memorandum from George Wiley advising of CORE's critical financial situation. Staff feels that cooperation in this regard could reduce field expenses by some $2600.00 monthly.

(7) Approval for field staff air travel during McCain's absence from the office, by Bob Gore. Administrative air travel during Wiley and Farmer's absence by Marvin Rich.

(8) Jim McCain was asked to write West Coast NAC members requesting their views on the urgency of a replacement for Chet Duncan, and to advise them that there could be no additions to the field staff at this time.

(9) George Wiley asks priority treatment for past due California indebtedness.

(10) Two of the Chicago centers will be closed. The Westside Center will be maintained on an $800.00 per month operating expense basis, to be decreased by $50.00 per month until it is self sustaining.

(11) Marvin Rich placed in charge of financial decisions beginning January 6 until Wiley takes office.

(over)

(12) Rachlin to follow through on non profit mailing permit and sales tax permit, and report to Rich.

(13) George Wiley agreed with staff that his speaking engagements should be limited and confined to the New York City area as nearly as possible.

(14) George Wiley requested a bi-weekly financial report from bookkeeping to enable him to keep on top of incurred indebtednesses and the over all financial picture.

(15) All bills paid by S.E.D.F. are to be billed directly to that office.

(16) Monies for Southern Projects and salary checks for Southern staff will clear through Richard Haley, Director of the Southern ~~Regional~~ office. His responsibilities also include financing of 4th Congressional District Centers and Local offices, and approving all bills originating in the Southern Region.

(17) The possibility of S.E.D.F. underwriting the South Carolina operation is to be discussed with Haley at the Southern Staff Conference.

(18) Wiley announced that weekly staff meetings will be instituted at the National office.

Southern Staff Conference: New Orleans, January 23, 24, 25 (Confirm with Haley)

NAC: New York City. February 5-7

Lawyers Conference: New York City. February 19, 20, 21.

1.) lack of communications
2.) Farmer's Nyack statement
Retrenchments - Mississippi
- Chicago
3.) Unanswered letters - holiday cards
4.) C.R. ⇔ fund raising ← full time
5.) Challenge - Program
6.) Training Institute - top priority
7.) staff trng
8.) African trip

Pc fmc.

MEMORANDUM

5/11/65

TO: All office personnel
FROM: Ed Day, Business Manager
RE: Requisitions for funds

Starting today, new procedures for the requsitioning for funds will go into effect. These new procedures are as follows:

1) fill out requsition

2) take to either Clora Coleman or Ed Day for signing. The other members of the professional staff who are authorized to sign, may continue to do so, but it is preferable that Clora or Ed be one of the signators, and if possible both.

3) Deposit signed requsition in REQUISITION SLOT in the reception room door to bookkeeping (across from switchboard)

4) Carlos Orsini, internal auditor will be responsible for innitialing the requisition for check writing, and will designate when the check is to be written. Checks will normally be written only twice a day, once in the late morning, and once in the late afternoon. They will be written on the new bookkeeping machine, the operation of which will not be interrupted from other tasks during the day to write checks. Emergency checks will be written only in "true emergencies", at the descression of Carlos, and will of course have to be written by hand, and then later entered on the bookkeeping machine. DO NOT PLAN ON HAVING YOUR BAD PLANNING CONSIDERED AN "EMERGENCY", AS IT PROBABLY WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED AS SUCH, AND YOU MAY BE LEFT HOLDING THE BAG WITH WHOMEVER YOU ARE DEALING.

5) When your check has been written, it will be delivered to your mail box, and you will be notified by phone by the bookkeeping department. DO NOT ATTEMPT TO PICK UP YOUR CHECK IN THE BOOKKEEPING DEPARTMENT.

Office Procedures

MEMORANDUM

June 14, 1965

TO: National CORE Staff
FROM: George Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: Mailings to Chapter Chairmen and Contact List

All mailings to chapter chairmen and contact list are to be cleared with Ed. Day. If he is not available, check with me. Only Ed or I may authorize the running of these two lists. NEITHER OF THESE LISTS IS TO BE LENT TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS. In general, if it is in CORE's interest to have another organizations mailing sent to our chapters, we will run the list and mail it ourselves.

The contact list contains three to five key leaders from each chapter and should be used when complete coverage is wanted. It requires 850 copies to cover this list. Items sent to the contact list are automatically sent to the NAC and Field Secretaries and it of course includes the chapter chairmen.

The chapter chairmen list also includes the NAC and Field Secretaries. 200 copies will cover this list adequately.

Office procedures

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Office Personnel DATE: June 16, 1965

FROM: Ed Day SUBJECT: Afterhours Telephone Connections

There has been some substantial confusion regarding how the night lines (and weekend lines) function in the office. I shall attempt to clarify the situation.

We are presently closing the switchboard at 5:30 P.M. After that time, night lines will be in effect. There are two major functions of the night lines:

1. The electronic secretary: This electronic beauty answers all calls coming in on the CO7-6270 line and politely tells people not to bug us until tomorrow, unless it is an emergency. It then tells them what numbers to call in the event of an emergency. First, it gives the number CO7-6271. This number rings in the national office. Which extension it rings is flexible, depending on who is still in the office after the switchboard closes. Normally, if George Wiley is in the office, the "emergency line" is extension 22. If Wiley is not, the emergency line will be plugged into the extension of whatever person in the office is most logical to handle these calls. If no one answers the office emergency line, the caller has been instructed to call a second number--the home number of the professional staff person "on duty" that night (or weekend). If you yourself should be out of the office and have an emergency situation, that second number is the number to call after you have checked and found no one in the national office. If you are out of the office after hours and wish to call the office to talk to whoever is in charge, dial CO7-6271 rather than CO7-6270.

The electronic secretary is also equipped to record messages of the calling party. These messages are to be played back the first thing in the morning when the switchboard is opened. If for some reason, you wish to give somebody in the office some information they will need in the morning prior to your arrival, dictate the message into the electronic secretary after the tone stops at the end of the prerecorded message. You may want to leave a message when, for example, you plan to handle an appointment outside the office in the morning and won't be in until a particular time and you wish someone in your department to be aware of this, or you want to leave a phone number where you can be reached before your arrival at the office, or you will be late to the office and you want someone else to handle a prearranged appointment, or you want someone to handle a situation before you arrive such as writing a letter which you dictate to the electronic secretary. (The electronic secretary can record up to one hour. Your voice keeps the recorder on. It only stops when there has been a ten second silence--a soft tone comes on at the end of five seconds of silence, which means start talking again or the machine is going to turn off; a loud tone at the end of ten seconds of silence means that the machine is turning off.)

2. Direct night lines: Some members of the professional staff have direct night lines, i.e., if you dial a number between CO7-6272 and

CO7-6279, your call will go directly into one of the offices. If you are outside the office after the switchboard is closed and wish to speak to a particular person rather than just speaking to whoever is handling the emergency line calls, you should dial one of the following appropriate numbers:

CO7-6272	Allen Gartner (extension 46 -- after June 25, extension 31)
CO7-6273	Bookkeeping (extension 59)
CO7-6274	Val Coleman (extension 34)
CO7-6275	Izel Rogos (extension 38)
CO7-6276	Carl Rachlin, Legal Department
CO7-6277	Ed Day (extension 15)
CO7-6278	George Wiley (extension 23)
CO7-6279	James Farmer, Nancy Mutarelli (extension 20)

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ALL OFFICE PERSONNEL

FROM: ED DAY, BUSINESS MANAGER

RE: TELEPHONES: CONFERENCING A "DIAL 9" CALL TO OTHER EXTENSIONS IN THE OFFICE

"RESEARCH" OVER THE WEEKEND HAS REVEALED THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO CONFERENCE OR "SEMI-TRANSFER" A CALL WHICH YOU HAVE PLACED BY USING THE "DIAL 9" MECHANISM.

THAT IS, IF YOU HAVE PLACED A CALL BY DIALING 9, GETTING AN OUTSIDE LINE, AND THENEITHER DIALING DIRECTLY OR PLACING A CALL THROUGH THE OPERATOR, IT IS "NOW" POSSIBLE TO HAVE THAT CALL CONNECTED, THROUGH THE SWITCHBOARD, TO ANOTHER EXTENSION. YOU MAY DO THIS BY: PICKING UP ANOTHER PHONE AND DIALING THE SWITCHBOARD; TELL THE SWITCHBOARD OPERATOR THAT YOU HAVE A DIAL 9 CALL YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE CONFERENCED WITH ANOTHER EXTENSION; SHE WILL CONNECT YOU:; YOU MUST NOT HANG UP THE PHONE ON WHICH YOU PLACED THE DIAL 9 CALL, SINCE THAT WOULD DISCONNECT THE CALL. IF THEPURPOSE OF YOUR CONFERENCING THE CALL IS REALLY THAT OF TRANSFERRING IT, JUST PLACE THE RECEIVER DOWN ON THE DESK AND WAIT UNTIL THE CONVERSATION IS FINISHED, THEN HANG UP TO DISCONNECT THE CALL. (IF THIS MEMORANDUM IS NOT CLEAR TO YOU, SEE ME AND I WILL DEMONSTRATE HOW IT WORKS)

(((note to switchboard operators: you may conference a dial 9 call by doing the following: take the back cord of a blank pair and plug it into the extension which placed the dial 9 call; place the front plug into a trunk line of the conference plan; from another blank pair take the front plug and place it into an extension line of the conference plan; place the back plug into the extension being conferenced; you may conference with another (additional) extension if desired.)))

MEMORANDUM

TO: NATIONAL OFFICE STAFF
FROM: GEORGE WILEY

As of Monday, July 19th, I want to institute the system of placing regular calls to the Southern Office and to Bogalusa. To begin with, I suggest that these calls be made at noon and at 6:00 P.M., and that people having business with either of these places check in with the switchboard about getting in on the call. The times of the calls might have to be changed, but the switchboard, in any event, will know when the calls are to be made each day.

I would also suggest the procedure of letting the switchboard know when you are in the process of trying to get a hold of someone in the field, so that if that person should happen to call in, she may contact you.

Needless to say, I am very much concerned that with our financial crisis coinciding with high activity in the field there is a lot of telephone calling, much of which is necessary, but some of which is certainly duplicating and wasteful.

Please note that reduced rates on person to person calls go into effect at 6:00 P.M. and apply also to Saturday and Sunday. On station-to-station calls there is an additional rate reduction which takes effect at 8:00 P.M. and is also in effect on Sunday. Obviously, waiting until evening to place long distance calls can mean economy.

July 16th, 1965

MEMORANDUM

July 19, 1965

TO: All CORE Staff
FROM: George Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: Salaries and Financial Emergency

At the NAC meeting preceding the Convention and during the Convention there was considerable discussion within the staff and with the NAC of the hardships that the Task Force subsistence placed upon many field workers, particularly those within urban areas and with long service. At the same time, there was considerable discussion and recognition of the acute financial crisis in which CORE finds itself and which it is likely to continue to be in through the summer. (Financial statements are being circulated under separate cover.)

There were several points that seemed generally agreed upon in these discussions. First was that every staff member there would commit himself to making a concerted effort to raise $1,000 by August 15th. It was hoped that every member of the staff would make a commitment for some special effort along these lines between now and the end of August, which will be our most critical financial period. Second, it was felt that since there was not new money available to generally increase the Task Force subsistence level, that an approach to the problem be found within the existing staff payroll. An approach for dealing with this problem might be available in the third proposal which was that each staff member make a critical self-appraisal of his role in CORE, his value to the organization and the financial burden that his salary imposes on CORE. On the basis of such analyses, some staff members have decided to resign from the staff and find other means of supporting themselves while continuing to work on CORE projects as much as possible. A number of others have either agreed to take cuts in pay or to tithe a certain portion of their salary back to CORE. It was felt that we all should re-evaluate our needs and many of us felt that perhaps during this critical period we should all assume a subsistence stipend from CORE. Though this was not generally agreed upon, it was agreed that the individual evaluation be made. I would like for each staff member to submit to me (or to Mr. Haley for Southern Staff) the results of this self-evaluation and indicate if some change of status is desired. For Task Force workers, we recognize that this evaluation may indicate a need for increased stipends, particularly where there are special personal needs. such as medical expenses or high expenses due to absence of free living accommodations and the like,

Investigation has been made of several possibilities for providing medical and dental plans for Task Force workers. Floyd McKissick is exploring some possibilities with the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, which we might be able to get them to underwrite. We are also looking into Blue Cross and Blue Shield here in New York. Estimates are that this would cost $8 to $10 per month per person. We hope to be able to get some plan into operation within the next few weeks.

Concerns were also expressed by Task Force workers about the need for improvement of communications with them. We are instituting the procedure of occasionally sending important messages directly to each Task Force worker. Since this is not always practical for every mailing, I would like to point out that all mailings routinely sent out are sent with a few copies to each project office. For example, job descriptions about openings in the National

Office or on the professional staff generally, have been circulated in this way. There are openings in a number of categories and Task Force workers are certainly invited to apply. I don't expect, however, that we will fill any of these jobs until we can see our way out of the woods with this current financial crisis. We are looking for people at practically all levels to do fund raising, a public relations director, a person to be in charge of training in the organization department, an associate director of the organization department and field secretaries. There is frequent turnover in the clerical staff of the National Office, and anyone who has interest in such positions, or in any position in the National Office, please write me directly. I will send detailed job descriptions to anyone interested.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: All Office Personnel

FROM: Ed Day

DATE: July 20, 1965

Beginning today we will be starting a new system of mailing with regard to the Southern Regional Office, the Louisiana State Office, and the South Carolina State Office.

Large envelopes addressed for each of these locations will be hung daily underneath the interoffice mail box. If you have materials to send to these offices or to anyone at these offices, please place such materials in these envelopes instead of making up individual envelopes.

By sending our mailings in one package and without the additional weight of individual envelopes, we should be able to make a reasonable savings on postage. Your cooperation will be appreciated.

P.S. If you are sending a confidential matter, put it in a sealed envelope, but still place it in the large mailing envelope.

M E M O R A N D U M

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
July 22, 1965

TO: All Project Directors
FROM: George A. Wiley, Associate National Director

It would be very helpful, from the standpoint of keeping track of the staff, if we could have a weekly report of the whereabouts of everyone working in your project area. I suggest that for the South, this be done by each state project director and that he indicate by county or parish grouping what staff will be working in that parish during that week. This report should be typed or printed in two copies and one sent to the Southern Office and one sent directly to me at the National Office. I would expect the report to cover all personnel working on the project, including field secretaries, task force, community service fellows, and volunteers. Please indicate each category separately. That is, for example, in the Louisiana report, Ronnie Moore would indicate for, say, Bogalusa, what field secretaries are there, what task force workers, what community service fellows and what volunteers. The same for Baton Rouge and for Shreveport, etc. For projects operating on a fairly steady arrangement, the reports after the first one may simply indicate the changes in status. The reports should also indicate any personnel taking trips out of the state, since this information can often be particularly helpful.

I would like Joyce Ware to prepare this report for the Northeast, Winston Lockett and Lou Smith to each send in a report on themselves.

The preparation of this report will in some cases necessitate a better understanding of the whereabouts of staff than state directors have sometimes had in the past. I believe this would be a healthy development.

For staff members that will be traveling during a given week, an approximate itinerary should be indicated.

For an organization such as ours, it seems fairly important that your base of operations know where you are or how to reach you, essentially at all times. We should all try to be conscious of this, particularly when traveling, and especially in the case of people working in the South.

These reports should be mailed by Monday noon, so that we may have them by Wednesday at the latest.

M E M O R AN D U M

To: All office personnel

From: Ed Day, Business Manager

RE: AIR MAIL LETTERS: MIALING EARLY: BIG MIMECGRAPH RUNS

PLEASE PLACE ALL AIR MAIL LETTERS IN AIR MAIL ENVELOPES (THE ONES WITH THE RED, WHITE, AND BLUE STRIPES ARROUND THE EDGES). LETTERS WHICH ARE ONLY MARKED "AIR MAIL" ON THEIR FRONTS ARE NOT INFREQUENTLY "MISSED" BY THE STOCK ROOM.... END UP WITH A FIVE CENT STAMP ON TH.M.... AND THEN COME BACK TO US SEVERAL DAYS LATTER FROM THE POST OFFICE WITH A REQUEST FOR THE ADDITIONAL THREE CENTS.... THAT DOES NOT LEAD TO VERY FAST MAIL SERVICE FOR YOU... SO HELP YOUR SELF BY PUTTING THE AIR MAIL LETTER IN AIR MAIL ENVELOPES SO THEY WILL FOR SURE GO OUT AIR MAIL.....

ALSO.....

IF YOU HAVE SOME MAIL THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO GO OUT BEFORE THE REGULAR PICK UP AT 5:00.....(E.G. IN THE MORNING) DEPOSIT SUCH MAIL IN THE BASKET ON THE CARD TABLE IN THE RECEPTION ROOM.... THIS MAIL GOES OUT PERIODICLY DURRING THE DAY.....

ALSO.....

IF YOU HAVE A LARGE MIMEOGRAPH RUN, BE SURE TO LET THE STOCK ROOM KNOW AS FAR IN ADVANCE AS BOSSIBLE (NOT JUST WHEN THE STENCILS ARE DONE) SO THEY CAN PLAN AHEAD AND GET IT DONE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

GW

BASEMENT INVENTORY

MIMO PAPER

White	24 Cartons	264 Reams	
Green	10 Cartons	100 Reams	(8½ X 11)
Pink	7 Cartons	70 Reams	
Blue	1 Cartons	10 Reams	

CORE PACKAGE LABELS (with carbons)

28 Boxes (appx. 28,000)

OUR FACES OUR WORDS (Records)

37 Cartons (50 in each Box--1963)

WE SHALL OVERCOME (records)

7 Cartons (28 per box--196)

JAZZ SALUTE TO FREEDOM

12 Cartons (28 in each--336)

CORE ENVELOPES

13 Cartons (65 of 500 in each box)

JIFFY BAGS

No. 7	9 Boxes, 50 per box	450
No. 4	5 Boxes, 50 per box	250
No. 1	2 Boxes, 50 per box	100

A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION

5 Boxes (appx. 500)

SONG BOOKS

9 Boxes (500 per box---4,500)

NATIONAL 1964 CONSTITUTION

2 Boxes (1,000 per box---2,000)

READING IN HIGH GEAR

1 Carton (Val Coleman)

FREEDOM NOW BOOK

0))

FREEDOM NOW BOOK

200 Books (Jim Peck)

1964 HOLIDAY CARDS BROCHURE ENVELOPES

50 Cartons (2,500 per carton--75,000)

~~Arr~~SUMMER, 1964

3 Boxes (500 per box--- 1,500)

CORE HATS

50

ITS GOING TO BE AN EXPENSIVE SUMMER

1 Package, large--appx 5,000

FREEDOM NOW POSTERS (round)

2,000

JOIN CORE POSTERS

2,000

CANISTERS

500

ALL ABOUT CORE

14 Large packages (appx. 1,000)

F.I.

NATIONAL OFFICERS 1962

21

Chairman
Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Mo.

1st Vice-chairman
Rudolph Lombard
~~700 E. Raynor St., #6~~ 618½ Irving
Syracuse, N.Y.

2nd Vice-chairman
Karl Walter
4232 Halldale Avenue
Los Angeles 62, Cal.

Secretary
Ralph Rosenfeld
18405 Greenfield
Detroit, Michigan

Treasurer
Albert D. Moore
1315 N. W. 51 Terrace
Miami, Fla.

CORRlator Editor
James Peck
552 Riverside Drive
New York,N.Y.

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEMBERS

Southeast Delegates

Julius Hobson — 2- yr term
4801 Queens Chapel Terrace
Washington, D. C. 17

Gloria Gilliam — 1-yr term
2010 N. W. 62nd St., Apt 2
Miami, Fla.

Northeast Delegates

Ed Lewinson — 2-yr term
240 W. 102nd St.
New York, N.Y.

Alan Gartner — 1-yr term
~~44~~ Alpine Street
Cambridge 44, Mass.

South Central Delegates

Oretha Castle — 2-yr term
917 N. Tonti St.
New Orleans, La.

Julia Lewis — 1-yr term
405 Robertson St.
Lexington, Ky.

North Central Delegates

Mrs. Doris Hollis — 2-yr term
317 Lithia Avenue
Rock Hill 19, Mo.

Anna Holden — 1-yr term
502 E. Kingsley, #4
Ann Arbor, Michigan

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEMBERS, CONT'D

Far West Delegates

Wester Sweet 2- yr term
395 N. 14th St.
San Jose, Cal.

Edward Singler 1-yr term
2730 Westlake North
Apt 1
Seattle, Washington

Co-opted members

Carl Rachlin, Esq
280 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Val Coleman
United Artists
729 7th Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Robert Curvin
709 Hunterdon St.
Newark, N.J.

Leverne McCummings
3423 N. 15th St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mark Dodson
71 Scooter Lane
Hicksville, LI, NY

STAFF

James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

COPY

SEP 9 1963

File Personnel

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

GREENSBORO CHAPTER
P. O. BOX 2194
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

BROADWAY 2-3384

September 6, 1963

Mr. James McCain
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. McCain:

In reference to my work this summer, I feel that it is extremely necessary to have someone premanently stationed in North Carolina. As it was with several of us here, it placed a hardship upon Attorney McKissick. We have started two new chapters, they are Goldsboro and Winston-Salem, North Carolina and they are in need of some strong steady directions. Demonstrations are going on in High Point, North Carolina at the present time and as soon as Rev. Cox leaves, someone will have to lend assistance to Mrs. Della Mitchell, the CORE chairman.

Demonstrations are scheduled to resume in Goldsboro on the 21th of this month. Someone will have to followup on that. Winston-Salem has began demonstrations again and they are asking for assistance. They also would like assistance in organizing college students.

There have been calls to organize COREZchapters in Hickory and Enfield, North Carolina. As you know Enfield has experienced a great deal of Police brutality, workshops etc. are extremely needed there.

This is a brief run down of follow up work in which I feel is needed in North Carolina. If you will agree to take care of my expenses, I will do as much of this as possible. At any rate, I will put as much time into the movement both statewide and here in Greensboro, North Carolina as long as I can afford it but at the same time I can farsee my having to get a job in order to meet my personal needs as well as my family's, and this indeed will take up considerable amount of time that I will ordinary have to spend in the movement.

Thanks again for your fulless co-operation. I have decided definitely to return to school.

Yours for freedom,
William A. Thomas
William A. Thomas Jr.
Field Secretary
Congress of Racial Equality

WAT/bw

Org. Dept Ltr

Written 8/28 & 29/1963

To the theme of the Old Nelsh hymn known as Hold the Fort and other union songs both in Britian and america.

WE MARCH TODAY IN FREEDOM's CAUSE
THAT LIBERTY MAY GROW
UNITED FREE MEN WHITE AND BLACK
NO FORCE CAN OVERTHROW.

CHORUS
FREEDOM"S NIGH FOR WE ARE COMING
BROTHERS ALL STAND STRONG
XRMXN ARM IN ARM WE"RE MARCHING FORWARD
VICTORY WILL COME!

TILL EV"RY MAN WHO WILL HAS WORK
OUR TASK REMAINS UNDONE
THE RANDS OF FREE MEN GROW AND SWELL
OUR VOICES RISE AS ONE

WE SHALL NOT CEASE TILL ALL ARE FREE
TO SHATE GOD"S HOLY LIGHT
AN EQUAL CHANCE FOR ALL HIS SONS
ON EARTH BOTH BLACK AND WHITE

FOR THOSE WHO DARE NOT MARCH WITH US
WE"LL BREAK THE BONDS OF FEAR
THE TYRANTS SCOURGE AND JAILS DEFY
OUR FINAL GOAL IS NEAR

TO THOSE WHO HATE WE OFFER LOVE
AN VIOLENCE ESCHEW
HAND IN HAND WE"D PASS GOD"S THRONE

OUR FAITH IS STRONG OUR CAUSE IS JUST
IN THRUTH WE FIND OUR MIGHT
WITH GOD"S HELP WE"LL FIND THE WAY
TO SET OLD WRONGS A-RIGHT.

WITH LOVE
PAUL H. STICKNEY

A JOBS AND FREEDON MARCHING SONG WRITTEN THE NIGHT AND AND THE FOLLOWING THE GREAT MARCH OF AUGUST 1963

29 October 1963

Attorneys COllins, Douglas and Ely
2211 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Bob, Nils and Lolis:

I spoke to Richard and his secretary about the financial matters you have so eloquently brought to our attention several times. I was promised, assured and told that the money was forthcoming. I'm sincerely sorry that we are so delinquent in financial matters sometimes, and we appreciate not only your hard work but also your patience.

The result of the hearing in Atlanta is most encouraging. Kuntsler sent me a copy of the order handed down on the twenty second.

Do you know anything about the case of perjury lodged against task force worker Lois Chaffee? While in Mississippi she apparently testified in regard to police brutality which was subsequently denied by the police. Then she was charged with perjury according to Kuntsler --- a charge that carries five or possibly ten years. Kuntsler indicated that he would be willing to help us on this if we so desired. If you have any knowledge, comments or suggestions on this Chaffee situation it would be appreciated.

I discussed with Farmer the possibility of having one or more of you come to the National Action Council Meeting in Los Angeles. In light of the cost which would be involved and the fact that we have no funds we have decided that it would not be justified. I know that you would love to get to Los Angeles and we would really like to have you there, but we just can't

see our way clear this time. Incidentally, this will be my first trip home in over four years --- the first time since I've been married. So I'm going to spend a few extra days!

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey

Assistant to the
National Director

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jim McCain

February 11, 1964

FROM: Gordon R. Carey

Re: NAC

Lane Perdue is preparing kits for the February 21 National Action Council. Please have a minimum of 30 mimeographed departmental reports to her no later than February 20.

DK ITEM #1

Appendix 3

CORE- Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.
February 20, 1964

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT REPORT
Jim McCain, Director

CHAPTER AFFILIATIONS: none pending. See attached list for currently affiliated chapters.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT: see attached breakdown of 1963, 1964 registration figures.

SUMMER PROJECT: The Director of Organization would like to recommend the consideration of Louisiana for the 1964 Summer Project, as well as Mississippi.

STAFF NEEDS: The staff at the New Orleans conference recommends that additional field staff be hired at once to facilitate the field operations of CORE.

STAFF PLACEMENT:

Plaquemine, La Voter Registration Project

During Ronnie Moore's stay in the East Baton Rouge Parish Prison, Spiver Gordon will be in charge of the project in Louisiana. Ed Vickery, Mike Lesser, Bill Brown, Tom Valentine, Mimi Feingold are those remaining on the Louisiana staff. Howard Messing, Loria Davis, Claudia Edwards and Joyce Ware have been, or will be shortly, added to bring the number of field workers in this location back to ten.

Mississippi

We will be sending additional field staff to Canton, Mississippi for the Freedom Day program there. Rev Cox will be there from February 24th to 28th, along with Marvin Robinson and Jerome Smith. Other members of the staff, such as Ike Reynolds, Bruce Baines, Mary Hamilton and perhaps others, will be held ready to go into Canton if necessary to keep the program going. Dave Dennis plans to be in Canton during this project. Briefly, the program for this time is meetings, rallies with prominent speakers leading up to Freedom Day, February 28th, at which time groups of local people will be taken to register to test the registration procedures in Canton.

As for the rest of Mississippi, Lois Chaffee remains at the office in Jackson. Rita and Mike Schwerner are in Meridian continuing their work on the Community Center. Pat Walker is working on voter registration in Meridian.

Other Areas. The remainder of the staff are still in their previously assigned areas. New additions to the staff include Ron Corwin who is servicing the upstate New York chapters; Virginia Ericson who has been added to the task force in North Carolina, and Judy Benninger, task force worker, who is assisting Patricia Due in the Tallahassee VEP.

msm
2/20/64

AFFILIATED CORE CHAPTERS

Alabama, Huntsville
Arkansas, Fort Smith
California, Berkeley
Los Angeles
U. of Calif. at Berkeley
Marin County,
Mid-Peninsula,
Oakland
Oroville
Pasadena — Pomona Valley
Richmond — Los Angeles S. College
Sacremento
San Bernardino
San Diego
San Fernando Valley
San Francisco
Santa Clara Valley
Santa Monica-Venice
Southern Alameda
Stockton, Vallejo
Colorado, Denver
Connecticut, Hartford
New Haven
D.C., Washington
Florida, Miami
St. Petersburg
Tallahassee
Illinois, Harvey
Chicago
Chicago--South Side
E. St. Louis
Kentucky, Lexington
Louisville
Madison Cty.
Covington
Richmond
Louisiana, Baton Rouge,
New Orleans
Shreveport — E. Feliciana
Kansas, Kansas City
Maryland, Annapolis
Baltimore
Baltimore Cty.
Prince George County
Massachusetts, Boston
Michigan, Ann Arbor
Battle Creek
Detroit
Grand Rapids
Missouri, Columbia
Kansas City
St. Louis
St. Louis Cty.
New Jersey, Bergen Cty.
Middlesex-Union
Newark-Essex
New York, Bronx
Brooklyn
Downtown
City College
Columbia University
Long Island
Long Island University
New York
New York University
Rochester
Staten Island
Syracuse
North Carolina, Durham
Duke University, Durham
Chapel Hill
Greensboro
High Point
Raleigh
North Dakota, Grand Forks
Ohio, Dayton
Cincinnati
Cleveland
Columbus
Toledo
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Oregon, Eugene
South Carolina, Charleston
Marion County
Rock Hill
Sumter (adult)
Sumter (student)
Tennessee, Memphis
Nashville
Lebanon
Oak Ridge
Texas, San Antonio
Virginia, Northern Va.
Washington, Seattle
W. Virginia, Charleston
Huntington
Wheeling, W. Va.

TOTAL: 101

February 20, 1964

CORE VOTER REGISTRATION - 1963

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept.	Oct.	Nov	Dec	Total
South Carolina	330	-	392	343	390	575	674	575	871	1413	1353	1539	8465
Louisiana	23	-	-	84	73	161	165	452	198	311	-	260	1727
Florida	149	433	-	29	62	69	335	194	5593	-	172	98	7134
TOTALS	502	433	392	456	525	805	1174	1221	6662	1724	1533	1897	17326

CORE VOTER REGISTRATION - 1964

South Carolina	1879
Louisiana	174
Florida	63
TOTAL	2016

TOTALS THROUGH JANUARY 1964:	South Carolina	10,344
	Louisiana	1,901
	Florida	7,197
	GRAND TOTAL	19,442

CORE-Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.
2/20/64

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.
February 27, 1964

MEMORANDUM
TO: ALL FIELD STAFF
FROM: DEPARTMENT OF ORGANIZATION, JAMES McCAIN, DIRECTOR

RE: MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENTS

CORE is now an extremely newsworthy organization, and a public statement by any CORE employee is bound to attract nation-wide attention. Therefore, it is important that CORE field staff be well acquainted with CORE policies, and that any public statements that you issue be made with these policies in mind.

It is also extremely necessary to keep in mind the danger of suits against CORE for libel, slander and defamation. Do not make any unfounded charges against an individual, or call him any name which he could consider an "imputation" against his character.

CORE policy is derived from the CORE Rules for Action, This is CORE, the CORE constitution, and from expanding and clarifying statements made by the convention, the National Action Council and the Steering Committee Copies of these materials are attached to this memo for your convenience. These materials, and your own good judgement should give you guidelines to use in making public statements. Any written statements you make should be cleared with the National Office, and if you have questions about anything -- what to put on a leaflet, what to say to a reporter, etc. -- you should contact the Community Relations Department, Marvin Rich, Director.

****

STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

January 24, 1964

Present: Curvin, Dodson, Farmer, Gartner, McKissick, Peck, Rachlin, Smith

Staff: Carey, C. Coleman, Haley, N. Hill, V. Hill, Hoffman, Locket, McCain, Rich, McKenna

At the beginning of the meeting there was less than a quorum present; the Chairman used his authority to ratify said quorum. Before the conclusion of the first report, the last three members of the Steering Committee arrived, effecting a quorum.

Department of Organization:

Following chapters were recommended for affiliation: (A report on their activities was given, and in each case the chapter had been recommended by a field person)

Los Angeles State College
Pomona Valley, California
Vallejo, California
West Feliciana, Louisiana
San Antonio, Texas
Wheeling, West Virginia

The chapters were affiliated on a motion by Mr. Farmer, seconded by Mr. Rachlin and a unanimous vote by the Steering Committee. There is a proviso that the Pomona Valley chapter be clarified as to its name, since the area takes in several cities.

Jim McCain next reported on the location of his field staff. He stated that the only changes have been Mary Hamilton who now working in Plaquemine Parish, Louisiana; Winston Lockett who has been brought East to work with New Haven CORE; Ike Reynolds who has spent two weeks in Texas; and Marvin Robinson now working in West Virginia. John Schaefer is in Philadelphia. Bruce Baines is currently in Texas to take over while Ike makes a trip to Louisiana. Also, several Task Force people have been added to work in Mississippi. Ed Hollander has been hired as a Field Secretary working directly under Marvin Rich.

In voter registration the totals for January are as follows: South Carolina, 1,879; Florida, 63; Louisiana, 174, making a total of 2,016 additional voters in three states. A voter registration campaign in being set in the Tallahassee, Florida area by Pat Due, assisted by Judy Benninger who will be placed on the Task Force in that area.

(continued)

Jim McCain gave a brief report on the operation of the Manpower Development and Training Act to aid functional illiterates in South Carolina. A large percentage of the group is Negro. South Carolina has received a grant of five and one-half million dollars to aid persons in this unfortunate category. Mr. McCain suggested that CORE's Field Staff acquaint themselves with these programs to attack poverty in areas where they work and lend their aid in securing all possible help for minority groups.

School Boycott:

CORE is a member of the City-Wide Committee for School Integration, and is actively supporting the February 3 boycott. Bronx CORE Chairman, Herb Callander, has been assigned to work full time on mobilization for the boycott which at this point seems to be gaining momentum. The Board of Education has stated that it will submit an integration plan on or before January 31.

Lou Smith asked for clarification on National Office policy regarding boycotts by chapters in other cities in support of the New York boycott. The National Director explained that chapters were not being urged to support the New York boycott but rather that they work on their own particular school problems.

A memorandum is to be sent to all CORE chapters asking that they contact the National Office before affiliating themselves with any groups on joint projects. The subject is to be further discussed at the staff Conference and NAC meeting.

Internal Affairs:

A. New York CORE

At a meeting on January 19, attended by Messrs. James Farmer, Richard Haley, Marshall England, and members of New York CORE, the losing faction in the recent election asked for permission to form a separate chapter with headquarters in East Harlem. The National Director suggested that the second group present its program and activities along with its official request for affiliation. It was agreed that boundary lines would be drawn and that "Harlem" would not be used as part of the name of the new chapter. Also that persons who wish to leave New York CORE would submit a resignation to the group, so advising. There was further agreement that all information given to the press would be cleared through the National Director. Mr. Farmer will recommend to the NAC that the trusteeship be removed, effective February 1, but that Richard Haley be assigned to work with New York CORE qs a consultant for a period of one month. He would be asked to see that proper machinery is set up regarding the constitution, financial records, membership records and orientation meetings. Orientation sessions are to be established, supervised by the chapter working with the Program and Organization Departments of National CORE. Both groups accepted the above proposals.

This report was accepted by the Steering Committee with two abstentions.

(continued)

B. Brooklyn CORE

The National Director called a meeting with the Executive Committee of Brooklyn CORE to discuss certain of their actions and statements which it is felt are damaging to the CORE image. After discussion, the chapter agreed to clear future press releases with the National Office. The chapter also agreed to establish orientation sessions for its membership. Jim Peck offered a motion that a memorandum be prepared for all CORE chapters regarding issuing of statements, charges, etc. that are not in keeping with CORE philosophy. The memorandum is to cover public statements by one chapter which affect other local chapters without consultation with said chapters. This motion was seconded by Carl Rachlin and unanimously adopted by the Steering Committee.

Another item to be added to the NAC agenda was introduced at this point: The education of CORE membership in non-violence, including civil disobedience through orientation sessions.

C. New Haven CORE

This chapter is having serious political problems resulting in a breakdown in orientation within the group. Winston Lockett has been working with the chapter and reported that it sincerely desires proper orientation and education, but that outside influences make this very difficult. New elections have been set for May. There is also a direct action project scheduled for tomorrow, January 25, which Winston feels will be an orderly demonstration.

D. Chicago CORE

Norm Hill is to visit Chicago CORE within a day or so to clarify the affiliation of Southside CORE as reported in the minutes of the December 7 meeting. There has been evidence that remnants of the old Southside CORE are still in existence, creating some problems for the new group. Norm will confer with both Chicago chapters on these and other problems and report to the National Director.

E. Cleveland CORE

This chapter's request for financial aid in the form of bond money for Mae Mallory was turned down on a motion by the National Director, seconded by Alan Gartner and a unanimous vote by the Steering Committee.

The Steering Committee unanimously adopted a motion that CORE groups will not participate with other groups (specifically, the Monroe Defense Committee) in action on the Mae Mallory case. Cleveland CORE is to be so advised by letter.

F. Los Angeles CORE

There is evidence of some Communist Party infiltration in this chapter. In a recent election the desirable faction of the group won. However, the dissident faction then set up a separate group calling itself a CORE group. It was

(continued)

advised by the National Office that it could not use the CORE name, and after some insistence the group complied.

G. Dayton CORE

Two factions exist here. Richard Haley will attend elections next week and report on the outcome.

Automobile Leasing:

Insurance problems on cars owned by and loaned to the organization resulted in looking to the possibility of leasing cars in areas where needed. Gordon Carey is handling this matter which was approved on a motion by Carl Rachlin, seconded by Alan Gartner, and unanimoulsy adopted by the Steering Committee.

Financial:

Total receipts December 1 - December 31, 1963	$ 88,432.39
Disbursements for December 1963	104,257.32
Total disbursements, June - December 1963	557,673.29
Total receipts, June 1 - December 31, 1963	590,435.31
Balance in checking	15,000.00
Balance in savings	50,800.00 (approx.)
CORE's Christmas store gross	6,000.00 (approx.)

The Community Relations Director suggested that if internal problems are correctly handled, the financial picture should brighten during the next months.

This report given by Treasurer Alan Gartner was accepted by the Steering Committee.

Union Contract

The union contract which was negotiated by a committee composed of Carl Rachlin, Floyd McKissick, Alan Gartner, and Gordon Carey was reviewed for the Steering Committee and was accepted on a motion by Mark Dodson, seconded by Bob Curvin, and unanimously adopted by the Steering Committee.

Pension Plan

A pension plan to protect CORE employees whose prime earning life has and is being spent full time with the organization was presented for action by the Steering Committee. Possible plans and terms of each have been investigated and copies of the proposed plan will be sent to members of the NAC for further study.

(continued)

Delta Project

A statewide organization in Mississippi known as COFO, composed of representatives of CORE, SCLC, NAACP, and SNCC is currently working on an intensive voter registration drive. It is also their hope to establish community educational centers throughout the state. As reported in the December 7 minutes, CORE authorized $1,000 to establish such a center in Canton, Mississippi. It is reported that the National Council of Churches is interested in this project and may provide financial and physical support.

Jim McCain is scheduled to visit Mississippi within a very short time and make recommendations on extended CORE involvement in these programs.

Cooperative Industry:

Richard Haley advised that Eric Weinberger, who established the tote bag cooperative in Haywood County, Tennessee, is interested in setting up sample industries in other Southern states and would like to choose locations in which there is an active civil rights group or groups. Mr. Weinberger specifically requested limited travel expenses from CORE. The Steering Committee approved cooperation as far as is feasible with Mr. Weinberger in setting up these projects.

Freedom House:

Chairman Floyd McKissick advised that there is an available building in Durham, North Carolina which could be used as a training center and as living accommodations for CORE personnel engaged in civil rights activities in that area. The building would require some $6,000 for repairs and enlargement. The Steering Committee adopted unanimously a motion to support the principle of Freedom House. Details are to be worked out.

Literacy Program in South Carolina:

(Part of the President's Equal Opportunity Program aimed at functional illiterates.)
Jim McCain reported that an integrated literacy program is in operation in South Carolina. The majority of functional illiterates in South Carolina are Negroes, and it has been found that special efforts must be made to acquaint them with the program. McCain pointed out that these programs will be operating throughout the South, and CORE field personnel can play an important role in aiding Negroes who qualify. Participants are paid while training.

NAC Vacancies:

There are currently three vacancies--Velma Hill, Patricia Due, and Carl Rachlin are now working full time for the organization. This will be an agenda item

(continued)

at the next NAC meeting where all recommendations will be considered.

Convention:

Letters were sent to all CORE chapters in the Upper and Mid-South asking if they were interested in hosting the 1964 Convention. No replies have been received. At the moment Kansas City how seems the most likely prospect. It is understood that Memphis, Tennessee might also be interested. If no additional invitations are received, the decision will be left to staff. Tentative Convention dates are July 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Summer Project:

Will probably center around voter education activity in Louisiana and in Mississippi.

North Carolina:

Chapel Hill is the center of nonviolent direct action against segregation in public accomodations. (A survey shows that 25% of such accommodations are still segregated in this citadel of higher education) There were 235 arrests during December. Demonstrations have been highly successful from the point of view of mobilizaing the Negro community. Some violence has been encountered.

The Board of Aldermen met, supposedly to pass a public accomodations desegregation bill, but it is understood that they instead appointed a committee to work on such a bill. If no clear cut action results by the first of the month, direct action is to resume. The Governor of North Carolina asked for a private meeting with Mr. Farmer and Mr. McKissick, but they declined, as the Governor had publicly denounced the desegregation efforts in Chapel Hill before calling for such a meeting.

The situation in Chapel Hill strongly points up the need for the public accommodation section of the civil rights bill, and it was the consensus of the Steering Committee that all CORE chapters be apprised of the situation in North Carolina and urged to initiate action on desegregation of public facilities. The Committee further authorized the staff and the National Chairman to step up to whatever degree necessary the activities in Chapel Hill. Any aid possible from other CORE chapters is welcome in Chapel Hill.

General Counsel:

CORE's various legal entanglements have taken a great deal of the General Counsel's time, curtailing much of his own private practice. He now finds it possible to devote almost full time to organizational needs. In order to

(continued)

function efficiently, he would need a desk on the CORE premises and part-time secretarial help. The Steering Committee approved this and authorized an annual salary of $12,000, which represents a small increase over Mr. Rachlin's previous retainer fee.

The Steering Committee voted against Mr. Rachlin's continuing as an NAC member while employed full time by the organization and expressed its gratitude for his past services on the NAC.

St. Louis Globe Democrat:

This St. Louis, Missouri daily carried a series of 10 articles on alleged Communist infiltration of CORE. It also printed a statement supposedly made by a CORE Field Secretary that no check of a person's political background is made by CORE chapters prior to granting membership. The Steering Committee discussed a possible libel suit against the paper in conjunction with suits by some of its Advisory Committee members, also attacked by the paper.

Specifically, the following action is to be taken:

1. A clarifying statement from the Field Secretary to the newspaper, asking that said statement be published.
2. A statement of CORE policy from the National Director to the newspaper, requesting its publication.
3. Demand retraction of its charges and a public apology from the newspaper.
4. CORE's General Counsel and its National Director will consult further and proceed with whatever action is advisable.

Another agenda item at the forthcoming NAC meeting will be CORE's policy regarding endorsement of political candidates. CORE's varied activities in voter education and registration demand that this subject be seriously discussed; particularly, what constitutes an endorsement.

chapter-boards?

Organiz. Dept

April 11, 1964

Mr. M. Kenneth Boss
130 Montague Street
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

Dear Ken:

I did know that attempts were being made to organize a Borough Hall CORE chapter, and was pleased to learn about it.

The procedure is for the chapter, once it has at least 15 members and has been in operation for 30 days, and has been visited by at least one field secretary, to submit a formal application for a charter, on a form which can be secured from Mr. James McCain, Director of Organization, at this office. In addition, the chapter must have a constitution, a copy of which is to be submitted along with the charter application. Also, it must pay an affiliation fee of $10.

If these requirements are met, the National Action Council will consider the application, and I would be very favorably disposed to recommend positive action.

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Jim McCain

M. KENNETH BOSS
ATTORNEY AT LAW

130 MONTAGUE STREET
BROOKLYN 1, NEW YORK
Telephone: MAin 4-4483

MAR 27 1964

March
26th,
1964.

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

You may have heard that a Borough Hall CORE has been organized, of which I intend to be a member.

I understand they are waiting for the approval of their charter from the national organization. Have you any influence in making sure that their application is speedily approved?

Sincerely,

M. KENNETH BOSS

MKB
:
ss

cc M. Carr

May 22, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Re: Request for payment on
Counsel Fees

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I deeply regret the necessity of having to write this letter demanding payment on attorney fees owed by CORE, because I am aware of the paucity of funds available to the organization as of now.

However, being a sole practitioner and having devoted a considerable portion of my time to certain cases in this, and the surrounding areas thereby greatly affecting my private Law practice, I am compelled for dire financial reasons to insist upon an immediate substantial payment on the balance of my bill submitted previously.

If, for any reason this request can not be met, I should like to be informed at once so that the necessary adjustments can be made in my affairs to minimize this type of situation.

Very truly yours,

Murphy W. Bell

MWB: gmt

CC;
Mr. Carl Rachlin
Mr. Marvin Rich
Mr. Richard Hailey
Mr. James McCain
Mr. Gordon Carey
Mr. Lolis E. Elie

McCain 029-Dep

TO: James Farmer, National Director October 6, 1964

FROM: Organizational Department

RE: Prospectus for 1965

This department plans to do a number of things for the coming year. Among these are living up to the designation "Organization." First, we must talk about personnel. In the West Coast we need a minimum of three additional field secretaries. For the Mid-west, two additional field secretaries. For the North-East, three additional field secretaries, plus an office secretary for the North-Eastern office. We need an assistant to the department whose specific job will be to work in programs and an assistant to work specifically in training. These roles should not be confused with field secretaries roles.

In the North-Eastern area, we have already set up a system under the direction of Louis Smith, Director of this region. The first of a series of meetings with chapters in this area was held, Saturday, October 3, 1964 at the Theresa Hotel, New York City. This was a workshop dealing with fund raising, community relations, and dealing with the press. The consultants for this workshop were Marvin Rich, Val Coleman and Jim Peck.

In Chicago, we have started the Northern Project. This program with the community center concept in mind, is an attempt to formulate a sound organizational structure to deal with the exploited and oppressed people of Chicago. If such a program proves successful in Chicago, we we will then have some ideas of how to move into other northern cities with similar programs. The northern project in Chicago will give us the chance to study the organizational methods and tactics used in connection with these centers and how the community responded to them.

These community centers in Chicago can serve as organizational centers for training of existing and potential CORE groups. Not only is this feasible for the Chicago area, but these centers can serve the Mid-West region, working closely with the North-Central Vice-chairman. The kind of program carried on in these centers should be based on the needs of the people, the condition of the area and the resources that are available that you can use.

For the coming year, several workshops and seminars will be planned to aid chapters in understanding the direction CORE is taking, and to develop secondary and tertiary leadership within the chapter. In addition, several staff workshops will be held so that staff members will be talking the same language, and will be able to communicate some semblance of a unified attitude. The department plans to set up training and programming in voter education. We plan to aid chapter and staff in setting up political action committees in order that voter education will become a permanent part of chapter function.

For chapter servicing we plan to utilize our field secretaries in conjunction with the newly-formed Regional Vice-Chairman. With additional staff working outside of the south, they, together with the Regional Vice-Chairman, should be able to stay in constant contact with every existing chapter and the additional chapters that are sure to organize.

From the reports that we have received from field secretaries and chapters themselves, there is a great deal of emphasis to be placed on CORE structure. In our training program, we plan to emphasize the distinct nature of CORE, while at the same time emphasizing the importance of working with other groups whenever possible. Of particular importance, we will be exploring governmental and private agencies whose special skills we may be able to use, and what governmental programs are available to all the people.

In regions where offices are established (Northeast, Midwest, Western and Southern) there must be increased coordination and planning. Planning for workshops and seminars on the regional level must be conducted with the cooperation of the Organization Department. Training programs will be on a much larger scale than in the past with special emphasis on chapter development, community organization, housing, education, employment, political education, non-violent direct action, etc.

If CORE's program is to have meaning in the future, there must of necessity be cooperation and coordination between those who have charge of training and programming on the National level with those on the field, namely, Regional Vice Chairman, Director of Regions, NAC members and field secretaries. No program or training sessions should be develope unless those in charge of training and program on the National level be consulted with. This must be done if we are to get maximum results from our program. If there is not cooperation and coordination by everyone, I can only see total confusion in our organization.

TELEPHONE
DI 8-3572

MURPHY W. BELL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
971 SOUTH 13TH STREET
BATON ROUGE, LA.

July 8, 1964

JUL 13 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Director, CORE
~~38~~ Park Row
New York 38, New York

Re: Counsel fees

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Again, I must bring to your attention (and to your staff's) the urgent matter of securing at least expenses and minimal counsel fees in order to carry out my responsibilities to the various CORE people in this area: I have been told that in order to be effective in getting paid, I must be persistent and insistent. Unfortunately, I don't have either the time or the inclination to engage in such tactics. However, maybe I should list in detail a list of the countless and myriad services that I perform daily, weekly and monthly which don't ever appear on the "Statement of account" that I try to render monthly to your offfce. But, here again, I think; this would not add any enlightment to the situation and I certainly doubt whether it will accelerate payment of my "old balance" (which is the sole object of this letter).

Aside from the fact that the outstanding counsel fee (as shown by the attached statement) is a legal as well as a moral obligation, I think I should immediately be paid because to not do so would directly impair my effectiveness and availability to these young people who daily (and at night) call upon me to advise and protect them in their vailiant fight for freedom for all of us.

Won't you please pay this "old balance"

Very Truly Yours,

Murphy W. Bell

MWB/ps
cc: Marvin Rich, Esq.
CORE
38 Park Row

Procedures?
Organiz. Dept

CORE Routing Memo

FROM: ~~McCain~~ Maxine

Date: 1/15/65 ~~1/11/65~~

TO: ~~Name~~ Wiley Dr. Clarkson Univ.

Action Required:

- ☐ **File**
- ☒ **Initial, date and return by** ↓ .
- ☒ **Comment** — the attached is how we handle a request to ~~form~~ a new chapter. After our initial letter the field sec'y takes the next steps
- ☐ **Circulate**
- ☐ **Expedite :**
- ☐ **For your information and possible use** MS
- ☒ **Please act on this matter and report to me action taken by** _____.
- ☐ **Report any action taken to** _____.

Remarks: send them introductory info on CORE. I'd like to discuss with you how you normally handle this kind of thing.

January 15, 1965

Paul Lovejoy
33½ Market Street
Potsdam, New York

Dear Mr. Lovejoy:

We have received word from George Wiley that you are interested in forming a CORE chapter, and are glad to hear that you hope to have a direct action group in the Potsdam area.

Enclosed with this letter you will find material that will help you in getting organized and that outlines the procedures and requirements for affiliation with CORE. Please read it carefully.

The field secretary assigned to your area is Lou Smith and he can be reached at Northeastern Regional Headquarters, 48 W. 125th Street, NYC. We are notifying him of your desire to form a CORE Chapter, and he will be in touch with you in time to attend one of your initial organizational meetings. After he visits your group and reports back to this office, a letter will be sent to you informing you whether or not you may use the name of CORE in your activities.

After receiving notification from us, and when you have your group formed and officers elected, be sure to send us the names and addresses and phone numbers of your officers, so that we may add them to the contact list. We will then send a chapter manual to your chairman. This manual includes information on the various things a CORE chapter needs to know -- on finances, ordering literature, whom to contact in the National office, etc.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely yours,

James T. McCain
Director of Organization

cc: Lou Smith
George Wiley ✓

CORE, Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.
CO 7-6270

MEMORANDUM

TO: PROSPECTIVE CORE CHAPTERS
FROM: DEPARTMENT OF ORGANIZATION, JAMES T. McCAIN, DIRECTOR

RE: PROCEDURE FOR STARTING A CORE CHAPTER

Enclosed with this memo are an organizational manual, copies of "This is CORE" and "CORE Rules for Action," the CORE National Constitution, CORE By'Laws, a sample local constitution and two copies of all the available literature. The Organizational Manual gives the basic procedure for getting a group together (see p. 3, "Forming or Expanding your CORE Group). When you get an initial group of people together, you should carefully study this manual, the Constitution, and both the small pamphlets. All CORE chapters must abide by the CORE National Constitution. All prospective members should realize this, and also have a clear understanding of nonviolence before working with a chapter.

Once the group is organized, and has been recognized by the National Office, it is free to form its own program and work on projects of its own choosing. National CORE and the Field Staff will help you in all ways possible. From time to time CORE chapters may be asked to participate in National Projects.

In addition to having a commitment to nonviolent tactics, and starting plans and research for an action project, there are three general requirements for becoming an affiliated CORE chapter: you must fill out an affiliation blank, send in a $10.00 non-refundable affiliation fee, and be visited and recommended for affiliation by a field secretary.

######

6/16/64

CORE, Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.

THE CORE WAY

CORE's way is disciplined, non-violent action directed against the color line; the letters stand for a vigorous young organization, the Congress of Racial Equality.

Helen Buckler

In the late summer of 1941, sixteen boys - twelve white, four Negro - purchased tickets at the entrance gate of a large outdoor swimming pool in Cleveland. The Negroes were not refused. The management's methods of discrimination were more subtle than to break outright the Ohio State Civil Rights Law. The youths put on their swimming trunks and went out to the pool where a large number were enjoying the cool water. As the sixteen plunged in, up went a cry of "Nigger"! All previously in the pool got out and stood, ominously, on the bank. The newcomers continued to swim about.

Presently the management's tactics were divulged. As one of the Negro lads stood on the edge of this pool, a "toughie" approached and shoved him. The Negro chose to take it as an accident and only smiled at the white fellow. Finding he had not provoked a quarrel and not wishing to lay himself open to arrest by more overt action, the toughie shrugged his shoulders and departed. The sixteen, when they had finished their swim, clambered out to sun themselves, still surrounded by the potential mob. Again a Negro lad was shoved. He smiled and extended his hand to the white fellow who was so surprised that, caught off guard, he shook the proffered hand. No hostilities developed.

Later, as the group left the park, police, called by the management, took their names and admonished them not to return. When the boys pointed out that, as they understood it, the law said all people had the right to enjoy public facilities, the police asked: "Who are you, communists?" "No, Christians," answered the boys. "Then," a policeman demanded, "why are you coming here trying to stir up trouble?"

Trouble, felt the youths, who had been doing some thinking on the matter, had been going on for a long time. They suspected that crowds might be led toward tolerant action as well as away from it, if some would only concern themselves about the matter.

Two weeks later they returned to the park. This time they sent in an "advance guard" of white boys to mingle with those in the pool, enter into their play and establish comradeship. Later, when the mixed group entered the pool, the taunting cry went up again. As before, boys started to leave the water. "What's the matter?" the advance guard asked their new companions. "Look, Niggers," came the reply. "Aw, heck, what's the diff? Come on, have fun. They've got the right to be here any how." Hardly anyone left and the whole crowd swam on amicably without incident.

Some months later, in Yellow Springs, Ohio, site of Antioch College, white students, taking seriously some of the discussions in their sociology classes, invited Negro students from nearby Wilberforce University to go with them to a movie. Instead of remaining in the segregated section at the back of the movie house, the Negroes went forward with some of the white students. The manager asked the Negroes to move. Without a word they shifted to prearranged vacant seats beside other white friends, seats scattered all over the front of the house. They kept on moving. The manager could not be everywhere at once. Finding that most of the audience was quite neutral, he finally gave up, and another Jim Crow custom that had no actual validity in popular demand melted away.

Restaurant Experiment

In Chicago, late one night in the spring of 1942, two men, one white, one Negro, entered a small, but well set-up coffee shop in a good residential neighborhood. They asked for a cup of coffee and were refused service. Several ensuing interviews with the management failed to dislodge the policy of discrimination, which was said to be due to the unwillingness of patrons to eat beside Negroes. The management, asked how it knew patrons felt this way, admitted that the question had never been put. It was suggested that the management try serving Negroes for a short period, and if the trial resulted in loss of business, the loss would be made good. The management refused to experiment.

After several weeks of such efforts, during which the management had put up a sign reading, "We reserve the right to seat our patrons where we choose," a group of twenty-one persons entered the coffee shop in the late afternoon. Among them were university students, business and professional people, men and women, a young minister or two. The majority were white, but included in the group were Negro men and women. All were well mannered and quiet. They distributed themselves in the coffee shop, some at the counter, some in the booths. Since the shop could seat only forty, the newcomers fairly well filled the place.

The management immediately asked the Negro men, who had seated themselves at the counter, to descend to the basement where, it was said, Negroes were served. They refused, saying they wished to sit with their friends. The management then tried to persuade two Negro women, who had entered a booth with white friends, to move to a booth in the rear of the shop. They, too, refused. Whereupon the management telephoned for the police.

Meanwhile, though food had been placed before the whites in the group, they would not eat unless their Negro companions were served. All maintained an unruffled demeanor. Some read, others, chatted quietly. Two police officers arrived. Apprised of the situation, they declined to have anything to do with it, since there was no disturbance whatever. Asked by the management if they would not eject the group on the grounds that the coffee shop reserved the right to seat its patrons where it wished, the officers replied, "There is nothing in the law that permits us to do that," and they left. After an hour the management, seeing that this new style sit-down strike was costing business, capitulated and served the entire twenty-one.

How did the general public react to this experiment to secure racial equality as guaranteed by law? Those who entered late seated themselves beside the Negroes at the counter without any fuss. As customers took in the situation, they lingered with interest to see the outcome. One elderly gentleman who, with his wife, had been present throughout, approached members of the group in the street afterward and said: "I had no idea there was discrimination here in Chicago. I thought that was what we were fighting against in the war. Good Luck to you!" A woman patron asked to join the group in any further endeavors to break the color bar. Subsequent visits to the coffee shop found the management amiably serving all alike -- nor did there appear to be any fall-off in business.

A New York Skating Rink

In Syracuse, early in 1943, two young men, a white and a Negro, applied for tickets at the window of a large downtown roller skating rink. The clerk stated there was a capacity crowd. The boys stood aside, watching others arrive and be admitted. They pointed out the fact to the clerk, who maintained these newcomers had had reservations. The young men asked the next prospective customer if he had a reservation. When he said he had not, they took his name and address for evidence. He was not refused a ticket. When the two approached the clerk, a third time, she grew flustered and called the manager. Irritated, he thundered that no Negro or Italian had entered his rink for twenty years. The two young men left.

Later, a committee presented its plea for non-discrimination with the confident assumption that the manager would want to comply with it. They were quiet and calm, but firm. They showed they knew the law and had collected concrete evidence that it had been broke... The manager gave the usual argument that interracial attendance would lead to rowdism. After forty minutes discussion, he agreed to a trial period of non-discrimination. No difficulties have ensued and the New York Civil Rights Statute is now observed by that rink.

The People Behind It

A few score more such incidents could be cited, from New York to Seattle. In each case individuals, frequently young college students, sometimes business and professional people or religious workers, had begun by looking at discrimination in a new light. They saw the absurdity of practicing at home a doctrine of racial superiority that was being combated abroad. They saw, too, their own guilt in acquiescing in the refusal of public services to Negroes ---- hotels, hospitals, theaters, residences, schools. They concluded that they must act as well as talk, that temporizing would no longer do.

These conclusions seem to have cropped up after field trips by James L. Farmer, graduate of the School of Religion, Howard University, and former race relations secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Groups formed, some of the members being from the Fellowship of Reconciliation but not all. Later the spontaneous and isolated groups united to form the Congress of Racial Equality, with headquarters in Cleveland. The national body now has held its third convention.

So far the organization's national treasury is a nominal one. Postage, mimeographed material, cheaply printed handbills are covered by small local contributions. Legal services, seldom required, have been contributed by members or their friends. Leadership is voluntary. CORE's executive secretary is George M. Houser, an ordained Methodist minister, who has become race relations secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation which contributes about a third of his time to the project.

Today nine groups are affiliated in New York, Syracuse, Cleveland, Columbus, Oberlin, Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, and Denver. Others are working on the program in Washington, D. C., Flint, Michigan, Indianapolis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. All are vigorous, hard-hitting local COREs who hope to send over the country a tidal wave of public conscience about our cynical double standard of first and second-class citizenship, of foreign and domestic policy. An usually rigorous discipline is maintained. COREs are committed to direct but non-violent action. They are committed not to compromise with racial segregation, but to use constructive, not destructive approaches to the situation. Groups, all interracial, submit to careful training. They do not enter upon negotiation that promises difficulties until they are sure that all members will be able to "absorb possible violence without retaliation." A two-months training school for CORE workers from all parts of the country was held in Chicago last summer.

It is the procedure to try to understand the persons with whom they are dealing and what influences their actions, then to act confidently so that no one will retaliate on the level of fear, to talk factually, never vindictively, to express courtesy and friendliness at all times. In other words, to use means harmonious with their ends. This relatively unexplored method of non-violent direct action, they feel, may develop a really powerful technique for dealing with social conflicts.

In a campaign to open certain restaurants in Chicago to white and Negro alike, the local CORE has carefully evolved a detailed procedure. First of all, members are informed what to expect in the way of discrimination. It may mean, they are told, outright refusal of service or even forcible ejection; it may mean being seated in an obscure corner; or being served small portions or food not fit to eat; it may involve being overcharged. CORE outlines certain helpful hints:

"Be confident," they say, "and assume you will have no trouble being served; dress neatly and appropriately; be observant at all times, watch the reactions of customers and capitalize on sympathetic responses; tip your waitress and always pay your bill, even when overcharged, though calling attention to the fact. If served inferior food, take away a sample of it for evidence, in case it is decided to call a court case. If no difficulty is encountered, express appreciation for courteous service to the cashier."

CORE campaigns are based on careful planning. Every step is worked out in advance, and unforeseen on-the-spot decisions are made by a leader chosen beforehand, whom all have agreed to obey. Where service is refused or is poor, the follow-up is to attempt negotiation first. This is done through personal contact and by an interracial committee. If repeated negotiation fails, action then moves into passing out leaflets, picketing, talking to patrons, sit-down strikes. If all this fails the law may be appealed to in any of the twenty-two states* where a civil rights statute is on the books. But this is resorted to only when all other efforts fail and is not considered the most satisfactory solution. Usually they do not fail.

*California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin.

Tough Going

In a Chicago restaurant, a place seating about four or five hundred people and having a big balcony, the manager, a prominent church-goer whom we shall call Mr. X, had refused to serve a white minister and his Negro friend. Repeated efforts at persuasion failed. Then handbills were prepared and distributed on the street to patrons of the restaurant.

"In a democracy," read the first, "should all people be able to choose where they wish to eat?" Mr. X "states that his patrons uphold his policy of refusing to serve Negroes. We refer the question to you."

The next handbill said: "X's discriminates. Is this lawful?" and quoted from the Declaration of Independence and the Illinois State Law, Criminal Code 38, ending: "Racial discrimination and intolerance wherever they exist and undermines the foundations of democracy. No nation which is guilty of treating unjustly any segment of its people can be a potent force in a just and durable peace." A coupon was attached which carried the request to "tear off and leave with the cashier when paying bill." It said: "To the Management of X's: I believe in 'freedom and justice for all'...and protest at finding them mocked by undemocratic practices."

A Sunday flier carried quotations against discrimination from Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish churchmen. "Is religion for Sunday or every day of the week? Is religion what you say, or what you do?"

Students and workers gave up their lunch to stand in all sorts of weather handing out leaflets which recounted the history of attempted negotiations and answered such hypothetical questions as Why Pick on X's; Who is Behind These Leaflets; What You Can Do About It. Many patrons tore off the coupons on the fliers and registered their protest with the cashier. Others came to the offices of CORE to report similar cases of discrimination, or to ask to join in the effort to "secure democracy on the home front."

Sitdown Strike

Attempts continued to be made by whites and Negroes to be served in Mr. X's restaurant. Once they found egg shells in the sandwiches served them; another time garbage. Finally after months it was decided that a sitdown strike would be necessary.

At the dinner hour on the date chosen, shock troops of three and four whites entered the restaurant at intervals until about fifty were sitting at scattered tables on the main floor. Then a mixed group of two whites and seven Negroes entered. They were left standing in line while whites who came after them were promptly seated. They continued to stand. At the end of a half hour, Mr. X gave the order to seat them, which was done at a rear table where silver and dishes were heaped in disorder. Ten more CORE members arrived, all Negroes except one; they were kept standing an hour and a half.

During this time, the fifty whites in the advance guard refused to eat and quietly informed neighboring patrons of what was taking place. Patrons became so interested in this "democracy test" that they lingered to see the outcome.

Mr. X telephoned for the police, who came, saw there was no disorder, and left. Then a white woman guest, not a member of the CORE group, asked one of the Negro girls standing in line to share her table. This inspired CORE members already seated to do likewise. In this manner all but two of the Negroes were seated and at this point the hostess ushered them to a table. Spontaneous, unrestrained applause swept the big restaurant.

Over a Widespread Area

It is not the plan of CORE to enroll large memberships. Groups must be cohesive and extremely well disciplined to carry out such programs. This is best done, the organization feels, by keeping numbers small. Memberships usually run about fifteen or twenty to a hundred, at the most, and are in all cases of both races.

Results are being achieved over a widespread area. In Denver, all movie theaters now admit Negroes to any part of the house. But before victory was won a Negro corporal in uniform was arrested by an MP on the call of the manager when he attempted to sit with a white friend on the main floor. The white friend accompanied them to the police station with a copy of the Civil Rights Statute of Colorado in his pocket. Upon its presentation, the police decided they had no grounds upon which to hold the corporal.

In Colorado Springs, the policy of several restaurants has been changed and groups are now at work on movie houses.

In Detroit, an interracial cooperative house and store have been set up.

In Chicago, two interracial cooperative residences, one for young men, another for young women, now exist in otherwise segregated areas. There were friendly talks with the neighbors and no complaining witnesses appeared when the real estate companies attempted to invoke restrictive covenants in court.

In Oberlin, faculty, students and townspeople, finding that there was no place where a Negro could get his hair cut, formed a cooperative, sold shares, and set up an interracial barber shop which is doing a flourishing, fine quality business.

In Columbus, court action was finally resorted to, which has ended segregation in the big downtown movie houses. Here, it was necessary to bring suit simultaneously in a multiple number of instances to show a recalcitrant city administration that its more democratic citizenry meant business. Following upon this success, representative of practically every independently owned theater in central Ohio agreed no longer to discriminate. Says a field report, there have been "no complaints by operators showing that any of the white patrons have complained, nor has there been any racial friction or decline in business resulting."

CORE carried on a campaign in several parts of the country against the Red Cross policy of segregating the blood of whites and blacks for transmittal to the wounded. "Give your blood," urged CORE, "but protest this Jim Crow policy." Thousands of leaflets were distributed pointing out that "it's all the same to him (the wounded man) and to science too!" Three hundred seventy-two protesting physicians, the American Association of Physical Anthropologist, and the Journal of the American Medical Association were quoted to the effect that chemical, physical, and microscopic tests have proved that white and Negro blood are identical and that "the segregation of the blood...is therefore not only unscientific, but is a grievous affront to the largest minority in the country."

CORE has collected and publicized statements of employers showing satisfaction with Negro employees. It has tackled discrimination in department stores, barber shops, federal housing, universities, YMCA's. It has issued pamphlets listing restaurants which do not discriminate and inviting thoughtful people to patronize them. It is attempting to have restrictive covenants in real estate transactions declared illegal.

Because of its good will approach, CORE has in most cases been able to secure the willing concession of those whose policy it seeks to change. "But we have no failures," points out Mr. Houser, "because we never regard a job as finished until we have won." CORE is eager to leave behind not a defeated opponent but a real supporter of racial justice. Its difference from other movements lies in its belief that education alone is insufficient, that violence is self-defeating, and that withdrawal would be immoral.

CORE members have taken as slogan the words of Henry Thoreau: "What I have to do is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn."

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

of the

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

revised July, 1964

Article I. Name

This organization shall be known as the Congress of Racial Equality, Inc., and shall be abbreviated as CORE.

Article II. Purposes and Nature

Section 1. The purpose for which this organization has been formed and for which it exists is to abolish discrimination based upon skin color, race, religion or national origin, stressing nonviolent, direct action methods.

Section 2. CORE is a national multiracial membership organization composed of affiliated chapters, and of direct national individual associate (contributing) members. It shall represent the affiliated chapters and associate members on a national level and give voice to their convictions and ideals.

Article III. Membership

Section 1. Any person holding active membership in any affiliated chapter, all National Officers and members of the National Action Council are active members.

Section 2. Any person who supports national CORE financially is a national associate member unless he wishes to be considered only a contributor.

Section 3. Active membership shall not be available to any person who:

a) associates himself with any other group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE;
b) persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or
c) attempts to subvert the CORE group through allegiance to other groups or organizations.

Section 4.

a) The National Action Council or its Steering Committee may hold a hearing on the eligibility for continued membership of any active member and shall be empowered to make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary for the conduct of such a hearing.
b) At least two weeks prior to such a hearing, the National Director must inform the active member in writing of the charges against him and must request a written statement from the member and from the chapter of which he is a member. The said member shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses in his behalf.
c) If his membership in CORE is found to be in violation of the restrictions contained in this article, the Steering Committee or the National Action Council shall remove him from membership and exclude him from participation in national and local CORE groups. Within thirty (30) days after receipt of the decision by the Steering Committee or National Action Council to remove him from membership, he shall have the right to file notice of appeal in writing to the National Chairman at the National CORE Office and make his appeal to the National Action

Council if excluded by the Steering Committee, or to the Convention if excluded by the National Action Council, and the decision of the Convention shall be final.

Section 5. Any active member removed from an affiliated chapter by that chapter for whatever reason has the right first to appeal that ruling to the Regional Action Council of the region where the chapter is located, and may then further appeal such removal to the Steering Committee, then to the next meeting of the National Action Council, and then to the Convention, whose decision shall be final. The Regional Action Council must inform the affiliated chapter of its intent to hold such a hearing and must request a written statement and presentation of witnesses from the affiliated chapter.

Article IV. Affiliation

Section 1. Local action groups may be affiliated by the annual Convention, the National Action Council, or the Steering Committee. In order to apply for affiliation, a local action group must: 1) give written notice to the Director of Organization of intent to organize and apply for affiliation as a CORE chapter; 2) operate for ninety (90) days following the filing of the notice of this intent; and 3) have at least ten (10) active members. Its application for affiliation must be accompanied by the affiliation form, an acceptable constitution, and payment of a non-refundable ten dollar fee. Before the National Action Council or the Steering Committee may consider such an application for affiliation, it must have a report and recommendation in writing from the Director of Organization. The National Action Council or Steering Committee must take action on the application within sixty (60) days after the receipt of the application for affiliation. Any local action group which applies for affiliation is to receive a written copy of the report submitted by the National Office, stating whether affiliation has been recommended or not. If affiliation is not recommended, the report should state clearly why and should offer suggestions for correction. Once affiliation has been denied, the local action group shall have the right to request another visit from a Field Secretary. If the visit is not granted within three months after the request, the local action group shall have the right to appeal to the National Action Council.

Section 2. Each affiliating group shall be known as the Committee of Racial Equality and shall be abbreviated as CORE, or a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and each group must accept the CORE Rules for Action and the national CORE constitution. At least one representative of National CORE shall visit the prospective group and report on it to the Director of Organization before affiliation.

Section 3. In the case of a city where a local action group applies for affiliation and one or more CORE chapters is already affiliated, the existing CORE chapter(s) shall be given the opportunity to make a statement and present witnesses relating to the application for affiliation of the new group, and the new group may be affiliated only by a 2/3 majority of those members voting at a meeting of the National Action Council or by the National Convention.

Section 4. National CORE, or any of its affiliated chapters, may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any organization when such affiliation requires National CORE or any of its chapters to relinquish their autonomy.

Article V. Disaffiliation and Suspension

Section 1. An affiliated local chapter may be disaffiliated by the Steering Committee or the National Action Council if: the chapter has ceased to carry on nonviolent direct action; or takes action not in accordance with CORE Rules for Action; or acts in violation of the local or national Constitution; or acts in violation of the by-laws of the national organization; or fails to follow the duly authorized instructions of the National Action Council, the Steering Committee, or the National Director; or falls below ten active members; or consistently takes positions on matters not directly pertaining to the civil rights struggle for justice and human dignity.

Section 2. Such disaffiliation by the Steering Committee may be appealed to the next meeting of the National Action Council and then to the convention, and such disaffiliation by the National Action Council may be appealed to the next convention. The decision of the convention shall be final.

Section 3. An affiliated chapter may be suspended by the National Director acting upon the unanimous instruction of the National Chairman and the National Vice-Chairmen for any one or more of the following reasons: 1) violation of the CORE Rules for Action; 2) acts in violation of the local constitution, national constitution or by-laws; 3) failure to follow the duly authorized instructions of the National Action Council, Steering Committee, or the National Director; 4) consistently takes positions on matters not directly pertaining to the civil rights struggle for justice and dignity. If the National Chairman or either of the National Vice-Chairmen are members of the chapter in question, his vote shall not be necessary to instruct the National Director regarding suspension of that affiliated chapter. Such suspension shall be in effect until the next meeting of the National Action Council or its Steering Committee, but shall in no case exceed a period of thirty (30) days. The suspension may be extended for a maximum of an additional thirty (30) days by the National Action Council or its Steering Committee. During the term of such a suspension, the chapter shall engage in no public activities and make no public statements without the written consent of the National Director.

Section 4. Any affiliated local chapter upon failure for two years to submit constitutional assessments due national CORE shall be declared delinquent and ineligible to vote at convention.

Article VI. Trusteeship

Section 1. An affiliated local chapter may be placed under trusteeship: 1) when requested by a majority of the governing board of that chapter or by petition of 30% of the active members of the chapter; or 2) when a chapter, in a public activity has acted in violation of the CORE Rules for Action; or 3) when a chapter has come under the domination of a group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE; or 4) where the officers or members of the chapter are so divided as to be unable to conduct the affairs of the chapter; or 5) where the finances of the chapter are negligently handled, or there is a misuse of funds, or the finances of the chapter are not kept in accordance with reasonable bookkeeping practices.

Section 2. Such trusteeship may be invoked, following a hearing, by a 2/3 vote of the Steering Committee or by a majority of the National Action Council upon the written recommendation of the National Director. At least two weeks prior to the hearing, the chapter must be presented in writing with the charges. The chapter shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses in its own behalf at this hearing.

Section 3. The trustee shall be the National Director and he may appoint any deputy or deputies to act in his place and stead. The trustee shall:

a) have and assume all the powers of all the officers of said chapter as set forth in the chapter constitution, or any by-laws, or any other empowering document of said chapter; and in order to carry out said duty, he shall keep all necessary records and accounts and appoint such necessary assistants as to assist him to carry out these functions; and expend necessary funds for such purpose;
b) be empowered to request the Steering Committee to terminate the terms of any officers of the chapter and to conduct elections in the chapter, under such terms and conditions as may be determined with due regard to the preservation of all rights of the members of said chapter;
c) demand that all membership lists, records, books of accounts, bank books, and cash and other assets of said chapter be turned over to the National Director and that the present holders of them shall sign or execute any and all documents and assignments necessary for the National Director to carry out his duties hereunder;
d) use full power to preserve the assets of said chapter, pay all its debts now or in the future and to collect sums due and owing from all sources either from members or otherwise, to receive all gifts or donations, whether in money or property, and to deposit or place same in a bank of his own choosing, and in his name as Trustee; that he shall dispense all necessary sums in his capacity as Trustee. The authorization for the disposition of all chapter funds shall only be at the direction of the National Director;
e) advise with and make recommendations to the Steering Committee as to any problems existing and the extent to which he has received or failed to receive all necessary cooperation to carry out his duties hereunder.

Section 4. Such trusteeship shall last for ninety (90) days from the date of the resolution instituting the trusteeship unless sooner terminated by the Steering Committee or the National Action Council upon the recommendation of the National Director. At the first and each subsequent meeting of the National Action Council following the imposition of the trusteeship, it must be submitted for National Action Council action, and the chapter shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses.

Article VII. Officers and Duties

Section 1. The national officers of CORE shall be: Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.

Section 2. Duties of the officers:

a) Chairman: The chairman shall preside at all conventions and Council meetings. He shall appoint all committees at the National Action Council and annual convention, and he shall be ex-officio member of all committees except the nominating committee. The chairman shall, upon the disability or vacancy of the national directorship, be empowered to act in his behalf until such time as the disability shall be removed or the vacancy filled by the National Action Council.

b) First and Second Vice-Chairman: The First Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the Second Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the First Vice-Chairman. They shall perform such other duties as may be delegated to them by the Chairman.

c) Secretary: The secretary shall be responsible for keeping a record of all council meetings and conventions. The secretary shall be responsible for the dissemination of Steering Committee, National Action Council, and Convention minutes to all affiliated chapter officers, up to five.

d) Treasurer: The Treasurer shall be responsible for handling all funds in accordance with generally accepted accounting standards. He shall make regular reports to the Steering Committee, the National Action Council, and present a general report covering receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year to the Annual Convention.

Article VIII. Nominations and Elections

Section 1. The Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by the Annual Convention.

Section 2. Nominations for the officers to be elected at the Annual Convention shall be made by a nominating committee and by nominations from the floor.

Section 3. Elections shall be by secret ballot and by a majority of votes cast.

Article IX. The Convention

Section 1. The Convention is the highest governing body of CORE.

Section 2. The Convention shall be composed of the national officers, delegates from the affiliated chapters and members of the National Action Council, provided that no person can vote in more than one of these capacities.

Section 3. The Convention shall meet annually.

Section 4. Each affiliated community chapter shall have a maximum of three

votes at the Convention and shall be guaranteed that maximum except where there are multiple chapters within a city. The chapter may apportion its votes, in whole numbers, as it chooses. Each college campus chapter shall have one vote at the National Convention. College campus chapters shall not be included in any formula which limits the number of potential votes in a city, except that the total votes allocated to college chapters in a city shall not exceed one half of the total number of votes allocated to community chapters in that city.

a) There shall be a limitation of votes which the community chapters of any city may cast at the National Convention. The schedule for determining potential votes within a city shall be as follows:

Population	Potential Convention Votes
Up to 2,000,000	10
Over 2,000,000	20

b) When the affiliation of a new chapter would increase the number of votes within a city beyond the constitutional limit, then the National Action Council shall distribute the votes in equal whole numbers among the chapters in that city, but in no event shall any community chapter have less than one or more than three votes.

Section 5. Voting delegates must be active members of the affiliated chapter for which they cast their vote(s).

Article X. National Action Council

Section 1. The National Action Council shall consist of:

a) The National Chairman
b) The National Director
c) Other National Officers:
    1) First Vice-Chairman
    2) Second Vice-Chairman
    3) Secretary
    4) Treasurer
d) The Regional Vice Chairman from each of the five (5) geographical regions.
e) Two (2) representatives from each of the five geographical regions.
f) Four (4) additional members elected by the aforementioned twenty-one (21) National Action Council Members, at a meeting directly following the National Convention.

Section 2. There will be a regional Vice-Chairman from each region elected by a majority vote of the National Convention, whose term shall be two (2) years.

Section 3. Both regional representatives shall serve for a one year term. A majority vote of the convention shall be necessary to elect a representative.

Section 4. Of the four additional members elected by the National Action Council, all must be active members of affiliated chapters and no two shall be from the same chapter. Their term shall be one year.

Section 5. The National Action Council shall be the governing body of CORE between conventions.

Section 6. Multiple Chapters. In a city with three or more affiliated chapters the National Action Council may direct the chapters in that city to establish a coordinating body which will not affect the status or autonomy of any chapter except that it may prohibit a chapter from taking unilateral action in city-wide affairs without approval of the majority of the chapters within that city. Such a coordinating council may also be directed to meet regularly to exchange information, to seek cooperation and to negotiate differences which may arise among the various chapters.

Section 7. The National Action Council shall be empowered to fill vacancies in office and shall meet in January, April, during the week preceding the National Convention, and October, of each year, and more often if required at the call of any one of the following:

a) National Chairman
b) National Director
c) 1/3 of the affiliated chapters
d) 1/3 of the National Action Council

Article XI. Steering Committee

Section 1. A Steering Committee of the National Action Council shall consist of the following:

a) National Chairman
b) National Director
c) Other National Officers
    1. First Vice-Chairman
    2. Second Vice-Chairman
    3. Secretary
    4. Treasurer
d) The Regional Vice-Chairmen
e) Other members of the National Action Council in attendance.

Section 2. Eight National Action Council members must be in attendance in order to hold an official Steering Committee meeting.

Section 3. The Steering Committee shall meet not less than eight times a year, whenever practicable, on the last Saturday of the month of February, March, May, June, August, September, November, and December, and shall be the governing body of CORE between National Action Council meetings and conventions. Additional meetings of the Steering Committee may be called by the National Chairman or the National Director.

Section 4. In order to assure greater participation of National Officers and Regional Vice-Chairmen in important deliberative sessions, commensurate with their responsibility for National CORE policy, National CORE shall provide, if necessary, transportation and lodging for the following:

a) The National Chairman
b) The National Director
c) Other National Officers
    1. First Vice-Chairman
    2. Second Vice-Chairman
    3. Secretary
    4. Treasurer
d) The Regional Vice-Chairmen
e) Any staff members whose attendance is deemed necessary by the National Director.

Article XII. Regional Action Council

Section 1. There shall be established in each of the five geographical regions of CORE a Regional Action Council consisting of the regional vice-chairman, the regional representatives, the senior field secretary in the region who shall be an ex-officio member, and four members who are active members of affiliated chapters in the region, no more than one from the same city, elected by the delegates from the region at the National Convention, each delegate having the same number of votes as he has at the convention.

Section 2. The Regional Action Council shall serve to coordinate activities within the region; to initiate regional projects; to set up regional conferences; and to facilitate communication within the organization. The Regional Action Council shall also investigate and attempt to resolve within the region disputes within chapters and between chapters. Further, the Regional Action Council shall have the power of initial review and the power to uphold or reverse expulsion of member(s) by chapters within the region, and shall be available for advisory action to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee regarding chapter disaffiliations and chapter trusteeships.

Section 3. The Regional Action Council shall be a subsidiary to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee. The Regional Action Council shall meet the second week of each month at such time and place as it designates, and shall report monthly its proceedings to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee.

Article XIII. National Advisory Committee

Section 1. The National Advisory Committee shall consist of individuals who will lend their advice, prestige and influence to promote the growth and welfare of CORE.

Section 2. Membership shall be conferred by either the Convention, the National Action Council or the Steering Committee. Members may be removed by action of the Convention.

Article XIV. Staff

Section 1. The Staff shall consist of all persons receiving a full-time salary from CORE.

Section 2. The National Action Council shall appoint a National Director, who shall serve at its pleasure, and who shall be the chief executive officer of CORE and be responsible for direction and coordination of staff and program.

Section 3. All other professional staff personnel shall be appointed by the Steering Committee on recommendation of the National Director.

Section 4. No professional staff member may be an active member of an affiliated chapter or hold any elective office in CORE. Professional staff shall be admitted to any chapter meeting at which they shall have authorized business.

Article XV. Parliamentary Procedure

All decisions at duly constituted meetings of the National Organization shall be by Roberts Rules of Order Revised, except as otherwise specifically modified in this Constitution, and the Chairman shall appoint a parlimentarian at Conventions and Council meetings.

Article XVI. Quorum

A Quorum for the transaction of business at a Council or Convention shall consist of not fewer than one-third of the delegates seated at the Council or Convention. This rule may be suspended by the Chairman. All business considered when this rule is suspended may be re-considered by a simple majority vote when there is a regular quorum.

Article XVII. Finances

Section 1. The fiscal year of the National Organization shall commence on July 1 of each year and end on May 31 of the following calendar year.

Section 2. All local affiliated Chapters shall have the same fiscal year as the National Organization.

Section 3. Each affiliated local chapter shall pay a $10.00 annual affiliation fee and ten percent of its gross income to the National Organization within thirty (30) days after the close of the fiscal year.

Article XVIII. Amendments

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the accredited delegates present and voting at the Annual Convention.

Section 2. This Constitution and any amendments thereto shall become effective immediately upon adoption unless otherwise provided in the amendment.

Article XIX. By-Laws

By-Laws of the Congress of Racial Equality may be adopted by a majority vote of the Convention or by a 2/3 majority of the National Action Council. Prior to the adoption of a by-law by the National Action Council, the National Action Council must notify the chapters at least two weeks prior to its consideration. The by-laws shall be appended to the Constitution annually, after being approved by the Convention.

Article XX. Constitution of Local Chapters

Section 1. Each affiliated chapter shall operate under a constitution which has been approved by the Director of Organization, and which shall not be in conflict with the National Constitution or the CORE Rules for Action. Each revision of a local chapter constitution must be sent to the Director of Organization who shall determine whether it is in conflict with the National Constitution or CORE Rules for Action.

Section 2. Local constitutions shall define the process for granting active and associate memberships:

a) Active membership must be approved by not less than a majority of the members of an affiliated chapter at a regularly scheduled meeting of the general membership.
b) An active member must have an understanding of the nature of CORE and the CORE Rules for Action.

Section 3. Each local chapter constitution shall have a clause reading, "Any provision of this constitution which is in conflict with the constitution of National CORE shall be invalid."

Article XXI

If any part of this constitution conflicts with the laws of the United States or of any State, the remainder parts of this constitution shall be unaffected thereby and remain in full force and effect.

BY-LAWS
of the
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
(As compiled by the National Action Council)

I. REGIONAL ORGANIZATION. Regional Organization may be established within the organizational framework of the National CORE organization. Chapters in any region desiring to form a regional organization will inform the National Office of their plans with details of the planned organization. If a regional group of chapters applies to the National Office for such regional organization, and the National Action Council does not give its approval, then further action by the regional group will be postponed until the next Convention. (CONVENTION 1950)

II. LOCAL CHAPTER POLICY.

1. All chapters must submit to national CORE for approval the names by which they will be identified. (Action Committee 1961)

2. An individual who lives in one area and works in another may affiliate with either CORE chapter he desires, rather than being confined to the chapter of his residential area. (Action Committee, October 12, 1961)

3. Every affiliated chapter must report annually at least three months prior to Convention, a list of all active chapter members, officers, committees and must include an outline of chapter policy and practice for granting active membership. Such a report will include the most recent revision of the chapter constitution and by-laws. (National Action Council Feb. 1964)

4. No local chapter is to engage in joint activity with other organizations unless that joint activity has been discussed and approved at a duly constituted meeting of the local CORE chapter. (Convention 1957)

5. Local chapters are to issue active membership only after prospective members have been screened, the screening procedure to be established in the local constitution. (Convention 1957)

6. All CORE chapters endorsing issues or lending organizational support must do so in their own name and not in the name of the Congress of Racial Equality. (National Action Council 1963)

7. In the event of complaints received within 30 days of alleged irregularities in the conduct of an election wherein chapter or unit officers are involved, the National Director, or his agent, may after investigation, cause to be held, under his supervision, new elections if one or more of the following circumstances hold:

1. requested by the candidates
2. requested by 30% of the active members in good standing
3. requested by the Director of Organization
4. indicated in trusteeship situations

(National Action Council, Nov. 1963)

III. NATIONAL PROJECTS

1. Projects may be developed by the national organization and presented to the chapters for implementation as needed. Any chapter may refrain from participating in such a national project; but when a chapter does participate it must accept the national organization's program of action. In no case may a chapter take action contrary to the policy of the project, and in no case may a chapter publicly oppose such a project. (Steering Committee, June 19, 1964)

2. All CORE activities on a nation-wide basis, whether initiated by national CORE or a local chapter must be originally coordinated through the national office. (National Action Council, December 1962)

3. All press releases on national projects must be cleared with the national office. (National Action Committee, January 26, 1962)

IV. HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. High school students may generally be used in local projects, depending on local circumstances. It is CORE policy that persons under 18 years of age be used only on projects within their state. It is general CORE policy not to affiliate high school groups to the national body. However, there are three circumstances in which high school groups might be associated with CORE:

1. Organizations that are primarily, but not exclusively made up of high school students may apply for affiliation on the same basis as any other chapter.

2. High School branches may be organized by already existing chapters. In this case, the high school group would become a part of the older CORE chapter and would not affiliate with the national organization. Certain specifications or suggestions would have to be worked out for the relationship between the high school chapter and the community CORE group.

3. Other high school groups which want to work with CORE must receive permission from CORE in order to call themselves a student committee in support of CORE or by some similar name and then may cooperate with national and local CORE without affiliation.

(National Council, February 1962)

V. NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. That the nominating committee nominate at least two persons for each office and that they be listed in alphabetical order.

(Convention 1963)

2. There should be a form of certification of delegates to the Convention; and there shall be a credentials committee chaired by the secretary. (National Action Council, December 1962)

VI. NATIONAL CONSTITUTION. The constitution must be re-issued every time it is amended. (Convention 1958)

VII. POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS.

1. Persons owing allegiance to Communist, fascist and/or totalitarian philosophies shall be excluded from active membership. (Convention 1957)

2. No chapter shall be accepted as an affiliate of the Congress of Racial Equality, if it is known to be Communist controlled. If a member chapter becomes Communist controlled during its period of affiliation, such a group will be dropped from membership in the federation of CORE. (Convention 1948)

3. CORE chapters may not involve their organizations in political campaigns; all political work must be carried on as individuals. CORE members have the right to engage in political activities as individuals, but CORE as an organization is non-political. (Convention 1959)

VIII. FINANCES.

1. CORE shall not make substantial contributions to other organizations, except under unusual circumstances. (Convention 1957)

2. Only those persons authorized by the national office may collect funds in the name of CORE, and all chapters are given blanket authorization to collect funds. The national office shall make an effort to inform local chapters of persons authorized to raise money in their local area. (National Council, February 1962)

LITERATURE ORDERS

REQUESTED BY MAXINE DELIVERY DEADLINE TODAY

DATE January 15, 1965 BILL [ ] ON CONSIGNMENT [ ]

PAID [/]

NO CHARGE [XXX]

ITEM	NUMBER
ALL ABOUT CORE	25
CORE RULES	25
CORE-lators	25
Literature Lists	10

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

(MR.) (MRS.) (MISS) Paul Lovejoy

STREET & NUMBER 33½ Market Street

CITY Potsdam, ZONE _____ STATE NY

Filled By _____

Date _____

cc:
Geo Wiley

Organizer I

NATIONAL CORE STAFF DISTRIBUTION LIST

January 27, 1965

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To: George

From: Marion

Can you, Bob, + I talk about this soon?

CORE Routing Memo

To: Madeline From: Geo Wahley Date: 3/24/65

Action Required:

- ☐ File ☒ Expedite ☐ Circulate
- ☐ Comment ☐ For your information and possible use
- ☐ Initial, date and return by_____.
- ☐ Please act on this matter and report to me action taken by_____.
- ☐ Report any action taken to_____.

Remarks: Let's hold up on your memo of March 23 until we can give it more discussion.

March 23, 1965

TO: MARVIN RICH, COMMUNITY RELATIONS

FROM: MAXINE SKURKA, ORGANIZATION DEPT.

RE: CONTACT LIST

Before Jim McCain left for Sumter last week, he directed Isel to initiate a new system for chapter officers mail. All officers on the Contact List (CL) will receive their mail at their chapter address if they have one. Chapter Chairman (CC) mail will continue to be sent to their homes as they are often sent telegrams of importance at all hours of the day. This will be a more efficient system, since address changes will be cut to a minimum. I will still request officer's home addresses and telephone numbers and have them on my wheel in case of emergencies.

Isel will put this into effect as soon as possible.

cc: Isel
George Wiley

Why do it this way?
If we mail to office why use personal names - why not use titles only?
But if we mail to office only we lose one of purposes. Perhaps it would be better to eliminate all but chapter chairmen.

file - org dept

CORE, C ngress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.
January 27, 1965

TO: Chapter Chairman

FROM: Department of Organization

Enclosed are four discuss on guides in areas of importance to CORE chapters (Political Action, War on Poverty, Education, Community Organizing). These are not National CORE policy statements but they do reflect some of the serious thought which has been given to these problem areas.

These papers are not for the exclusive use of the chapter chairman or executive committee. All chapter members should be brought into a complete discussion of the issues raised. This can be done either in a regular meeting or, preferably, in a special workshop session. It is hoped that this kind of discussion will aid chapters in implementing or advancing local program.

You are urged to acquire a loose-leaf binder in which to keep these papers. If there is a change of officers in your chapter, all programmatic materials would then be localized. In the future, more materials of this nature will be sent to you. If you have need of materials like this of a specific nature, please let the Organization Department know so that we can attempt to develop future papers based on chapter needs.

Encl. Political Action on the Community Level by K. Berg
Finding and Making Leaders by N. Von Hoffman
President's Task Force on War Against Poverty
Detailing the Idea of the Educational Complex

Org Dept
file for
Farmer.

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
GRamercy 3-8015

March 1, 1965

file ?
Organiz.
Dept.

MAR 2 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

You have probably been too busy to answer my letter to you of February 10, but I hope it has not slipped your mind altogether.

I hope you will not mind this reminder which comes with an urgent request for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

John P. Davis

John P. Davis

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress for Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Mailed
3/3/65

February 10, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress for Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Phelps-Stokes Fund needs your cooperation in performing an important public service. We are compiling a book to be called Negro Facts and Figures. It is intended to be a ready reference book to be kept on your desk; it will contain thousands of statistical items and other facts about the Negro all in one handy volume.

One unique feature of our book will be detailed information on the Negro leadership community in those 25 cities with the largest Negro population. What we are asking you to do is to supply us with information about any branches or chapters of your organization in eachof these 25 cities. Our book will not be complete without such information about an organization important as yours is.

For your convenience we enclose a blank sheet to be filled in and returned to us we hope within two weeks of the date of this letter. It lists the cities and indicates the information we require. Your help will make it possible for us to have a truly comprehensive book of information about the Negro.

Thank you for your time and trouble; we hope you will agree with us that it is important to make this information available to the public.

Sincerely,

John P. Davis
Editor of Special Publications

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

NEGRO FACTS AND FIGURES
QUESTIONNAIRE

(Where you have no branch in one of the cities below please write NONE. Where you have more than one branch in a city - Brooklyn or Queens in New York for example - please give information for ALL on back of this sheet. Thank you for your patience, time and trouble.)

New York, N. Y. **Name of chief officer**_____

Title_____ **Address**_____

_____

Chicago, Ill. **Name of chief officer**_____

Title_____ **Address**_____

_____

Philadelphia, Pa. **Name of chief officer**_____

Title_____ **Address**_____

_____

Detroit, Mich. **Name of chief officer**_____

Title_____ **Address**_____

_____

Washington, D. C. **Name of chief officer**_____

Title_____ **Address**_____

_____

Los Angeles, Cal. **Name of chief officer**_____

Title_____ **Address**_____

_____

Baltimore, Md. Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Cleveland, Ohio Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

New Orleans, La. Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Houston, Tex. Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

St. Louis, Mo. Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Atlanta, Ga. Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Memphis, Tenn. Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Newark, N. J. Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Birmingham, Ala.

Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Dallas, Tex.

Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Cincinnati, Ohio

Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Indianapolis, Ind.

Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Richmond, Va.

Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

San Francisco - Oakland, Cal.

Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Kansas City (Kans. and Mo.)

Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Jacksonville, Fla. Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Norfolk, Va. Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Columbus, Ohio Name of chief officer _____

Title _____ Address _____

_____

Maxine Greene should write a letter.

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NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

FOUNDED IN 1911

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February 10, 1965

FEB 9 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress for Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Phelps-Stokes Fund needs your cooperation in performing an important public service. We are compiling a book to be called Negro Facts and Figures. It is intended to be a ready reference book to be kept on your desk; it will contain thousands of statistical items and other facts about the Negro all in one handy volume.

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For your convenience we enclose a blank sheet to be filled in and returned to us we hope within two weeks of the date of this letter. It lists the cities and indicates the information we require. Your help will make it possible for us to have a truly comprehensive book of information about the Negro.

Thank you for your time and trouble; we hope you will agree with us that it is important to make this information available to the public.

Sincerely,

John P. Davis

John P. Davis
Editor of Special Publications

March 17, 1965

Mr. David Dennis
CORE Southern Office
2309 Bayadan Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dave,

I am awfully glad you called and I agree that it is important that I come to Louisiana and meet with you and Dick Haley, Collins, Douglas & Ellis, as well as Shaw and Barry and also Murphy Bell, if at all possible, so that we make sure that our legal procedures are understood by all of us.

Clearly C, D & E are in charge of CORE's legal affairs in Louisiana and obviously, when help is required any place in the state, they should be consulted in the first instance. They have good relationships with the lawyers and it is important that these be continued. I, of course, will always be ready to consult, to come to Louisiana, to assist in the preparation of cases and the trials and appeals at any and all time.

As to the St. Tammany Parish suit, I guess the short conversation we had at the Legal Conference did not make sufficiently clear who the plaintiffs should be. I thought I had, but apparently in the short conversation, it wasn't fully understood. The plaintiffs should be parents of school children in the parish and, in addition, if possible though not essential, property owners. Time is of the essence since the bond will be issued very shortly after April 1st, 1965.

This could be an important action. Obviously, the result is uncertain but we want to try a new approach to the school problem. Please do all you can to give Bob, Ellis and Lolis the necessary information.

I have asked Bob and Ellis to set up a meeting if possible Sunday afternoon to meet with the lawyers and I would spend Monday with them planning the final arrangements on St. Tammany Parish.

With best regards and my love to Hattie,

Carl Rachlin
General Counsel

cc: Collins, Douglas & Ellis
Mr. Richard Haley
Mr. George Wiley
CR:bdl

Organizatin Dept.

July 27, 1965

Mr. James T. McCain
317 West Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Nooker:

Thank you for your letter of July 19th regarding a replacement for Maxine. We are now looking for someone to take her place. Since Maxine tells me that she hopes to be able to stay until the middle or the end of October, we plan to hire someone by October 1st for this position. We actually have several people in the office who are taking secretarial training that we may just transfer into thattjob if they can qualify.

Glad the project seems to be going okay. I want to apologize for a remark I made during the NAC meeting after the Convention, which appeared to indicate that I did not feel we should have a South Carolina project. I certainly have no desire to cut off the project now that we have started it. My concern was, and still is, that we had hoped the project would have been self-supporting in the sense that it would have attracted new income to CORE. As yet this has not happened to any significant degree; hence my concern.

I do feel that it is a good project, however, and that you have given it energetic and dedicated leadership of a type that no no one else could have provided.

Sincerely,

George A. Wiley
Associate National Director

GAW:nm

JUL 2 1 1965

317 West Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina
July 19,1965

Dear George:

If you have not already consider getting someone in the Organization Department to replace Maxine when she has to leave, I think this should be done as soon as possible.

The person who will come in the Department needs some guidance and supervision un der Maxine. In this way the person will not be new with the procedures and methods we usedin dealing with chapters and personnel that fall under our supervision.

We have had some problems with the volunteers who came by the way of the Southern Office, but everything is moving smoothly now. We are attempting to implicate the entire community in our work, so that the community will be able to carry on my itself in our absence. My warmest regards to you and the office staff.

Sincerely,

Nooker
James T. McCain

Hey - we are lkg fa a replace
fo Ma . Ma tells me he
hps to b ab to stj until mid
a.m. of Oct. We pln to hire
someone by Oct 1st fo this
posit We actly have sev pers
in the off who are lkg secty
jobs now, jst transf into
the job if they are qualfy
Also the proj ans to b going on dwn to
appr fr a rem 9 mde dr the AAC mtg
Ch the Com

we agreed to indic that I did not feel ...
wished have a SC proj. I dont know how
to get off the proj now that we have std etc.
My conc was, & still is, that we had hoped
the proj would have bn self supptg & the sense
is it would be attchd now not to C as yet tho
has not happ to any sig degree, hence my conc

I do feel it is a gd proj however, & they have
gon it energy & ded ldrship of a type that noon
else cd ho prov.

Sincy

TO: NAC October 21, 1965

FROM: James T. McCain, Organization Department

RE: Organization Report

All chapters were informed of the constitutional changes made at the 1965 National Convention in Durham, N.C. We have had no written response from the chapters concerning any of these changes.

We have written a number of memoranda to the chapters since the convention, pleading with them to send us chapter reports on activities and correct officer and address lists. The following is a short synopsis of the chapter reports:

Cleveland CORE. They have been involved in two major areas, community action (finding indigenous leaders specifically among Public Housing Projects residents) and in political action where they endorsed Stokes for mayor and three councilmen. They also are doing voter registration. Further plans are to continue in these areas.

Tucson CORE. They have gotten state Civil Rights Commission to investigate four operating mines in Tucson which discriminate in hiring practices. Three Negroes are employeed out of 1,408 employees. They have tried to get reforms introduced into the discriminating Welfare Program. They have taken action against discrimination in Housing (specifically against University of Arizona, which has allowed discriminatory landlords to advertise in College Newspaper), and in Employment (specifically in the case of a Negro woman fired from Pima County Board of Supervisors for no apparent reason). Future plans include continuation of what they have been involved in plus fund raising and political action.

Baltimore CORE. Their largest project is housing. They have had about 15 demonstrations around segregated housing facilities. About 12 people have been arrested. They are also working in Education, Employment (including a meat market and a Bank, mediated by Cardinal Sheean). Both agreed to meet CORE demands. Future plans are community organization (they want Herb Callender to stay and help them), fund raising, and integrating public accomodations.

Gainesville Fla. CORE. They have organized a community center with classroom supported by American Friends. Community organization has been done around new housing code. Chapter not too active, but officers trying to stimulate interest around travesties of civil rights bill.

Denver CORE. They sponsored an open forum with city, state officials and citizens of Denver. They got some publicity but not as much as expected. Was considered successful. Most people were interested in discussing police brutality. Immediate result was stimulated interest by community. They would like advi e in dealing with police brutality, e.g. decoy teams, surveillance teams, etc. They picketed a slumlord and they were successful. She is making repairs that were demanded. Have also had success in employment project and tutorial program.

New Haven CORE. They have been working on program against police brutality.

Norwalk CORE. They are working on housing program.

Pomona Valley CORE. They have been doing some fund raising, work in housing and in education.

Queens CORE. They have done work in support of MFDP. Also working on housing. They plan to work more in political action and did actively back William Ryan and Paul Gibson for city council.

Long Island CORE. They had a successful Headstart program for 60 children this summer. They are also doing work in Employment, i.e. Gruman Aircraft Corp., where, agreement was reached on three issues -- their responsibility for aggressive policy of recruitment, training and upgrading; assurance that all supervisory and personnel officers are directed to carry on this program; and no retaliation be taken against those employees who have filed complaints with CORE.

In addition to these reports we have received news releases from some chapters.

PRESENT FIELD STAFF AND LOCATION:

Joyce Ware is taking care of servicing the Metropolitan N.Y., N.J., chapters, in addition to working as Northeastern Regional Director. Herb Callender is working in Maryland, Southern Penna., and Southern N.J., and Walter Brooks is responsible for the chapters in the northern area. Lou Smith is concentrating his efforts in the Los Angeles area. Winston Lockett is in Chicago, and Mike Lesser has been assigned to work in Washington, D.C. James McCain, Frank Robinson, and Emerson Brown are working in South Carolina, B. Elton Cox in North Carolina, Ike Reynolds and Bruce Baines in Louisiana, Spiver Gordon in Florida, George Raymond in Mississippi, and Dave Dennis, Ed Hollander, and of course, Richard Haley in the Southern Office in New Orleans. Jerome Smith is also working in New Orleans.

The only field reports sent to the Organization Department on National Projects has been on the South Carolina Project by James McCain. His reports have come in monthly since the project began, and consequently sent to all NAC members. The following is a summary of that Project:

SOUTH CAROLINA. It has been almost six months now since CORE embarked on its political action program in South Carolina looking towards the election of 1966. Much of what has been accomplished up to this point has been sent to the NAC members in our preceeding reports. The first phase of this program has been directed to getting a substantial number of additional new Negroes registered. CORE has helped to register over 20,000 persons since last April. Of course, one realizes that at least 15,000 new registered voters were put on the books within the last three months, since the new voting bill was passed. If the pace can be maintained in the future, I am sure that the goal of an additional 100,000 new Negro voters can be realized by the election in 1966.

The second phase of this program in South Carolina will be that of teaching those who have registered the art of voting and casting their ballots. This, I am sure, will take much time and effort until the masses of these new registered voters can be left on their own. Institutes on how to mark the ballots, how to take part in precinct organizations and political education in general will have to be conducted with these new voters.

There are nine counties in South Carolina with an adult voting population of Negroes over 50%. We must decide whether to concentrate only in these counties so that in the near future there will be a possibility of electing a Negro to the State office, or continuing to divide staff all over the state as we are doing now. Our staff has been decreased since the summer, and it might be of greater importance to concentrate in those counties where Negroes may be elected. The question is, if this is done and a Negro is elected to office, will this in itself stimulate Negroes in other areas to get out in masses for registration without our help? This question must be answered very soon in order that we will know what direction to take. If we concentrate in heavily populated Negro areas, we must begin organizing now from the precinct level on up, or take one county to serve as a model and to use the experience gained in this county to set up others with simular Negro populations.

From what we have heard in South Carolina by the grape vine, Fritz Hollands, former Governor of South Carolina, will run against Senator Russell in 1966. So far no one is being considered to run against Senator Thurmond. I think all the political candidates in this state are afraid to run against Thurmond. Unless there is a candidate in S.C. who can draw at least two thirds of the white votes plus the Negro votes in the next years Senatorial election, I don't see at this point how Thurmond is to be defeated. If my evaluation of the political atmosphere in S.C. is correct, then it becomes more relevant for us to try to send a Negro to the State Legislature from one of those counties with a heavy Negro population. It may not happen in 1966, but it might be worth trying.

The latest political move in S.C. was the appointment of Senator Thurman's Legislative Assistant as chairman of the S.C. Republican Party. The chairman's first official act was to ask all loyal Democrats to defect to the Republican Party as was done by Thurmond and Watson. He next announced that a state wide registration among the whites to counteract what is being done to get Negroes registered in South Carolina.

South Carolina

Benjamin Seabrooks) Barbara A.
Brown, William E.
Godwin, Horace
Jackson, William Milton
Wechsler, Stuart

Mississippi

Anderson, Charles
Buckley, Sears, Jr.
Buxton, Warner
Chinn, C.O.
Devine, Annie
Morse, Joe
Smith, George
Sears, Nancy Ann
Wright, Martha

Louisiana

Brown, Henry
Davis, Irene
Jones, Vonnie Jean
Lacey, Fred
Robinson, Mike
Tinsley, Richard
Wright, Christine
Zippert, John

MEMORANDUM

November 24, 1965

TO: Organization Department
FROM: George Wiley, Associate National Director

You will notice in the report on my South Carolina some information on the state of CORE chapters in South Carolina. For the four chapters that are to be disaffiliated (Sumter, Rock Hill, Friendship Junior College, and Marion), since there are no active people there, whoever you have on a mailing list at the present time should be removed because they are not receiving what we are sending them anyway. The chairman of Charleston CORE is the Rev. McKensey and you probably have his address already. He should obviously still be on our mailing list because he is chairman. In Pageland the chairman is the Rev. J. D. McManus, General Delivery, Pageland, South Carolina. The Vice Chairman is the Rev. H. L. Nicholson, R.F.D. 3, Pageland, S.C. The treasurer is Mrs. Mary McNair, 164 Elm Street, Pageland; her phone number is 672-7512. (Nicholson's phone number is 672-7553.) In Summerton the chairman is the Rev. Fields, General Delivery, Summerton, S.C. Those are the four chapter chairmenwhose names we have - they are as up to date as is known. Excuse me, I didn't give you St. George - the chairman there is Mrs. Geneva Tracy, 107 Franklin St., St. George, S.C. I believe the other officers are Mrs. De Lee and Mr. Pooser who are co-chairmen. Mrs. Pooser is secretary. Those are the officers I have, and I do not have their addresses. All of the basic material on organization of a CORE chapter - constitution, the basic literature you send out and applications for affiliation - should be sent in to Mrs. Tracy at that address and Mrs Tracy should be added to our CORE mailing list.

cc: S.C. staff
Southern Office
Department Heads

Org Dev

Ball State University

DEC 17 1965

cc: Wilkey

Baker Hall
Muncie, Indiana
December 13, 1965

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you as secretary of the Muncie Interrelations Council, a campus civil rights organization here at Ball State.

Our group is in its third year of existence, having fought some battles just to get organized and to establish a middle ground between preservers of the status quo and hostile members who would tend toward violence.

We have cooperated with the CORE chapter in Indianapolis, and have been pleased with their help.

We are interested to know what obligations and responsibilities would be ours if we affiliated with CORE. Also, we are interested in how affiliation would benefit us.

I would appreciate some information on these points. My address is Baker Hall, Ball State, Muncie, Indiana.

Sincerely,
Sandy Soames
Secretary

CORE, 38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.
CO 7-6270

TO: All Chapter Chairmen

FROM: Ronnie Moore, Field Secretary, Department of Organization

It is imperative that we have the following information from you as soon as possible:

1. Addresses, Names, and phone numbers of your present officers.

2. Programs in Operation

3. Your future plans

4. An up-to-date field report

If there is to be any effective communication between your chapter and the Organization Department, we must have this information at once. Please let us have your cooperation so that we may be of assistance to you.

Thank you.

Org. Dept.

ORGANIZATIONAL MANUAL - Revised

by

Charles R. Oldham, National Chairman

INTRODUCTION

This manual is designed to help build new CORE chapters and strengthen established ones. The basic material contained in this brochure has been tested in the field over many years. If these composite suggestions and organizational techniques are used creatively, then a strong and healthy CORE chapter should emerge.

It must be clearly understood, however, that conditions vary with the community involved. To effect a workable program in your town these besic techniques must be adapted to the local conditions.

STRUCTURE OF CORE

CORE is a national interracial organization with affiliated local groups. Local chapters must agree with the purposes and methods of the national body. The local constitution and by-laws cannot conflict with the national constitution. In conjunction with this manual you should read the National Constitution, the sample local constitution, "This is CORE," and "The CORE Rules for Action."

National CORE is governed by the annual convention, which consists of delegates from the affiliated chapters; and by the National Action Council. The chief executive office is the National Director.

National CORE obtains its funds from the local chapters and from individ-- ual contributions. The national office has full-time employees whose main functions are to develop and organize new chapters, coordinate established groups, initiate national projects, and obtain operating funds.

Local groups must do their own local financing. For the most part they are free to originate and carry through their own action programs. The national office may be requested to secure the help of other local CORE chapters on special projects.

Essentially CORE is action groups. In many cities whese CORE has been effective the Active Membership of the chapter has been from twenty to thirty people. Some chapters are larger, but others have done outstanding jobs with only ten or fifteen members. The dedication and desire to work in a disciplined fashion are more important in achieving our goals than just getting a large membership. However, including Associate Members who will participate occasionally, the membership may well run into the hundreds.

LOCAL CORE CHAPTERS

1. Officers: A local chapter should have the following officers: Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer. In addition to these officers most groups will have a Corresponding Secretary, Publicity Chairman, Membership Chairman, Project Chairman, etc.

The officers are usually elected for a period of six months or a year and a few groups use the system of rotating chairman. The idea of short office terms is to share responsibility. An Active Member should not decline to run for office; however, if for certain reasons he feels he would not make a good officer he can so advise the group. It should be kept in mind that all members of CORE are expected to be more active than members in most other organizations.

2. Meetings: CORE should meet at least once every two weeks and during an intensive action program most groups will meet weekly. Experience has indicated that an action program is difficult to maintain unless the group meets frequently.

CORE chapters follow the policy of majority rule. The rule is often loosely applied. If a substantial minority objects to a particular decision, particularly if the decision concerns an action project, then more discussion is in order and perhaps postponement of that particular project to a later date. Meetings are usually informal with many decisions reached by common consent, but always with the understanding that on the request of any member Robert's Rules of Order will be used.

CORE meetings have been held in churches, members' homes, community centers and union halls. Most groups find it wise to obtain a regular meeting place with facilities large enough to accommodate at least thirty people. Some groups have offices which are manned half-time by volunteers.

3. Membership: Any person who subscribes to the purposes of CORE as set forth in the National Constitution and who is willing to abide by the "CORE Rules for Action" and meets the requirements of the local chapter is entitled to Active Membership. Each chapter is required to establish membership requirements and it is suggested that the following basic techniques by used after adaptation to local needs:

(a) Probationary Period -- a person interested in becoming an Active Member is first interviewed by a member of the Membership Committee and then placed on a probationary status. The Probationary Member works on CORE action projects, attends meetings and learns about CORE philosophy. The vice chairman of the chapter often serves as Membership Chairman and thus has the responsibility of training new members.

(b) the Probationary Member must agree to abide by the "CORE Rules fo Action" while engaged in CORE projects. He must also be willing to abide by group decisions. CORE's name is never used by an individual unless on an authorized CORE activity.

(c) Finally, when the Probationary Member has completed the probationary period, his status as an Active Member with full rights must be approved by majority vote of the membership.

(d) Associate Membership -- most local groups also have Associate Memberships. Associate Memberships are one of the most effective means of raising funds and gaining community support. Associate Membership cards and material are available from the National Office. Proceeds from the sale of associate memberships is split between the local chapter and the National. Associate Members may be called upon occasionally to join in an action project, but they do not have a vote in chapter elections or on matters of policy.

Essentially then, new CORE members go through a training period and must be given an opportunity to learn and understand the use and theory of

direct nonviolent action. Quite frankly, groups such as CORE are bound to attract "characters." Each group must devise methods of dealing with individuals of this type. The Membership Committee should be on the watc and attempt to weed out the true characters and others who may create pro lems for your chapter.

FORMING OR EXPANDING YOUR CORE GROUP

1. It only takes a few people to start a CORE group:
(a) To start a chapter, call together a group of people who are interested in using nonviolent action methods in the field of race relatio
(b) When a decision has been made to organize the CORE group you sbould notify the national office. The office will try to have a national representative visit your community as soon as feasible. You need no wait to get a lot mf members before starting. Only ten persons are required to be affiliated.
(c) Form a temporary organizational structure; start your action program and ask others to join.
(d) Initial project should be simple. First steps can include such activities as testing of service to Negroes in lunchcounters, restaurants barber shops, rental apartment or recreational facilities. When people start activity they usually remain interested and others will be attracted to your chapter.

The first thing to do after the formation of the chapter is to initiate a simple action program. (See "This is CORE") Don't be too concerned initially about setting up elaborate committees, preparing a constitutior etc. Get started on a project and keep your members busy.

2. Guest night meetings where CORE members bring friends who are interested in learning about CORE have been used to increase membership. Usua ly, part of the meeting is devoted to regular business and the rest of th meeting to CORE philosophy, techniques and projects. You might have a speaker and serve light refreshments.

3. Every chapter should have a newsletter. It should be mailed to the Active and Associate Membership, other interested groups and individuals, and to the national CORE office. It serves a dual purpose of informing the community of your program and of attracting interested people.

4. Keep the members that you have. Give them jobs and responsibilities. If these people are not given something to do they are not apt to stay w. the group very long. In St. Louis mew members and prospective members are asked to test restaurants and make reports at the next meeting.

EDDCATION OF MEMBERS IN CORE PHILOSOPHY

This is one of the most important aspects of maintaining an active CORE program. An understanding of CORE is essential to a good action group. One person is usually given the major responsibility in this area. The following methods have been used:

1. Informal orientation meetings or "bull session" held in members' hom Some CORE groups have also had weekend workshops or retreats.

2. Literature secured from national CORE should be used. The literature should be given to new people and can also be sold or lent from the local CORE headquarters.

3. Socio-drama can be used as a means of showing how CORE members conduct themselves while participating in CORE activities. Socio-dramas also give new people a feeling of what it is like to actually participate in a negotiation, picket line or sit-in.

DIRECT ACTION PROJECT

In all direct action projects you must be prepared. Let us assume that the project involved is a sit-in demonstration at a restaurant and that all preliminary steps such as testing and negotiations have been followed.

1. Investigate the physical layout: know how many doors, how many stools or tables; know how to get in the restaurant and how to get out.

2. Select a project leader. He will make all on-the-spot decisions and be the official spokesman for the group. A second and third leader should also be named to take charge in case of necessity.

3. The press and the police should normally be notified of the demonstration. How much detail you will give them and how much advance notice will depend on local conditions and your chapter's relations with them.

4. When you start into the restaurant do not hesitate; each person should walk directly to the place where he is to sit. If the manager or someone else should try to block your entrance, don't run over him; but one of the group leaders could engage him in conversation while the others take their seats. Usually you can catch the management off balance -- don't give them time to recover. If, however, your entrance is effectively blocked the sit-in can be converted to a stand-in on the spot. Decisions of this nature must be made quickly by the project leader.

5. Leave promptly at the agreed time. The important thing is to be prepared. Discussion at the meeting preceding the project should cover as many possibilities as possible. You cannot anticipate everything, but many contingencies can be prepared for.

6. If you anticipate trouble, particularly physical violence, then perhaps the first demonstration should be by women. Remember, we are interested in avoiding violence and the project should be structured so as to minimize the possibilities for violence.

FINANCES

Each CORE chapter has financial responsibilities, both to itself and to the national organization. Local CORE groups need money for projects, letterheads, postage, printing, legal expenses and for sending delegates to national and regional meetings. The following methods are recommended:

1. Dues. There may be a dues system. Most CORE chapters have a monthly membership pledge, and some chapters have even made payment of dues a requisite for voting. However, dues should be reasonable and on occasion you may accept members who cannot afford to pay.

2. Associate Memberships. Maintaining Associate (contributing) Members is a good way to raise money and also involve additional people in your activities. Associate members may give $3, $5, $10 or more annually. Half of the Associate Membership money is sent to the National Office and

and half is retained by the chapter. Persons who give $3.00 or over a year receive the CORElator regularly. Each chapter is expected to have an Associate Membership drive each year, preferably in the Spring.

3. Special Projects. Each CORE chapter is also expected to hold at least one major fund-raising event annually for the benefit of the national organization. Such an event mught be a large rally featuring nationally known personalities, a theatre benefit, a dance or jazz concert or any other variety of things.

4. Other methods. One group got $400 from an appeal to its mailing list. Another chapter had wallet-sized cards printed listing restaurants and oth facilities desegregated by the CORE chapter. These cards can be sold or distributed with an appeal to contribute.

The question of raising sufficient money is an important one for a local CORE chapter. The chapter must raise enough to pay for local projects, to send delegates to the National Convention and for its other general purposes.

INFORMING AND WORKING WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS

1. Special care should be taken to keep the community informed of CORE activities.

(a) Publish a regular CORE newsletter.

(b) Get a regular column in the local newspaper. This is usually possible in the weeklies.

(c) Some chapters have secured regular radio time for a report on CORE activities and other civil rights news.

(d) Make speeches before church, labor, fraternal and community groups.

2. CORE groups often work with other organizations on specific projects and we recommend that wherever possible CORE obtain the support of these organizations. The prestige of these groups can give impetus to the campaign of a new CORE chapter. In working with other organizations it is wise to keep the following things in mind:

(a) Other organizations do not act as fast as CORE. They usually meet once a month, whereas CORE meets once a week or at least twice a mont

(b) Other groups may not be willing to commit themselves to CORE action and discipline.

(c) When working with other groups you should try to bring them in on the planning stage of a program. People often feel that if they didn't plan it then they have no responsibility.

(d) Experience indicates that joint projects should only be undertaken when CORE cannot do the job alone. When other groups do cooperate they must agree to comply with CORE discipline.

CONCLUSION

Remember, CORE is an action group! All your activity should be pointed toward an action project to eliminate racial discrimination. This is our reason for existence. There are plenty of educational and fund-raising groups in the field of race relations -- but CORE is the only national organization dedicated to the elimination of discrimination through a NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION PROGRAM.

* * * * *

Org Dept

~~Org.~~

20 Field Sec, Cox, Tonnons, Smith?, Wms?

56 T.F.

3 Special

S.F. $55 Mo.

N.Y. $125 "

3 Chi Centers $125 ea

Make manila folder "Pension Plan" — put in "Natl. Constitution"

FEB 19 1964

NAC

2/21

PROPERTY & LIFE SERVICES, INC.

Insurance Brokers • Adjusters • Estate and Pension Planning

132 NASSAU [redacted] STREET, NEW YORK 38, N.Y.
[redacted] BEEKMAN 3-7783

LIFE INSURANCE, ESTATE PLANNING,
GROUP and PENSION TRUST DEPT.

February 17, 1964

To all CORE Board Members

Re: SUGGESTED PENSION PROGRAM

At the request of Mr. Gordon Carey of CORE we are enclosing a report on a Pension Program designed by this office for the National Office of CORE.

Discussion of this program is on the agenda of your board meeting that starts on February 21, 1964. The enclosed material is being sent you at this time so that you may study it prior to the meeting.

Very truly yours,

Daniel H. Kalish CLU
Vice President

A SUGGESTED

PENSION PROGRAM

FOR

C.O.R.E.

Presented by:
Property & Life Services, Inc
132 Nassau Street
New York, N. Y.

Projected effective date
March 1, 1964

A PENSION PROGRAM

Builds funds for the employee's retirement while he actively contributes to organization program.

*

Attracts good employees

*

Improves employee morale

*

Increases employee efficiency; younger employees strive for promotion because the opportunity for advancement is guaranteed by an orderly retirement program

*

Decreases employee turnover

*

Provides tax-free accumulation during active years, with taxation after retirement when income is lower and double exemption applies

*

Allows a cash settlement at retirement, with proceeds taxed as a long-term capital gain

*

GUARANTEES

A monthly income for life at guaranteed rates

*

The monthly income is payable for at least 10 years after retirement, even if death occurs within 10 years

*

A variety of income plans is available. For example, the employee may arrange to have income continued after his death for the lifetime of his beneficiary

*

A cash sum at retirement instead of monthly income

*

A cash sum for his beneficiary if death occurs before retirement

*

A cash sum or continuation of coverage on termination before retirement

*

DETAILS OF THE PROGRAM

1. WHO IS TO BE INCLUDED?

All full-time employees of C.O.R.E. between the ages of 30 and 60, who have completed three years of service, are eligible to participate in the plan. New employees will become eligible upon completion of three years of service, provided they meet the age requirements at that time.

2. WHAT IS THE RETIREMENT AGE?

Normal retirement age is 65. Those employees who enter the plan after age 55 will retire ten years from their date of entry. Employees may retire prior to age 65 with the employer's consent, but will receive an actuarially reduced pension. Employees will be allowed to retire as much as 5 years later than normal retirement age but funding will stop at normal retirement.

3. HOW MUCH IS THE PENSION ON RETIREMENT AT AGE 65?

The monthly pension to be provided at normal retirement is equivalent to 1/2 of 1% of the first $400 of monthly salary, plus 1 1/4% of the employee's monthly salary in excess of $400, times the number of years of past and future service of the employee.

$$\left[\text{0.5\% (\$400.)} + \text{1.25\% (Excess)}\right] \text{ Number of years of past and future service to Normal Retirement}$$

MAXIMUM PENSION	$250/Month
MINIMUM PENSION	$25/Month

4. DEATH BENEFITS BEFORE RETIREMENT

In the event of death prior to retirement of a employee for whom a Life Insurance policy has been issued, a death benefit will be payable equal to ~~$100 plus~~ 100 Times the monthly retirement benefit.

A Pension Annuity policy will be issued on all uninsurable employees.

5. DEATH BENEFITS AFTER RETIREMENT

In the event of an employee's death after retirement but before 120 monthly payments have been made, the employee's beneficiary will continue to receive the monthly income until a total of 120 monthly payments have been made.

6. TERMINATION BENEFITS

Upon termination of employment prior to retirement for any reason other than disability, an employee will be entitled to the insurance contract issued on his life. He can, at his option, choose to continue it or surrender it for it's then cash surrender value.

If termination of employment becomes necessary because of total disability, ownership of the policy shall be transferred to the employee, subject to any disability benefits contained in his policy.

Other provisions can be made so that the insurance policy does not immediately vest to the employee - such as the following schedule:

Years of Service		Percentage Vested in all Funds
Up to 5 years		0
5 to 6 years		20%
"	Additional 20%	"
"	each year	"
"		"
10 years		100%

Service may be total service with CORE ~~on~~ OR Service under the pension plan.

7. METHOD OF FUNDING BENEFITS

The Pension Benefits and Death Benefits will be guaranteed by:

(a) Individual Pension Insurance policies issued by a legal reserve life insurance company licensed in the State of New York

The required cost of the insurance policies and the annual deposits to the Auxiliary Fund will be contributed by the employer to trustees selected by the orginazation. The trustee will in turn, purchase the policies and hold them for the exclusive benefit of the participating employees.

7. METHOD OF FUNDING BENEFITS (Cont'd)

The initial and subsequent deposits to the Auxiliary Fund will be administered by the trustees. Annual payments will be made into the fund to accumulate to an amount sufficient to convert the life insurance policy into a 10-year certain monthly life income to each participant that will equal $10 for each $1,000 face amount of Insurance Benefit.

The initial deposit illustrated in the Exhibit attached assumes interest earnings of 4% per annum with no allowance made for employee terminations prior to retirement, or for employee mortality prior to retirement.

On each subsequent anniversary date of the plan, a computation must be made to determine the total amount required in the fund, after taking into consideration such factors among others as, the interest actaully earned and credited to the fund, and after allowing for the fact that funds are no longer required for participants who have died or whose employment has terminated.

Where the fund is being invested and managed by the trustees, the insurance company will make available to the trustees the necessary computation each year.

8. ADJUSTMENTS IN BENEFITS

Adjustments in retirement benefits due to changes in salary will be made on each anniversary date of the plan, provided such salary changes would result in a change in benefit of at least $10 per month. However, no such adjustments will be made within the 5 year period preceding normal retirement date.

9. WHO PAYS FOR THIS PROGRAM?

The cost of this program is based on your organization making all contributions to the plan.

10. RELATIONSHIP TO SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

These benefits are in addition to any benefits the employees are entitled to under the Federal Social Security Act.

Exhibit 1

C.O.R.E.

PROJECTED RETIREMENT PLAN

Effective 3/1/64

	NAME	AGE	NORMAL RETIREMENT AGE	BASIC MONTHLY SALARY	MONTHLY BENEFITS FROM PLAN	MONTHLY* ESTIMATED SOCIAL SECURITY	TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME AT RETIREMENT	DEATH BENEFIT
1.	C. Coleman	34	65	$558.	$135.	$125.	$260.	13,600
2.	R. Haley	48	65	$717.	$119.	125.	244.	11,900
3.	J. McCain	59	69	791.	110.	125.	235.	11,000
4.	J. Farmer	44	65	1041.	240.	125.	365.	24,000
5.	M. Rich	34	65	825.	250.	125.	375.	25,000
6.	G. Carey	32	65	700.	218.	125.	343.	21,800

* Single employee benefit only - 50% additional available if spouse is over age 62 at time of retirement.

Exhibit 2

C.O.R.E.

SCHEDULE OF ANNUAL COSTS

- Company A -

	NAME	MONTHLY BENEFIT FROM PLAN	(1) INSURANCE FUND DEPOSIT	TRUST(2) FUND DEPOSIT	TOTAL DEPOSIT
1.	C. Coleman	$135.	$273.10	$279.45	$552.55
2.	R. Haley	$119.	433.99	587.74	1,021.73
3.	J. McCain	$110.	627.00	1,033.56	1,660.56
4.	J. Farmer	$240.	750.24	840.96	1,591.20
5.	M. Rich	$250.	532.25	435.00	967.25
6.	G. Carey	$218.	443.63	335.72	779.35
		Totals	3,060.21	3,512.43	6,572.64

(1) Initial cost - Dividends (Not guaranteed) would reduce future costs.
(2) Based on 4% interest

Exhibit 3

C.O.R.E.

SCHEDULE OF ANNUAL COSTS

- Company B -

	NAME	MONTHLY BENEFIT FROM PLAN	(1) INSURANCE FUND DEPOSIT	TRUST(2) FUND DEPOSIT	TOTAL DEPOSIT
1.	C. Coleman	$135.	$214.79	$290.93	$505.72
2.	R. Haley	119.	368.43	597.14	965.57
3.	J. McCain	110.	567.26	1,049.07	1,616.33
4.	J. Farmer	240.	617.20	856.56	1,473.76
5.	M. Rich	250.	433.75	445.75	879.50
6.	G. Carey	218.	353.35	344.44	697.79
	Totals		2,554.78	3,583.89	6,138.67

(1) Guaranteed cost
(2) Based on 4% interest

INFORMATION

FROM THE
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
-ON-
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
Washington 25, D. C.

file - Fed. Govt civ rights groups

Remarks by
Hobart Taylor, Jr.
Executive Vice Chairman
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
before the
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Morrison Hotel - Chicago, Illinois
Tuesday, July 2, 1963

All Americans can well take pride in the record that has been made by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity during the two and one-half years of its existence. We have established systems which give the government the power and the authority to open up most of the worthwhile jobs in this country to all people regardless of their race, regardless of their creed, regardless of their color, regardless of their national origin.

At the time that the Committee started its work, the Vice President made the statement that, "We mean business'." This fact has been demonstrated by the Committee time and time again, not just by words but by meaningful action.

The systems developed by the Committee--under the direction of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson--have enabled us to make progress--in fact, considerable progress.

(More)

2--Hobart Taylor, Jr. - NAACP

Employment of members of minority groups at respectable levels in private industry has sharply increased. Breakthroughs in jobs traditionally hedged with color barriers have been achieved. Responsible government positions have been most capably filled by people who formerly could not aspire to anything beyond service and maintenance jobs.

And this has been accomplished--not through favoritism--but through the elimination of favoritism, and the development of an active and positive policy of fairness.

One of the most successful programs we have conducted in the federal government consisted of asking high level officials to examine the files of people in the lowest category--grades one through five. The purpose was to find whether anybody--regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin--had been held back unfairly for promotion. This program benefited many people. And the interesting fact is that it resulted in 1,060 non-whites receiving promotions to which they were entitled and an additional 600 being reassigned to positions which offered broader opportunities.

We are not going to solve discrimination through 1,600 people. But this initial effort brings hope to 1,600 who thought that they were condemned to limited and unchallenging work for the rest of their lives. These people can now look forward with some degree of confidence to the future. But the results were not confined to this level of federal employment.

(More)

3--Hobart Taylor, Jr. --NAACP

As federal officials began to scrutinize carefully their personnel practices the changes began to affect the high level jobs as well. In one year Negroes in middle level government jobs ($4,500 to $9,500) increased 20% even though total increases in this bracket were only 6%. During the same year, Negroes in top government jobs ($9,500 to $20,000) were increased by 35%--with total job increases in this bracket of only 10%.

And the same pattern appears in private industry. Among 75 of the nation's top employers surveyed over a six-month period ending last December, 25% of the total increases in employment was in the non-white category, although the average utilization of non-whites before that time had been at a rate of 3.8%. The increase in the white collar and technical categories was equally striking, and there was a decline in non-white laborers and service workers among these firms.

I could cite to you many other accomplishments of the Committee. But the question still arises: Why has not an even greater impact been made upon our society? And it is here that we begin to face problems that cannot be conquered by simple "progress." Like you, this Administration is not satisfied with merely making conditions a little better. We know that to keep this country strong, to realize its potential for growth and leadership, and to make a living thing of the ideals upon which this country was founded--and which we espouse--we cannot pause in our efforts.

(More)

4--Hobart Taylor, Jr. --NAACP

We know that there is need for impatience--so long as twenty million Americans have an unemployment rate two and one-half times that of the rest--so long as their income is 60% of that enjoyed by the rest--so long as the gap of education and earning power continues to widen between them and the other members of our society.

In short, it is not enough to improve conditions, we must change them.

But the more we act, the more we seek to achieve our goal in the present, the more it becomes apparent that the problem of equal employment opportunity cannot be solved just by opening up equal access to jobs. We face a much more fundamental and much more important question--the issue of an unequal society.

A writer noted for his irony--Anatole France--once made the observation that "the law in its equal majesty forbids both the rich and the poor to sleep under bridges."

We can apply this same thought to the problem of equal job opportunity. We can, by promoting equal job opportunity, make an impact upon unequal society. But we cannot truly solve the problem of equal employment opportunity until we have solved the problems of unequal society.

In our modern world, no man has true economic opportunity unless he has the right of mobility. A worker must have the capacity to move from one part of the country to another part in search of the best job that he

(More)

can find. An employer must have the right to search the whole country for the best worker he can find. If the worker is immobilized, he is prevented from engaging in the normal forms of business competition which we proudly boast as one of the greatest achievements of this land of freedom.

We are deluding ourselves if we pretend that people do have mobility when they do not have access to the facilities that are necessary when we travel. If a man must drive hundreds of miles to find a place to eat; if a man must drive hundreds of miles to find a place where his family can rest; if a man must drive hundreds of miles to acquire the elementary comforts of life--then he does not have true mobility.

Furthermore, for equal job opportunity to be meaningful, a man must have the right to establish his family near the place where he works. We have cases in our files of plants which employ few or no Negroes--or members of other minority groups. This has nothing to do with the social conscienceness of the plant manager. He may have within his breast the same outlook as St. Francis of Assisi. But it means nothing if members of minority groups cannot find places to live sufficiently near his plant to enable them to work in it.

Finally, we come to the question of education itself. A man who has not been educated for a job, a man who has not been trained for a job, a man who has not received the elementary skills of daily life, cannot hold a job.

(More)

6--Hobart Taylor, Jr.--NAACP

I believe it is increasingly true that, in the modern world, the better jobs are now open to people of all races and creeds on an equal basis. But this is a hollow and empty promise if some people cannot acquire the training that is needed to perform the job.

At this point, I would like to quote a speech that Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson made to the commencement class at Tufts University a few weeks ago. He discussed this problem and he said:

"We have too much of a tendency to equate the struggle for equal rights with social prestige and status. The issue is clouded by stating it in terms of who can live in what fashionable section and who can go into what desirable restaurant or who can go into what prestige school.

"Frankly, it is difficult for me to see why anyone should deny to another person the right to any prestige to which he is entitled. But even beyond that, we must face up to the fact that individual economic survival in our modern, industrial nation urgently demands equal access to the facilities of our society.

"If we deny a man access to the education to which he is entitled by capacity, we also deny him access to his rightful place in our economy. And I might add, we also deny ourselves his productive skills.

"If we deny a man access to adequate housing in an area of his choice, we restrict also his right to live with his family near the place where he can work.

(More)

7--Hobart Taylor, Jr.--NAACP

"If we restrict the right of a man to enjoy the ordinary comforts of life, we also restrict his rights to move from one place to another in search of the best job for which he is qualified. In addition, we restrict the right of the employer to search out the best qualified workers.

"Let us be very clear on this matter. If we condemn people to inequality in our society, we also condemn them to inequality in our economy. And we do our conscience a disservice if we dismiss their demands for social justice as a mere desire for social status."

I am making this point because I want to impress upon you that the campaign for equal job opportunity cannot be separate from the campaign for equal opportunity in every aspect of our society. I, myself, hold a position which enables me to exercise some responsibilities in the field of equal job opportunity. This is a full-time responsibility which I intend to discharge to the limit of my capacity. It is obvious from the results we have attained already that considerable improvement can be made within the framework of our present society. But even though considerable improvement can be made, it must also be recognized that we cannot view the job problem in isolation. We must go beyond it to the other factors which, in combination, have served to deny to a considerable segment of the American people those liberties and opportunities which under our law should be guaranteed to all.

Your Organization, of course, is dedicated to the proposition of obtaining equal opportunity in the whole broad spectrum of the field of social justice. I know you will keep this thought in mind.

-30-

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

STOCKTON CHAPTER
Post Office Box 1711
Stockton, California
466 0119

REV. N. J. FIELDS
Chairman
DARROW BISHOP
Vice-Chairman
ROBERT CONNORS
Treasurer
CONNIE SHRAWDER
Recording Secretary
ETTA MAE COUNTS
Corresponding Secretary
COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
HENRY J. WHITE
Housing
DAVID HARRIGAN
Employment
LAURIE WEST
Education
LeROY HARRISON
Public Relations
EDNA FIELDS
Direct Action
THELMA TERRY
Finance

APR 2 1964

March 27, 1964

President's Committee on Fair Employment
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Many of the negro employees of the Tracy Defense Depot at Tracy, California are disturbed and frustrated with the existing employment and "Equal Opportunity" conditions at this agency. The condition is so acute at this time that it is affecting the moral attitude of this segment of the working force, and there is an apparent break-down of the general moral of all minority groups on this base.

Because of management flagrant disregard of the President and Army Department "Equal Opportunity" for all its employees on all levels, many negroes have not been able to develop to their full potential. Prejudice and discrimination seeth in every department throughout this installation, and a tremendous amount of partiality in the up-grading of employees in responsible positions.

We are requesting that your Committee investigate and rectify these disturbing conditions that exist at this agency.

We stand ready and willing to assist in any manner called upon to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. Norris J. Fields, Chairman
CORE--Stockton Chapter

C.C. Col. W. L. Tate, Tracy Defense Depot
U. S. Civil Service Commission
Secretary of Army
Chet Duncan, Western Regional Field Secretary CORE
CORE National

Secretary _____ 465 2221
Treasurer _____ 466 6288
Housing _____ 464 0805
Employment _____ 466 0119
Education _____ 464 7541
Public Relation 463 6112
Direct Action ___ 466 0119
Finance _____ 463 5188

SEPARATION RECORD

The following nonmanuscript items were removed from the_____ papers and have been sent to the division and section indicated, either to be retained or disposed of there. Any items Manuscripts wishes returned are clearly marked.

BOOKS (Library)

✓ PAMPHLETS (Library)
Eastern Region Community Leaders Conference

NEWSPAPERS (Library - Newspaper Section)

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS (Library - Government Publications Section)

BROADSIDES, CIRCULARS, AND PRINTED ADS (Library)

PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS (Museum - Iconographic Section)

ARTIFACTS (Museum)

OTHER

April 14, 1964

Mr. Hobart Taylor
Executive Vice Chairman
President's Committee on Equal Employment
Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Hobart:

I was very pleased to get your letter of March 18 with a copy of the letter to Mrs. Braxton of West Essex Chapter of CORE and a copy of the action which you have taken in the matter of the East Orange Veterans Administration Hospital.

I have read the report with gratification. If you have not already heard from our West Essex Chapter of CORE, you very shortly will hear from them in this regard.

Thank you for your expeditious and forthright handling of the case. Next time you are in New York lets get together for a chat.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

[redacted]

MAR 23 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

Dear Jim:

This is in reference to your recent phone conversation with Mr. John Hope of our staff concerning the complaint of the West Essex Chapter of CORE against the East Orange Veterans Administration Hospital. John indicated to you his expectation that the Committee would close this case within two weeks, by March 19.

I am inclosing a copy of a letter to Mrs. Vivian Braxton of the West Essex Chapter of CORE outlining the Committee's actions in this case.

Your cooperation in this matter has been an important help to us.

I hope to see you soon and please call on us whenever we can be of service in any way.

Sincerely yours,

Hobart

Hobart Taylor, Jr.
Executive Vice Chairman

Enclosure

SUMMARY OF GENERAL COMPLAINT OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION FILED BY CORE AGAINST THE VA HOSPITAL, EAST ORANGE, N. J.

The Newark-Essex Chapter of CORE by telegram filed a complaint of discriminatory practices at the East Orange Hospital with the Veterans Administration in Washington on July 22, 1963. Later, the West Essex Chapter of CORE was formed and took the initiative in pursuing the complaint. In addition, the West Essex Chapter of CORE was named the official representative by several complainants in the ten written complaints received by the Committee during the time this general complaint has been investigated.

Four of the individual complaints have been closed with a finding of no racial discrimination. One individual withdrew his complaint after he was furnished with the results of the investigation. A group complaint was withdrawn. Two complainants have requested hearings. One has requested a review by the Executive Vice Chairman of the Committee. And, one is still under investigation by the Veterans Administration.

The general complaints submitted by the CORE chapter alleged inequalities of opportunity because of race in connection with recruitment and appointment, promotion, job classification, assignments, training for higher grade positions, and bad treatment by supervisors. The allegations were investigated by a Special Assistant to the Administrator of Veterans Affairs and by representatives of the Veterans Administration Area Office at Trenton. Although some corrective actions were taken as a result of the complaint, negotiations between the complainants and the Veterans Administration were not successful in resolving the complaint. On December 2, 1963, the Employment Policy Officer for the Veterans Administration submitted a final report to the Committee, together with copies of close-out letters to interested parties. These letters recited the history of the complaint and stated that the investigation did not disclose widespread racial discrimination as the CORE chapter had alleged. The letters also stated that the investigation did reveal some management deficiencies which unquestionably gave rise to employee dissatisfaction.

On January 17, 1964, Mrs. Braxton, Chairman of the VA Investigating Committee, West Essex Chapter, CORE, wrote to the Committee taking issue with the findings of the Veterans Administration.

After careful review of the report of the Veterans Administration and of further information secured by the President's Committee, representatives of the Committee met with representatives of the West Essex Chapter of CORE and some Hospital employees at the East Orange Veterans Administration Hospital. At this meeting, Mr. Hope, Assistant Executive Director for Government Employment, indicated the role and responsibilities of the Committee under Executive Order 10925 and emphasized that this Order requires that Federal agencies and their installations have the

responsibility to assure equal employment opportunity to their employees (and applicants for employment) without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. He also indicated that the Committee's primary concern in this case is to make certain that the employment patterns and practices of the Hospital provide this assurance. At the same time he promised that all individual signed complaints of aggrieved employees would be fully processed under the rules and regulations of the Committee and their rights protected. In addition, the major issues were discussed and some of the specific complaints relative thereto were noted.

On the basis of the Veterans Administration report, comprehensive information gathered by the Committee, and information furnished by the West Essex CORE Committee, the President's Committee has concluded that the present state of disaffection on the part of some employees at the Hospital is the culmination of questionable supervisory and personnel practices which have existed at the Hospital in the past, many of which were inherited by the present Hospital Director.

Some of these appeared to involve racial discrimination, others were concerned with employer-employee relationships but appeared to some minority group employees (and sometimes to concerned community organizations) as racial discrimination because of the preponderance of Negroes in some job classifications, Hospital services, and divisions in which apparent inequities have occurred. Still others arose from misunderstandings which grew out of poor communication between employees and management, and from other personnel practices which resulted in arbitrary restrictions upon particular Negro employees, whether such limitations to opportunity were motivated by prejudice or not.

In this connection, however, it must be noted that in November, 1963, the Hospital had a total of 1189 employees of whom 50% are Negroes. The great majority of the employees (72% of the total and 87% of the Negroes) are concentrated in the five largest of the 29 divisions or services; namely, Nursing Service, Dietetic Service, Registrar Division, Engineering Division and Housekeeping Division. All divisions or services with more than nine employees have Negro employees.

Negroes hold 27 supervisory positions, out of a total of 152 such positions, or 17% of the supervisory positions. Approximately three-fourths of the Negro supervisors are located in four of the largest divisions where 83 per cent (497) of the Negroes are employed. However, 26 per cent of the Negro supervisors are located in seven Hospital units where 6 per cent (38) of the Negroes are employed. The latter group of supervisors includes the Hospital Director, the Chief of the Neurology Section, the Chief of the Recreation Section, the Assistant Chief of the Pharmacy Service, the Assistant Chief of Social Service, the Assistant Chief Technician in the Radiology Service, and the Chief of the Hemotology Section. Sixty Negroes are employed in 11 Hospital units where there are no Negro supervisors. However, in some of those units they are holding nonsupervisory positions in grades as high as GS-8, GS-9 and GS-12.

In view of all the facts, the Committee has given primary attention to establishing the fundamental issues involved in the complaints which, if effectively resolved, would assure full compliance by the East Orange, VA Hospital with Executive Order 10925. As a result of positive efforts from the Veterans Administration at all levels, culminating in a series of recommendations and consultations with the complainant's representatives, specific means of meeting these issues have been developed (see list of actions). Some of these have already been instituted by the Veterans Administration, others are being planned and all will be monitored for one year by the Committee to assure full compliance with the understanding that this case will be reopened by the Committee if it should feel that the installation is not carrying out the plans of action outlined.

ACTIONS TAKEN AND TO BE TAKEN AT THE EAST ORANGE VETERANS HOSPITAL FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM.

1. RECRUITMENT AND PROMOTION

a. The Hospital has adopted the practice of posting all vacancies and promotional opportunities in classified and wage board positions for which selection is not centralized in the Headquarters Office. The only exceptions are those given prior approval by the U. S. Civil Service Commission. The Hospital is also posting and publishing all opportunities offered by the Veterans Administration Central Office for employment at other VA Stations. It has periodically posted and will continue to post notices emphasizing the necessity for employees to qualify in the Federal Service Entrance Examination if they wish to be considered for many higher grade positions.

b. The Hospital is presently revising and clarifying the Merit Promotion Program with the help of union and employee groups. This revision will be completed by April 30. The New Merit Promotion Program will strongly emphasize the Hospital's policy of equal employment opportunity.

c. In order to assure that personnel needs are promptly known by qualified Negroes and other minorities, the Board of Examiners at the Hospital now mails copies of examination announcements to local chapters of the NAACP, the Urban League, CORE and other agencies concerned with minority group matters. As a further method of increasing awareness in the community of its personnel needs, Hospital management has undertaken a program of contacts with other civil rights groups, organizations, teaching institutions and agencies.

d. In order to insure the fairness of selections to fill vacancies, the Hospital Director, who is also the Deputy Employment Policy Officer, pre-audits the selections made for all positions in GS-7 and above and for all supervisory positions before a final commitment is made. This pre-audit procedure has been expanded to provide that the Alternate Deputy Employment Policy Officer will pre-audit all other appointments and promotions where such actions involve Negro or Puerto Rican candidates as well as whites.

e. On May 1, 1963, the Hospital published the criteria established for the selection of Head Nurses and required evaluation of the competing candidates by a panel of Nurses. A Negro Nurse serves on this panel. Since no similar standards had been established for selection of Nurse Supervisors, the Chief of Staff and the

Hospital Director now pre-audit and approve all appointments or assignments to Supervisor and Assistant Chief for Evening and Night Tours of duty in the Nursing Service.

f. The Personnel Division and the Personnel Control Board have been directed to review carefully all requests for personnel actions to make certain that such actions do not violate the policy of equal employment opportunity.

g. The Hospital Director will establish by April 1, 1964, a committee of employees to advise him on equal employment opportunity matters. This Committee will be chaired by the Alternate Deputy Employment Policy Officer and will be composed of representatives elected by hospital employees. It will meet at regular intervals and will review employment patterns, practices, and procedures at the Hospital to assure that the policy of equal employment opportunity is being carried out. It may receive and act upon verbal complaints of employee dissatisfaction covered by Executive Order 10925 and will prepare quarterly reports for the Hospital Director and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity for a period of one year.

2. CLASSIFICATION OF POSITIONS

a. A study made by the Hospital of the need for additional positions of Nursing Assistant, GS-4, resulted in the establishment of 12 new positions at that level. Twelve employees who were performing GS-4 work but paid at the GS-3 level have now been promoted to the higher grade. Except in rare emergencies, Nursing Assistants, GS-3, will not be required to perform GS-4 duties.

b. Although stand-by pay for Operating Room Nursing Assistants was generally authorized by the Veterans Administration Central Office some time ago, Nursing Assistants in the Operating Room of the East Orange Hospital had not been granted this extra pay. A recent study of the situation has resulted in authorization by the VA Central Office of this extra money for Operating Room Nursing Assistants at East Orange. They now receive stand-by pay.

c. The Area Office of the Veterans Administration will commence a review of the Hospital's classification program within the next two weeks to insure that all positions are correctly classified. Within the next three weeks, the Hospital will know whether any Nursing Assistants, GS-4, are presently performing at the GS-5 level. If so, their promotions will be effected.

3. TRAINING

a. Training courses given by the Hospital are established to meet its needs where applicants with the required skills are not readily available. Any such courses will be published so that all employees will be aware of the opportunity and of the requirements for admission. Selection from among the applicants will be made on the basis of merit and fitness. Where Negro or Puerto Rican candidates are among those qualified but not selected, a memorandum will be sent to the Alternate Deputy Employment Policy Officer by the selecting official explaining the reasons for their nonselection.

At the present time, the Hospital conducts two such training courses. One, for Nursing Assistants GS-3, to prepare them for the duties of Nursing Assistants, GS-4, is conducted as needed. The second such training course is the Advanced Leadership Program for Nurses. Qualifications of the applicants are reviewed by the Head Nurse panel and selections are made from among the applicants considered best qualified. A Negro Nurse is a member of the panel. (A Negro nurse is among those presently being trained.)

b. The Hospital presently announces trainee positions. The positions are filled competitively under the Merit Promotion Program. This competitive procedure will be expanded to apply to understudy assignments and to details to higher grade positions for a period of 90 days or longer. The Merit Promotion Program will be revised accordingly.

c. The Nursing Service has followed the practice of recording all assignments as relief Head Nurses. (The record reveals that during 1963, 15 Negro Nurses have acted as Head Nurse for periods ranging from 3 days to 7 weeks.) Hereafter, all temporary details and assignments to supervisory positions anywhere in the Hospital for more than one day and less than ninety days will be recorded by the selecting supervisor and will be reported to the Alternate Deputy Employment Policy Officer upon request.

d. The Veterans Administration Central Office conducts a Career Development Program for employees eligible for promotion to centralized positions. (Thirty-one employees of the East Orange Hospital, including two Negroes, are participating.) Any employee interested in participating in this program is required to file his application with the Central Office of the VA. Participants are selected by the Central Office on the basis of their qualifications.

4. ASSIGNMENTS

a. In the past the occurrence of vacancies in the complement of Nurses in the Operating Room has been announced verbally to the Nurses on duty. Operating Room Nursing vacancies are now announced in writing to make certain that all Nurses are aware of the vacancies and of their right to apply. The Operating Room Supervisor will continue to furnish the Chief of the Nursing Service with the reasons for her selection before final approval.

b. The Task-Force type of assignment in the Housekeeping Division has been changed to a plan agreed to by the employees of the Division.

c. The Veterans Administration Area Office will conduct a comprehensive survey of the Housekeeping Division in the month of April, 1964, with special emphasis on staffing, duty assignments, classification of positions, organizational and functional plans, and training courses. Upon the completion of the survey, an educational campaign will be undertaken to insure that all Division employees are informed with regard to such matters as administrative requirements, key policies, and self-development.

5. TREATMENT OF EMPLOYEES

a. The Hospital Director has arranged with Rutgers University to conduct a hospital-wide training course in supervision, with particular emphasis upon human relations, morale, equal employment opportunity, and management-employee relationships, beamed at middle and lower-level supervisors. The Advisory Committee members will be encouraged to participate. The course will begin early in June, 1964.

b. Employees will have access to the Deputy Employment Policy Officer or his Alternate or to the Personnel Office without having to divulge to anyone the reason for the visit. However, they must obtain permission from their supervisorsto leave their posts of duty. A station memorandum to this effect will be published within the next week.

c. It is apparent that some of the complaints filed with the Committee have arisen from insufficient knowledge and understanding of personnel regulations. Consequently, it is imperative that the Personnel Office make a positive effort to insure that employees understand clearly the reasons for personnel actions taken which involve them. Definite steps have been taken to achieve this objective.

d. An intensive review is now in progress regarding counseling procedures, job descriptions, job performance requirements, assignments to various tours of duty, shifts, etc., in the Nursing Service. Similarly, a review of the Housekeeping Division is now in progress to determine the currency of job descriptions, performance requirements, and employee understanding of what is required of him. Reports on the progress of these surveys will be submitted to the Committee.

e. Negroes are presently serving on such key committees as the Employee Hearing Panel, the Middle Management Staff Committee, the Nurse Professional Standards Board, the Head Nurse Selection Panel, and on the Committee to Revise Abbreviations in the Nursing Service. Hospital management will provide minority group representation, or increase such representation, on the following Committees: Middle Management, Hospital Training, Career Development, and Incentive Awards, which also affect the career opportunities of employees.

f. Information regarding the Equal Employment Opportunity policy and procedures was published in station memoranda furnished to all employees in September of 1963. The Hospital newspaper has, and will continue to, periodically carry articles emphasizing the policy and the need to adhere to it.

g. Members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Advisory Committee will be available to employees who wish to discuss informally situations which they believe may be discriminatory. The Committee will be authorized to secure information from any operating unit and to work with the Personnel Division in solving the problems brought to its attention by employees.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

[illegible] 15 1964

Mrs. Marie V. Braxton
540 Tremont Avenue
Orange, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. Braxton:

We have now completed our review of the information and recommendations submitted by the West Essex Chapter of CORE, the information submitted by the Veterans Administration, and the considerable body of record data secured by us concerning the minority employment situation at the Veterans Administration Hospital at East Orange. With the cooperation of the Hospital Director and officials of the Veterans Administration Central Office, we have decided upon a series of actions, some of which have already been instituted and others to be placed in effect in the near future, which we believe will assure full compliance by the Hospital with the spirit as well as the letter of the Federal Government's policy of equal employment opportunity as set forth in Executive Order 10925.

Attached hereto is the Committee's report on this matter, which indicates the actions to be taken to assure that the goals of the Order are attained. You will note that the President's Committee will monitor the situation for one year in order to make certain that the actions set forth in this report are initiated and adhered to.

I can fully appreciate your concern for the problems which you brought to the attention of the Committee. I hope that the actions taken will resolve the issues and promote the Federal policy of equal opportunity at the East Orange Veterans Administration Hospital.

Your understanding and cooperation during this investigation and review have been of great assistance to this Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Hobart Taylor, Jr.
Executive Vice Chairman

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Hobart Taylor, Jr.
Mr. Blake E. Turner
Mr. James Farmer

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MAR 18 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

Dear Jim:

This is in reference to your recent phone conversation with Mr. John Hope of our staff concerning the complaint of the West Essex Chapter of CORE against the East Orange Veterans Administration Hospital. John indicated to you his expectation that the Committee would close this case within two weeks, by March 19.

I am inclosing a copy of a letter to Mrs. Vivian Braxton of the West Essex Chapter of CORE outlining the Committee's actions in this case.

Your cooperation in this matter has been an important help to us.

I hope to see you soon and please call on us whenever we can be of service in any way.

Sincerely yours,

Hobart Taylor, Jr.
Executive Vice Chairman

Enclosure

a

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

June 22, 1964

Corporate Presidents and Representatives

Gentlemen:

Some time ago the Community Relations Committee of the Advisory Council on Plans for Progress headed by E. G. Mattison, Director of Industrial Relations, Lockheed-Georgia Company sent a survey questionnaire to all Plans for Progress companies. The purpose of the survey was to gather material concerning the experiences of companies in implementing their equal employment opportunity programs. The Committee felt that this information could be shared in a common assistance pool.

A selection of experiences from this survey have been summarized in case history format in the guidebook enclosed. It is anticipated that the release of these cases will communicate a better understanding of the value of information exchanged and will stimulate companies to send us more case histories for future supplements to this booklet.

The Community Relations Committee and the Plans for Progress staff appreciate the cooperation of companies who made this possible. We would be interested in your comments concerning the value of this publication to you.

Sincerely,

G. A. McLellan
Administrative Director

Enclosure

Plans for Progress Office
1815 H Street, N. W.
Suite 506
Washington, D. C. 20006
PH: Area Code 202, 961-5555

IMPLEMENTING
PLANS FOR PROGRESS

PLANS FOR PROGRESS
1815 - H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006
Phone 961-5555

IMPLEMENTING
PLANS FOR PROGRESS

A Selection of Resumes of Experiences of Plans for Progress Companies in Implementing their Programs---Intended for Use by other interested Plans for Progress Companies.

Survey Prepared by:

THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE
ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PLANS FOR PROGRESS

June 1964

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS

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Lockheed-Georgia Company
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Standard Oil Company (Ohio)

D. R. Zook
Corporate Director, Personnel Services
North American Aviation, Inc.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this guide is to provide employers with practical information about the approaches and techniques used by organizations participating in Plans for Progress; to implement their plans, and to analyze how their problems occurred and how such problems were resolved.

The material in this guidebook describes actual situations and occurrences reported by Plans for Progress employers. These descriptions have been made as brief as possible. The companies involved are not identified by name, nor is their location stated, except in general terms when the location itself is of significance. However, each example is coded.

Since most of the organizations have agreed to discuss their particular approach or techniques with other employers on request, a sharing of experiences will thus be available, so that any one company can draw upon the reported experiences of others. The code can be used as a reference for follow-up.

Responsible company representatives who wish to make such a follow-up by direct contact with one of the companies described may inquire of the Plans for Progress office, 1815 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., mentioning the code letter. If the company concerned has expressed its willingness to discuss its experience, the name of the person to contact will be released.

CONTENTS

This guidebook is arranged in two sections in looseleaf form. As additional material of interest is received from Plans for Progress companies and other sources, additional pages will be developed and released to manual holders.

SECTION I

A general discussion of the approach that appears to characterize successful and comparatively trouble-free integration progress, and a discussion of problems that appear to be common to most programs.

SECTION II

Cases from Plans for Progress companies.

A. Preparing employees and the community for integration.

B. Recruiting and selecting minority employees.

C. Introduction of minority employees into an activity.

D. Upgrading the qualifications of applicants and employees.

E. Community problems and programs.

SECTION I

1. Activities that characterize generally successful approaches to the integration of minority employees into the work force.

2. Some problems that appear to be common to most Plans for Progress programs.

SECTION I

THE PATTERN OF SUCCESSFUL APPROACHES TO THE INTEGRATION OF MINORITY EMPLOYEES INTO THE WORK FORCE

The companies that have signed Plans for Progress have committed themselves to AFFIRMATIVE ACTION to provide equality of opportunity in employment. Affirmative action means that, not content with policy statements for the record, each of these companies is undertaking positive action to cultivate sources of qualified applicants from all segments of the community, and to assist the community to produce qualified applicants. Some of these companies have had years of experience, and have reasonably smooth, and generally accepted equality of opportunity practices as a normal routine of their operation. They have encountered problems and have resolved them, or have determined how to go about resolving them.

The approaches used by these companies have much in common and their experiences may be of value to organizations concerned with equal opportunity practices. It would be unrealistic to claim that all is "sweetness and light" even in the generally successful program. There are always human factors to consider, local community traditions and mores, competitive marketing sensitivities, and the increasingly complex skills required of a work force. These cannot be handled by a formula, or without the need for prudence on the part of the management, and the minority group. Each of these factors, however, can be isolated, examined and corrected over a period of time, if the company has a consistent overall policy or set of standards by which it operates in the equal employment opportunity area.

A review of "successful" equal opportunity programs shows a fairly well-defined pattern in the way each company has approached the problem and resolved the sometimes very difficult and emotional conditions it encountered. The review also shows certain long-range problems that are common to all, and that require long-range, creative and flexible approaches to resolve. "Successful," as used in connection with this guide does not mean that the job is already accomplished at these companies; it means rather that the companies have started along the road to equal opportunity, and have taken the first steps without too much difficulty.

WHAT THE COMPANIES DID

In each case:

Top management of the company declared publicly and to employees that it was interested primarily in the qualifications of people for employment rather than other factors such as race, color, creed, national origin, etc.. and stated this belief in its recruiting of employees, and in employee handbooks and other media available to employees and the community.

Top management, by continued interest and follow-up, demonstrated to its supervisory force and employees that it was sincere. It reacted to evidences of discrimination, or apparent reluctance of its lower-level managers to hire members of minority groups. It was willing to make its point of view known repeatedly to its employees, their representatives, members of minority groups in the community and the community at large, as well as to each of its employee sources, such as public and private employment agencies, colleges, universities and vocational schools.

The company reviewed its current internal procedures relating to promotion, pay and benefits to insure equitable administration using criteria other than color, race, etc.

The company recognized that even though minority group members might have already been employed elsewhere in that company, the introduction of such persons into a new department, skill, level of occupation, or even a geographical location within a plant, requires preparation and communication, not only with the employees immediately affected, but with the whole work force, and even the local community.

The company, after explaining its position to employees when planning to introduce a minority member into the force, stood firm in the face of remarks that "everybody is going to quit" if you hire "them." There are

few if any recorded instances where an employee quit a steady, well-paying job solely because of the presence of a minority person--provided he had been informed in advance of the company policy or of its planned activity and was assured the company would not retreat in the face of his threats.

The company retained centralized direction of its equal opportunity activities rather than expecting each part of the organization automatically to follow its policies. By its headquarters leadership and follow-up, it reassured employees that their actions to eliminate discrimination would be favorably received by top management.

Where unions were present, the company endeavored to negotiate non-discrimination clauses in its labor agreements and very often sought and received union cooperation in resolving problems of discrimination.

This overall pattern is one of explanation and communication--continuous and sincere--with employees, the public, and other levels of management; and of consistency in attitudes, once the organization is committed publicly to equal opportunity employment. Many of the problems described in Section II were the result of failure to explain and communicate.

There are two techniques that appear in almost all successful integration activities:

1. "Pilot Placements - Most companies, when they are starting the process of upgrading the job level of minority employees, use "pilot" placement. This, simply, is the assignment of carefully selected minority persons to jobs where they will be accepted and noted by a large number of people on a routine, daily basis; and where, of course, such placements are justified from the standpoint of qualifications.

2. Professional and Technical Placements - The introduction of minority employees such as engineers, scientists, and research personnel into the technical and professional areas of an organization appears to be generally accepted without much comment. The individuals are usually immediately respected for their professional qualifications, and this gains time to demonstrate their personal qualities. With a professional as a "pilot" placement, other placements apparently cause less apprehension.

The activities listed above have been apparent in those organizations that consider themselves to be making progress. But there is also a major prob-

lem that appears "across the board." It concerns the ability of the local community to provide qualified applicants for the positions that have been newly opened to minority members.

In almost every case, the company has had to "reach out" to encourage and motivate a minority person to apply for employment. It has had to take positive steps to develop sources of qualified people. It has had to conduct educational activities that provide the community with a more realistic idea of what is involved in semi-skilled, skilled, technical and administrative employment.

This is a long-range problem which requires the cooperation of educators, vocational counselors, community leaders, and minority group leaders.

SECTION II

SELECTED "CASES"

FROM

PLANS FOR PROGRESS COMPANIES

A. PREPARING EMPLOYEES AND THE COMMUNITY FOR INTEGRATED EMPLOYMENT

CASE A-1

A company in a medium-size metropolitan area in the South was the only firm in the Community to employ Negro females in clerical and factory occupations.

Company Action: The employer took steps to condition acceptance on the part of the work force by advising employees in advance regarding plant integration moves. Care was exercised in the selection of minority females, with appropriate follow-up to effect a smooth transition. Throughout, the company maintained close liaison with local Negro leaders to gauge reaction and opinion. Company officials gave talks to local groups on their policy and methods of integrating the work force.

Result: Favorable results with no apparent problem regarding transition.

Comment: For a pilot program of introducing minority employees into a new job situation, this company regards it desirable to hire or place two Negroes at the same time, since in their experience it seems to lessen tensions sometimes associated with initial acceptance. The management is careful to avoid placing employees in any positions for which they are overly qualified.

CASE A-2

A national company had to rapidly man and activate a completely new facility in an area where state and local laws and customs enforced segregation.

Company Action: The company determined to stick by its policies of non-discrimination, but to apply them by degrees. At each step, it enlisted civic, community, education, and social leaders to assist; explained exactly what it proposed to do, then went ahead.

Result: While it took longer to complete than if located in another community, the plant was established on an integrated basis with no particular difficulty.

CASE A-3

A large nationwide company has a plant in a medium-size (40,000) Northern city. The area has very few (.2%) non-white residents.

During the course of its routine college recruiting activities, the company located and employed a minority person and placed him in this plant. He was the first Negro college graduate to be employed at this level in the community.

The appearance of the Negro in the community caused unrest because of rumors that the company intended to bring in large numbers of Negroes.

Company Action: The personnel manager immediately made a public statement at a civic meeting. He affirmed that the company hired only on the basis of qualifications and that it would continue this policy. He stated that he assumed that other Negroes would be expected to qualify for employment but that he did not predict large numbers of any minority would be hired. The nature of the work and the technology involved make difficult the location of qualified persons of any race.

Result: The agitation and unrest died down immediately. Since then, two more Negroes have been employed with little or no comment.

Comment: The company now believes that the management should have clearly informed the public of its position before rumors were "allowed to snowball."

CASE A-4

In a northern, essentially white, one-industry city (30,000), a large, highly technically-oriented process industry company unit (15,000 employees) with an active minority professional recruitment program had acute housing problems and particularly so for unmarried male and female technically-trained Negro applicants. Housing barriers for members of other minority races had been eliminated completely several years earlier. Without adequate friendly living conditions, highly qualified applicants for professional as well as secretarial positions could not be recruited. Overt company pressures on the community had to be avoided to prevent counter-reaction.

Company Action: Management quietly but actively communicated its program and problems to the city government, civic and religious organizations, and also trade groups. The formation of a Community Relations Commission to seek solutions and to encourage objective discussion in the community of this and similar problems involving attitudes was encouraged. After individual private discussions, rooming and apartment house owners having favorable attitudes were invited to lunch to discuss open occupancy for minority professional employees. The owners joined together to quietly solve the housing problem among themselves and to encourage other such owners to help them.

Comment: This company believes the avoidance of overt pressures on the community and the friendly, open and objective discussions with crucial community leadership were critical to the favorable actions obtained.

CASE A-5

This company is in a small community in a generally segregated area. On the basis of qualifications, the management found that the most eligible applicant was a Negro, the first to be employed at that job level in the community.

Company Action: On an informal basis, company officials discussed with the "natural leaders" in the plant and the community the necessity for selecting the best qualified person and sought their cooperation.

A Negro was hired, and there have been no particular problems.

CASE A-6

The company took affirmative action to establish full liaison with Negro organizations and solicit cooperation in locating qualified minority people.

Company Action: The company enlisted the aid of the Social Director of a Negro group in securing qualified applicants. Employees were informed of proposed action and urged to cooperate.

Result: Follow-up evaluations are made of working relationships to ensure that the fine initial favorable response by all employees continues.

Comment: It is important to make periodic follow-ups in order to keep abreast of employee attitudes.

A. Preparing Employees and the Community for Integrated Employment (Cont'd.)

CASE A-7

This unionized unit (1,300 employees) of a very large processing industry company is located in an Eastern border state city (40% minority) that has been experiencing much discord. The company has been successful in extending job opportunities to minorities and also in desegregating facilities. Strong feelings were evident against the introduction of minority females in both the plant and office and against the desegregation of facilities. Seniority provisions have been equally applicable to all union members (1,000) for twenty years.

Company Action: The management has maintained continuing broad discussions with the unions and with influential white and minority leaders, and has developed a healthy spirit of tolerance and patience. The cafeteria was desegregated by removing a separating wall and later combining separate serving counters. Later, during an expansion, separate lockers, showers, and toilet facilities were combined without incident. Last year, during expanded hiring, ten minority females were added to the plant force and were assigned desegrated facilities. The barrier having been broken, two minority employees were added to the office staff. Common dining and toilet facilities are being used without incident. A Negro male has recently been promoted to relief foreman supervising white girls and several men.

Comment: Through long-term, patient process, acceptance has been gained by all employees. Excellent communications with all major crucial elements were established, each step being followed by an adjustment period. If this experience were repeated, the company would use the same step-by-step process, but with a much shorter time schedule.

CASE A-8

A precision equipment manufacturer in a large Northeastern area experienced a problem in attempting to locate suitable housing for a newly hired professional Negro. The employee gave up after eight days of house-hunting to accept work in another area where he felt he would be more readily accepted in the community.

Company Action: Company representatives had assisted in the search for suitable housing for this employee by making appointments, providing literature, arranging meetings with realtors, and driving him to home sites.

Result: This person found locating a satisfactory residence in the area of his new job equally difficult and asked to be re-employed. Upon his return, suitable housing in the city was located with the help of the Urban League and fellow Negro employees.

Comment: The consensus is that he initially quit too early in his search for suitable housing. It appears best in such cases to attempt to seek real estate in integrated urban areas, utilizing the Urban League and other Negro employees where possible.

B. RECRUITING AND SELECTING MINORITY EMPLOYEES

CASE B-1

The company had been hiring minority persons for some years. After it had signed a Plan for Progress, it wanted to make certain that the minority employees were placed according to their actual qualifications, and equitably paid. It also wanted to determine if any of them could be upgraded to jobs requiring higher qualifications.

Company Action: Utilizing its machine-tabulated records, the company conducted a study of the job status, training and pay of its minority employees. Comparisons were made between them and other employees.

Result: The company is generally satisfied that its minority employees are properly classified and compensated. Two were found to possess qualifications for higher-level positions and were promoted.

CASE B-2

The company asked local ministers to refer minority members, and discovered that bad feelings, rather than good, were aroused, because only a very small number of those referred were qualified for the positions available.

Company Action: The company invited the ministers to visit its employment office so they might see what actually took place in the employment process, and also invited them to visit the plants and watch the jobs being performed.

Result: The local ministers are referring more realistically; Negroes are being employed, and the community opinion is favorable.

Comment: If this were to be done again, the company would have defined its requirements more specifically to insure that non-qualified persons were not given the impression that they would be hired regardless of qualifications.

CASE B-3

Very few Negroes were applying for employment except in unskilled occupations, despite the fact that the company had not practiced discrimination.

Company Action: The company held meetings with leaders of the Negro community, including ministers, educators and representatives of the NAACP. It also advertised job openings in the Negro press, and in addition helped form a community committee of employers to promote equal opportunity employment.

Result: Negroes possessing more favorable qualifications have now started to apply for employment, and are being hired in the semi-skilled, skilled, and office areas.

CASE B-4

This West Coast-based company had difficulty in attracting qualified Negro employees, despite advertising in Negro papers and extensive community contacts.

Company Action: The company instituted a "personal referral" system. Negro employees were asked to refer applicants they considered to be qualified.

Result: This has been a most effective recruiting technique.

Comment: Since anyone who makes a referral is convinced that the person he recommended is qualified, there is likely to be a morale problem if the referred individual is not hired. In this situation, the company should immediately explain its actions to the employee who made the referral.

CASE B-5

In recruiting at Negro colleges, a large Eastern company sometimes interviews students who have not earned sufficient credits in their specialty to meet the company's normal professional standards, but do meet all other standards for employment.

Company Action: The student is offered a position at a sub-professional level in his field of study, and given educational aid to obtain the additional credits needed. When this is accomplished, he is assigned to the professional level.

Comment: This approach requires complete understanding between the individual and his supervisor concerning the reasons for his sub-professional assignment.

CASE B-6

A large decentralized manufacturing and servicing company in a large, rather tense southerly city (one-third minority) decided to break the segregated pattern and fill an apprentice-mechanic opening at each of two branch service locations (about 75 employees each) with qualified minority candidates.

Company Action: With the complete cooperation of the IAM union representative, two carefully screened candidates were selected from a technical school to become apprentices.

Result: Mangement, union, and fellow employees are reacting favorably to the apprentices after two months of demonstrated ability.

CASE B-7

In 1963, after many years of not seeking additional female employees, a small manufacturing firm in a Northeast industrial area having no integration problems decided to hire two women.

Company Action: The company followed established recruitment procedure in locating and hiring the women, one a Negro--the first Negro female employed by the firm. Normal job orientation procedures were followed.

Result: No difficulties were encountered.

Comment: In a like situation in the future, the firm would handle the same way, with absolutely no deviation from established procedure and policy.

CASE B-8

There was an obvious reluctance among Negroes to apply for employment at this firm--located in a large West Coast city--since the plant was in a part of town where few Negroes had previously worked.

Company Action: The management launched a special recruiting program in conjunction with the Urban League, advertised and made spot radio announcements that the company would recruit at the Urban League office at scheduled times.

Result: This approach has been successful, and more qualified minority applicants are being recruited. The company now has a more favorable reputation in the Negro community.

B. Recruiting and Selecting Minority Employees (Cont'd.)

CASE B-9

The company wanted to demonstrate that it was willing to hire on the basis of merit without prejudice.

Company Action: The firm worked with the State Employment Service in analyzing the content of its jobs in order to enable the Service to recommend qualified candidates.

Result: This action has contributed to the elimination of any claims that the company discriminates on the basis of color, race, religion or national origin.

CASE B-10

The company, as part of its program to hire minority persons, decided to try to locate a Negro for a highly skilled position.

Company Action: When unable to recruit a qualified Negro in the immediate area, the company decided to extend its recruitment to neighboring communities. Even with this broader source, the company was unable to find a minority representative who was fully qualified for the job. At this point they decided to consider one with only potential qualifications for the job. This decision involved some expense in terms of moving the employee and his family to the new location, etc.

Result: The decision to hire this man seems to have been a wise one. He has proved able to hold his own in "work performance," and also has a desirable personality.

C. INTRODUCTION OF MINORITY EMPLOYEES INTO AN ACTIVITY

CASE C-1

This unionized company (3,000 employees) in a Midwest city of 100,000 (17% Negro) had employed Negroes for some time, but none in a supervisory job involving a racially-mixed group. When several such openings became available, it was found that the best qualified individuals were Negroes.

Company Action: The management re-emphasized its equal employment policy of promotions on the basis of work qualifications, appointed several Negroes to supervisory positions, and fully supported its action.

Result: The program appears to be working well and without incident.

CASE C-2

The company operates a specialized training school for women employees in a type of public contact work in which no Negro women had previously been employed. As the school is located in a Southern city, it was felt that any problems that arose would receive national attention.

Company Action: A Negro girl was selected and assigned to the school as a clerical employee until there was daily acceptance of her presence, and all concerned knew her and liked her. Then, after several months, she was assigned to the school as a student.

Result: She was accepted with no problems. The company is planning to hire and assign other Negro women as students.

Comment: Top management support was given to this plan. The school administrators were informed in advance, and the individual was very carefully chosen to make a favorable impression on the faculty and the other students.

C. Introduction of Minority Employees into an Activity (Cont'd.)

CASE C-3

A major public utility company in a large Northeastern city (30% minority) had never employed minority people in the Employee Relations Department.

Company Action: The company decided to employ a minority person in a responsible position, and communicated this decision to all employees. The management was advised that three valued employees would take pensions, and that certain others would refuse to work with the new employee.

Result: The management remained firm, and after a year's employment the minority person has been completely accepted by all employees in terms of both competence and congeniality.

D. UPGRADING THE QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS AND EMPLOYEES

CASE D-1

The company had difficulty in attracting Negroes with minimum qualifications for semi-skilled, skilled, and clerical positions.

Company Action: The company instituted a plan whereby it requested Negro employees to contact their schools (teachers and students) and explain exactly how their school training had helped them to get and keep their jobs. It was believed this would help students to prepare themselves more realistically.

Comment: If fully informed of actual job requirements, the various educational institutions and vocational agencies will revise programs and curricula accordingly.

CASE D-2

This company, located in a large Southern community with a substantial minority population, was unable to find qualified Negroes for its industrial training programs.

Company Action: The company joined with the Urban League in developing experimental programs in the community to upgrade the qualifications of young people to meet the entry level requirements of skills-training programs.

The company-Urban League proposals have been submitted for approval to local, state and federal agencies.

Comment: The company thinks the toughest problem is how to point out to the various agencies and institutions the inadequacies of current vocational education programs.

D. Upgrading the Qualifications of Applicants and Employees (Cont'd.)

CASE D-3

The demand in this company for technically trained employees is growing, and it is difficult to attract qualified applicants regardless of race. The young people of the community--and their sources of guidance--clearly need to learn what opportunities exist, and the best means of preparing for them.

Company Action: With the assistance and sponsorship of the Urban League, the company instituted:

1. An Equal Opportunity Student Career Day.

2. An Employment Opportunity Ministers' Conference.

Information programs and plant tours were conducted for each group to acquaint them with job content, eduational requirements, etc. Negro employees participated in the luncheon discussions with these guests to help communicate that jobs are available in the industry to those who prepare themselves. Assistance from influential leaders in the minority community was important to the success of the program.

CASE D-4

A heavy equipment manufacturer wanted to hire a Negro in a retail sales training position (having done so successfully many years earlier).

Company Action: With the cooperation of the local Urban League, the company hired a qualified Negro lacking only five hours' credit toward a college degree. He is continuing his education under the firm's tuition refund program.

Result: Favorable comments have been received from many other industrial people and customers.

Comment: After careful selection and placement, the company recommends proper follow-up to make certain that a Negro trainee is provided with the essential materials and information, etc., so that he may have a fair opportunity to demonstrate his ability.

D. Upgrading the Qualifcations of Applicants and Employees (Cont'd.)

CASE D-5

A Southern company found that a very small percentage of Negro applicants was meeting the minimum requirements of the available positions.

Company Action: The company started to share with school counselors and administrators the details of the inadequacies and deficiencies that were being noted during the employment process.

In-plant workshops were also started with education personnel, and company representatives visited schools to explain actual job requirements. They were able to help identify educational objectives as a guide to prepare students for entry into industrial jobs in skilled, administrative, and technical occupations.

Comment: The company says: "The solution to the problem is a long way off."

CASE D-6

An engineering and manufacturing company with major facilities in two Western states offers annual university scholarship and fellowship awards without prejudice to outstanding science and math students. Minority people had already received fellowships, but with the introduction of scholarships to secondary school graduates in 1962 no minority candidates were at first chosen, despite extensive circulating of the award offers to school administrators throughout the two-state area.

Company Action: One of the scholarships was reserved, pending a more thorough search for a qualified candidate. Two such minority people were found, and awards were given to each. In 1963, direct contact with several leading minority organizations failed to produce a qualified student. In 1964, efforts will be redoubled, and in addition promotional literature and application blanks will be mailed to both local and national organizations.

D. Upgrading the Qualifications of Applicants and Employees (Cont'd.)

CASE D-7

The company recognizes the difficulty in locating qualified minority applicants for job openings because of inappropriate educational preparation and motivation.

Company Action: Officials of the company worked with the Industrial Services Department of the local YMCA to develop a recorded color slide presentation directed to youth of junior high school age and their parents. The primary message of the film is that jobs are opening up rapidly in the community, but that an education is needed to take advantage of the opportunities. Thirty local Negroes in all major categories of employment--and each holding a different kind of job--are shown at work in the slides. Emphasis is given to positions in growth fields where high school graduation is the minimum entry prerequisite.

Two-man teams take the slide presentation to Negro homes, where it is shown to three or four families at a time on a personal, informal basis. Following the film, parents and students are encouraged to make better use of school counselors and other guidance opportunities.

CASE D-8

It became very evident to personnel representatives of the company that many of the minority employees had lower aspiration levels, less desire for training, and less information concerning job progression than other employees. The company wanted to motivate these employees to aspire to better jobs.

Company Action: A series of articles was published in the company newspaper explaining lines of progression within various occupations and illustrating how promotion is possible for employees with the desire and the capacity to merit it. Employees were urged to seek more information from personnel representatives.

Result: Response from the Negro, Mexican-American and other minority employees was weak, so the company asked managers and supervisors to make special effort to seek out minority employees and encourage them to seek counseling and job information.

E. COMMUNITY PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS

CASE E-1

This is a Midwest firm serving widely-scattered locations, with Negroes representing only 1% of the population--mainly in urban areas.

Company Action: As part of the affirmative action under its Plan, the company hired Negro women as Employment Interviewers and Employment Representatives.

Result: In addition to employment duties, Negro women maintain liaison with community minority organizations, informing them of company needs and thus helping to locate qualified applicants.

Comment: As the program has been operating only a short time, it is too early to evaluate its effectiveness. But some favorable response has already been noted.

CASE E-2

This company is located in a medium-sized city in an industrialized Northeastern area with a 3% minority population. Industries in the community are being urged by the NAACP to provide more jobs for Negroes.

Company Action: The management met with clergy and representatives of the NAACP to emphasize its policy of hiring only needed employees who were qualified. The various job requirements were explained in detail, and questions from the floor freely answered. Shortly thereafter, two minority persons were employed--one in the office and one for field work.

Comments: The NAACP appears pleased. The management continues to maintain effective communication with these minority groups. The minority community now understands company policy and has a better appreciation of the job qualifications required.

CASE E-3

Representatives of the NAACP suggested that the employer either transfer or terminate a certain number of white employees and replace with Negroes. A time ultimatum was given the company, with a threat of boycott.

Company Action: The company reiterated its policy and Plan for Progress objectives, and offered to employ a Negro as a student salesman if the NAACP would refer a qualified candidate.

Result: The NAACP was not able to do so, but imposed a boycott anyway. Shortly thereafter, the company hired a Negro as a student salesman, and the situation quieted down.

CASE E-4

An Urban League study within this large West Coast community concluded that a principal barrier to Negroes making an effective job search was their preconceived opinion that they would be discriminated against. It was also concluded that employment agencies, teachers and counselors did not appreciate the extent of equal employment opportunities in local business and industry.

Company Action: Along with over 200 other businesses in a Chamber of Commerce program, the company publicly endorsed equal employment opportunity by signing the following statement addressed to personnel agencies in the area:

> "Please be officially advised that we want you to refer qualified applicants to our personnel department without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin."

Comment: The Urban League is planning to publish a booklet which will provide tips on how to look for work and acquire training, and which will also list the companies who became signatories to the above statement. The booklet will be widely distributed through employment offices, labor unions, and educational institutions, and is expected to create a tremendous motivational impact upon the minority community.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

file Take Action

October 13, 1964

Company Presidents and Representatives

Dear Sir:

We would like to bring to your attention a program which may be of considerable value to you in implementing your equal employment opportunity program.

Utilization of the on-the-job training provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act would enable your company to provide training to applicants beyond what you would normally provide. Thus, it may help applicants or employees deficient in certain basic skills become qualified for better jobs. This kind of training not only benefits the unemployed or underemployed, it may aid you in solving some of your critical manpower problems.

The attached report gives a general description of MDTA on-the-job training programs. For further information please contact the local office of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor, or one of the regional offices listed in the report.

We recommend the program for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

G. A. McLellan
Administrative Director

Attachment

Plans for Progress Office
1815 H Street, N. W.
Suite 506
Washington, D. C. 20006
PH: Area Code 202, 961-5555

ATTACHMENT TO NEWSLETTER NO. 20 DATED OCTOBER 22, 1964

PLANS FOR PROGRESS REPORT INSTRUCTIONS

(Form EEO-10, revised October 1964)

1. General

This employment report form is intended for participants in the Plans for Progress program and is of primary importance in providing a basis for analysis of the utilization of minority group members by your company, the Plans for Progress staff, and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Because wide variations exist from one area to another in labor markets, industry needs, and available manpower, this report form requests information primarily on an establishment basis.

2. Definitions

a. "Employer identification number" is the 9-digit number which each legal corporate entity has been assigned as its employer identification number on the basis of its application (Form SS-4) to Internal Revenue Service for an identification number. It is frequently referred to as the "company's Social Security number" and is used on all the company's reports to the Social Security Administration and to the Internal Revenue Service.

b. "Reporting Unit" means a single establishment (location) of the company, except to the extent indicated below. Reports should be prepared by reporting units as follows:

(1) The principal office of the company shall always be reported as a separate reporting unit regardless of the number of employees and major activity involved.

(2) Any establishment (manufacturing, service, etc.) with 50 or more employees shall be reported as a separate reporting unit. Establishments having fewer than 50 employees may be reported either (a) by individual establishment or (b) may be reported on a statewide basis. They should not, however, be reported as part of an establishment having more than 50 employees. Employees of retail establishments or sales employees may be reported as outlined in sub-paragraphs (3) and (4) below.

(3) The employees of retail establishments within a single State may be reported either (a) by individual establishment or (b) in one consolidated statewide report. Retail establishments are those which engage in selling merchandise for personal, household, or farm consumption, or render services incidental to the sale of the goods.

(4) All sales employees, except those assigned to manufacturing establishments and except those reported in accordance with sub-paragraph (3) above, may be reported either:

(a) By individual establishments, or

(b) In a consolidated sales personnel report, or (if neither of these is possible),

(c) In the same report as the employees of the principal office of the company.

(Note.--For description of sales employees, see paragraph 6 of these instructions.)

(5) Whenever a reporting unit consists of more than one establishment, section 2C of Form EEO-10 should briefly describe the reporting unit in terms of number of establishments and their location (e.g., 27 retail establishments in New York State). The name of each establishment in the reporting unit, its location, and the total number of employees should be listed separately and attached to each copy of the report. In all cases where data for more than one establishment is consolidated into one reporting unit, it should be understood that the President's Committee may make a subsequent request for data on an establishment basis.

(6) If a company is engaged in activities for which the above-described reporting unit criteria may not be readily adaptable (e.g., operation of interstate railroads), special reporting procedures may be required. In such cases, the company should so advise the Administrative Director of Plans for Progress by submitting for the approval of the Executive Vice Chairman, a specific proposal for an alternative reporting system 60 days prior to the date on which the reports are due.

c. "Reporting unit number" means the identification number assigned to each reporting unit of a multi-establishment company participating in the Social Security Establishment Reporting Plan and is used in filing quarterly reports with the Social Security Administration on Form 941. (In the event that a multi-establishment company does not participate in this Establishment Reporting Plan, the payroll office or comptroller should assign an arbitrary reporting unit number of four or less numerical digits to each establishment of the company. The appropriate number should then be used on each report submitted to the Committee. Companies having only one place of business (single establishment firms) shall so specify in the spaces provided for reporting unit numbers.)

Special Note: The employer identification number and the reporting unit number together constitute the only means of matching current reports with previous reports. In order to make meaningful year-to-year analyses of these reports, therefore, an employer identification number and a reporting unit number must

be entered in sections 3 and 4 of Form EEO-10, and these numbers should in every possible case be consistent with previous reporting. In the case of single establishment firms, only the employer identification number is required. If for some reason identifying numbers must be changed, as a result of organization changes, mergers, etc., please note and briefly describe in section 6c the reasons for the change.

d. "Principal office of the company" means the central administrative office of the legal entity (corporation, partnership, or single proprietorship) regardless of affiliation, stock ownership, or control.

e. "Predominant interest agency" means that contracting agency of the Federal Government that has been designated to corporate headquarters as having primary responsibility for the administration of the company's obligations under the Executive Orders. Unless the company has been otherwise notified, this will be the contracting agency having the largest aggregate dollar value of contracts with the COMPANY AS A WHOLE at the time of filing this Plans for Progress Report.

f. "Major activity" means the major product or group of products produced or handled, or services rendered by the reporting unit (e.g., manufacturing of airplane parts, retail sales of office furniture). In the case of mixed activities at the reporting unit, the major activity shall be determined by the activity in which the greatest number of all the employees work.

g. "Spanish-Americans." This refers to persons who are of Mexican, Spanish, Puerto Rican or Latin-American origin. Aids in making identification are visual and language characteristics or Spanish surnames. Puerto Ricans and Latin-Americans are highly concentrated in the following southwestern states: Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas.

3. When to Submit Reports

Each company should file its first report for each of its reporting units within thirty days after its Plan for Progress has been adopted. Adjustment of the date of the first report may be agreed upon by the company and the Administrative Director of Plans for Progress. Thereafter, each company should submit reports annually by March 1 on manpower figures from a payroll period during the preceding December.

4. How to Submit Reports

Separate forms for each reporting unit of the company, including the principal office, should be completed and submitted in triplicate. In addition, a combined report for the company as a whole should be submitted, consolidating the data from the individual reporting units. This report should be marked "Consolidated Report" in section 2c of Form EEO-10. The company headquarters should collect all reports for the company's reporting units and submit these and the combined report all at the same time. If extra copies of this form are needed, they will be furnished on request by

Plans for Progress. The supply of forms needed should be requested by company headquarters, rather than by individual company units. If the company submits reproduced copies of this form, the size should not be materially changed in reproduction. Companies may submit their reports as data processing print-outs, provided the same information is given in the same sequence as it appears in Form EEO-10. Submit reports to:

Plans for Progress
1815 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

5. Standard Form 40-A (Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report)

Government contractors and subcontractors subject to the reporting requirements of Executive Order 10925 may be requested to file Form 40-A to certify that compliance reports (Standard Form 40) or Plans for Progress reports (EEO-10) have been filed.

Plans for Progress companies are not required to file Form 40-A, nor should they request this form from their subcontractors who are participants in Plans for Progress. Each participating company will be furnished with a list of all companies in the Plans for Progress program. This list will also be sent to all Federal Government contracting and administering agencies.

If you are requested to file Form 40-A, please refer the company or agency making the request to the Plans for Progress staff.

6. Description of Job Categories

To be Used with Part II (section 7).

OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS - Occupations requiring administrative personnel who set broad policies, exercise over-all responsibility for execution of these policies, and direct individual departments or special phases of a firm's operations. Includes: officials, executives, middle management, plant managers, department managers and superintendents, salaried foremen who are members of management*, purchasing agents and buyers, and kindred workers.

PROFESSIONAL - Occupations requiring either college graduation or experience of such kind and amount as to provide a comparable background. Includes: accountants and auditors, airplane pilots and navigators, architects, artists, chemists, designers, dietitians, editors, engineers, lawyers, librarians, mathematicians, natural scientists, personnel and labor relations workers, physical scientists, physicians, social scientists, teachers, and kindred workers.

*Note: All foremen classified as Craftsmen (Skilled) in previous report form. Please note in section 9 if your reporting is significantly different as a result of this change in classification.

TECHNICIANS - Occupations requiring a combination of basic scientific knowledge and manual skill which can be obtained through about two years of post high school education, such as is offered in many technical institutes and junior colleges, or through equivalent on-the-job training. Includes: draftsmen, engineering aids, junior engineers, mathematical aids, nurses, photographers, radio operators, scientific assistants, surveyors, technical illustrators, technicians (medical, dental, electronic, physical sciences), and kindred workers.

SALES - Occupations engaging wholly or primarily in direct selling. Includes: advertising agents and salesmen, insurance agents and brokers, real estate agents and brokers, stock and bond salesmen, demonstrators, salesmen and sales clerks, and kindred workers.

OFFICE AND CLERICAL - Includes all clerical-type work regardless of level of difficulty, where the activities are predominately non-manual, though some manual work not directly involved with altering or transporting the products is included. Includes: bookkeepers, cashiers, collectors (bills and accounts), messengers and office boys, office machine operators, shipping and receiving clerks, stenographers, typists and secretaries, telegraph and telephone operators, and kindred workers.

CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED) - Manual workers of relatively high skill level having a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the processes involved in their work. Exercise considerable independent judgment and usually receive an extensive period of training. Includes: the building trades, hourly paid foremen and leadmen who are not members of management*, mechanics and repairmen, skilled machining occupations, compositors and typesetters, electricians, engravers, job setters (metal), motion picture projectionists, pattern and model makers, stationary engineers, tailors and tailoresses, and kindred workers.

OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED) - Workers who operate machine or processing equipment or perform other factory-type duties of intermediate skill level which can be mastered in a few weeks and require only limited training. Includes: apprentices (auto mechanics, bricklayers, carpenters, electricians, machinists, mechanics, plumbers, building trades, metalworking trades, printing trades, etc.), operatives, attendants (auto service and parking), blasters, chauffeurs, deliverymen and routemen, dressmakers and seamstresses (except factory), dyers, furnacemen, heaters (metal), laundry and dry cleaning operatives, milliners, mine operatives and laborers, motormen, oilers and greasers (except auto), painters (except construction and maintenance), photographic process workers, stationary firemen, truck and tractor drivers, weavers (textile), welders and flame-cutters, and kindred workers.

*Note: All foremen classified as Craftsmen (Skilled) in previous report form. Please note in section 9 if your reporting is significantly different as a result of this change in classification.

LABORERS (UNSKILLED) - Workers in manual occupations which generally require no special training. Perform elementary duties that may be learned in a few days and require the application of little or no independent judgment. Includes: garage laborers, car washers and greasers, gardeners (except farm) and groundskeepers, longshoremen and stevedores, lumbermen, raftsmen and wood choppers, laborers performing lifting, digging, mixing, loading, and pulling operations, and kindred workers.

SERVICE WORKERS - Workers in both protective and nonprotective service occupations. Includes: attendants (hospital and other institution, professional and personal service), barbers, charwomen and cleaners, cooks (except household), counter and fountain workers, elevator operators, firemen and fire protection, guards, watchmen and doorkeepers, stewards, janitors, policemen and detectives, porters, waiters and waitresses, and kindred workers.

APPRENTICES - Persons employed in a bona fide apprenticeship program registered with a State Apprenticeship Council, which is recognized by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, United States Department of Labor, or if no such recognized Council exists in a State, in a program registered with the Bureau of Apprenticeship, United States Department of Labor.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINEES:

White collar (includes persons engaged in formal training, for official, managerial, professional, technical sales, office and clerical occupations).

Production (includes persons engaged in formal training for craftsmen - when not trained under apprentice programs - operative, laborer and service occupations).

ADDENDUM TO INSTRUCTIONS OF FORM EEO-10

The following Instruction replaces and supersedes paragraphs 2 b. and 4 of the Instructions affixed to Form EEO-10.

"2b. 'Reporting Unit' means a single establishment of the company, except to the extent indicated in this paragraph.

1. **Any establishment (manufacturing, service, etc.) with 50 or more employees shall be reported as a separate Reporting Unit. Establishments having less than 50 employees may be reported by individual establishment or by company entity within the same State. However, where there are retail or sales employees, they may be reported as set forth in subparagraphs 2 and 3 below.**

2. **All retail employees within a single State may be reported in one consolidated Unit or by individual establishments. Retail employees are those who engage in selling merchandise for personal, household, or farm consumption, or render services incidental to the sale of the goods.**

3. **All sales employees, except those assigned to manufacturing establishments and except those reported in accordance with subparagraph 2 above, may be reported (1) by individual establishments, or (2) as a consolidated sales Unit, or (3) in the same Unit as the employees of the principal office of the company. Sales employees are defined in paragraph 5 of these Instructions.**

4. **The name of each establishment, its location and the number of employees, should be listed whenever a Reporting Unit consists of more than one establishment.**

5. **In all cases where the data for your establishments is consolidated in this Report, it should be understood that the President's Committee may at any time make a further request for data on an establishment basis.**

6. **Separate forms, in triplicate, should be completed and submitted for each Reporting Unit of the company, including the principal**

office. Employment statistics should include the total number of employees in each Reporting Unit as of a day you select during the month in which the report is due. If extra copies of this form are needed, they will be furnished by the Committee on request. These reports may be submitted as data processing print-outs, provided the same format and information is given.

You should note also that the report of the employment of minority groups required in Part II, paragraph 7 of the attached Form, should reflect the best judgment of the individual (s) making the estimate, based on each employee's visual and/or language characteristics, as well as surname.

FORM EEO-10
JULY 1968

PLANS FOR PROGRESS REPORT

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

FORM APPROVED
BUDGET BUREAU
No. 44-R1174.1

IMPORTANT: — Please read the accompanying instructions sheet before preparing this report. Complete all items unless otherwise instructed. If an item does not apply, mark "N/A" for Not Applicable. Reports for each reporting unit shall be submitted in triplicate directly to:

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
PLANS FOR PROGRESS PROGRAM
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

PART I — COMPANY IDENTIFICATION

1. COMPANY'S STATUS (Check one block only) ☐ a. GOVERNMENT CONTRACTOR ☐ b. NOT A GOVERNMENT CONTRACTOR

2. CROSS-REFERENCE IDENTIFICATION	3. EMPLOYER IDENTIFICATION NO.	4. REPORTING UNIT NO.	CODE (Leave blank)
2a. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PRINCIPAL OFFICE OF THE COMPANY			
2b. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PARENT COMPANY IF AN AFFILIATED CORPORATION			
2c. LOCATION OF REPORTING UNIT (City, county, state)			
2d. MAJOR ACTIVITY PERFORMED AT THIS REPORTING UNIT			
5. PREDOMINANT INTEREST GOVERNMENT AGENCY (To be furnished only if company is a Government Contractor. See Instruction 2e)			
6a. DATE LAST PLANS FOR PROGRESS REPORT SUBMITTED (If any)	6b. PREDOMINANT INTEREST AGENCY FOR LAST REPORT		
6c. IF IDENTIFICATION DATA GIVEN IN ITEMS 3 AND 4 ABOVE, DIFFERS FROM THE LAST REPORT, GIVE THE IDENTIFICATION DATA APPEARING ON THE LAST REPORT.			

PART II — EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

OCCUPATIONS (See Item 7 of the instructions)	MALE EMPLOYEES						FEMALE EMPLOYEES						EMPLOYEES ALL TOTAL
	TOTAL	MINORITY GROUPS					TOTAL	MINORITY GROUPS					
		NEGRO	ORIENTAL	INDIAN OR ALASKAN	SPANISH AMERICAN	OTHER		NEGRO	ORIENTAL	INDIAN OR ALASKAN	SPANISH AMERICAN	OTHER	

(Continue on reverse)

PART II — EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

7. EMPLOYMENT BY RACE, OCCUPATION, AND SEX
(For pay period nearest 15th of month preceding that in which this report is due)

OCCUPATIONS (See Item 5 of the Instructions)	MALE EMPLOYEES					FEMALE EMPLOYEES					TOTAL ALL EMPLOYEES
	TOTAL MALES	MINORITY GROUPS				TOTAL FEMALES	MINORITY GROUPS				
		NEGRO	ORIENTAL	AMERICAN INDIAN	SPANISH AMERICAN		NEGRO	ORIENTAL	AMERICAN INDIAN	SPANISH AMERICAN*	
OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS											
PROFESSIONALS											
TECHNICAL											
SALES WORKERS											
OFFICE AND CLERICAL											
CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)											
OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)											
LABORERS (UNSKILLED)											
SERVICE WORKERS											
TOTAL											
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT ONE YEAR AGO (If available)											

8. Figures for the following classifications shall also be included in appropriate category above the "Total" line.

APPRENTICES											
ON-THE-JOB TRAINEES — PRODUCTION											
ON-THE-JOB TRAINEES — WHITE COLLAR											

*To be reported where such group constitutes an identifiable factor in the local labor market. (For Spanish Americans see 2g of the Instructions.)

9. REMARKS

10a. DATE	10b. SIGNATURE AND TITLE OF AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE	10c. ADDRESS

Willfully false statements on this report are punishable by law (U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 1001)

Advisory Council on Plans for Progress

INFORMATION

NEWS LETTER

No. 20 October 22, 1964

This newsletter carries the revised instructions to be used in filling out Form EEO-10. Copies of these instructions are now being reviewed by the Bureau of the Budget, but because so many companies are already beginning to pull together their statistics for the next report, we wanted you to have advance copies as soon as possible. For comparison purposes, we have also enclosed copies of previous instructions. Please note that your next report should be submitted by March 1, 1965, based on employment figures as of December, 1964.

There has been no substantive change in the form itself. We have added a space for reporting the date of the employment data submitted, and we have made a few minor changes in wording. As far as the instructions are concerned, we have tried to clarify the questions that a number of our member companies have asked. The major revisions or additions are as follows:

1. Consolidated Report: To permit us to make a rapid analysis of EEO-10 figures, we are requesting participating companies to furnish us with a combined report which consolidates all data from the individual reporting units. This report, together with the data from each reporting unit, should be sent to us in one package from each participant's company headquarters.

2. Identification Numbers: We want to stress particularly that machine processing of these reports, and machine matching of current reports with previous reports, is possible only if the identifying numbers for each reporting unit are consistent. The two general principles on which these instructions are based are (1) that each reporting unit should be identified by a separate number and (2) to the greatest extent possible these identifying numbers should be consistent with previous reporting. Any change in numbers which is necessary as a result of organizational changes, mergers of units, etc., should be described briefly on the form.

3. Reporting Dates: After making its first report, each member company should thereafter submit reports annually by March 1 based on employment figures from a payroll period during the previous December.

4. Standard Form 40-A: Some companies have been asked to file Form 40-A, which certifies that they have submitted compliance reports. In the future it will not be necessary for Plans for Progress companies to file this Form. If you are asked to do so, please refer the company or agency making the request to the Plans for Progress staff.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Address Inquiries to: Plans for Progress, 1815 H St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006
Telephone: Area Code 202, 961-5555

(Any issue of the News Letter may be reproduced in whole or in part without permission.)

5. Description of Job Categories: Three minor changes have been made in this paragraph of the instructions:

(1) The classification of salaried foremen has been added to the category of Officials and Managers.

(2) The classification of foremen under Craftsmen (Skilled) has been changed to hourly-paid foremen and leadmen.

(3) Descriptions have been added for apprentices and on-the-job trainees.

The forms and instructions are being bound together in a booklet which will contain one set of instructions and five copies of the form (three for transmittal and two for your own files). Please let us know as soon as possible how many booklets you will require for your next company report. They will be sent to you as soon as they have been printed, hopefully before the first of December.

We sincerely hope the net result of these changes will be to make your reporting job easier and more clearly defined. If you have any questions about the revised instructions, please write or call us.

$25 enc 3 Cornell St. West Orange NJ
Sept. 17.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I am enclosing a small donation in honor of my good friend & rabbi (one of the greatest teachers I've ever had), Senator Homer J. Tucker, Mt. Zion Baptist Church 208 Broadway Newark, N.J.

A year and a half ago,
Rev. Tucker stated: "Mr.
Farmer is the best
leadership we have." Since
the advisory board of
my organization
(Charles Grosman, George
Kelsey, Cardinal Cushing
Rabbi Fineman, Archbishop
Boland, James Lawley
Dr. Hawes) — agree, I'm
sending this to you —
Good luck,
Marion L. Hittner

file

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
President's Council on Equal Opportunity
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JUL 26 1965

July 22, 1965

Dr. George Wiley
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear George:

Thank you for finding time in your busy schedule for us to discuss implementation of the Civil Rights Act and its procedures and regulations. I found the discussion not only stimulating but extremely helpful in providing guidance for our project to give the President's Council the means to gather the information it needs to do its job.

I discussed our meeting with Mr. Branton, Executive Secretary of the Council; he was also pleased. However, he informs me that the directory that we discussed has some errors, and the copies on hand are therefore not of maximum usefulness. One of his assistants is now checking, agency by agency, to remedy this situation, and a new and more correct directory should be published within a few days. When it is, you may be sure that we will send you the copies you requested. I hope, also, to gather some other materials relevant to implementation that the Council has on hand, and get these to you soon; we hope that we can establish some really effective two-way communications, between your organization and the Federal Government, through the Council.

Thanks again for your ideas and hospitality -- I will be in touch soon.

Sincerely,

J. J. Bosley

(over)

P.S. I am working on that special Louisiana info - it's a bit touchy since Justice is involved, so bear with me and please treat my inquiries for it as confidential until I shake it loose...

John Bosley

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, New York 10038

MEMORANDUM

TO: James Farmer

FROM: Gordon R. Carey

Re: President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities

The regional office of the President's Committee on E.E.O. has been established recently in New York City to deal specifically with the building trades. Their office is located in room 550 Grand Central Station Post Office at 45th Street and Lexington Avenue. The telephone number is MU 4-5130 Ext. 350. The chairman of this regional office, which covers New York, New Jersey and New England, is Mr. Harold M. Bailin.

This regional office has no compliance powers but is expected to mediate between management and labor and probably between civil rights groups as well as when there is a pattern of racial discrimination. If we get involved in construction site projects as we did last year, it would be well to keep in touch with them. The three other members of this office are R. L. Harper, E. C. Smith and J. M. Marrusch.

Through the Department of Organization we are surveying chapters in this region to determine whether construction projects are planned.

There will be no public announcement of the existence of this regional group.

file - Public Relations Dept. (if no file please make one)

Discussion Paper on CORE Public Relations

Wretha Wiley 6/26/65

PROBLEM

The sameness and repetition of violent acts against Negroes (particularly in the South) make it difficult to describe new brutalities and get more than courteous sympathy and knowing looks from listeners. Believers and non-believers alike have been saturated with reports of beatings, bombings, burnings, murder, and then more of the same. After awhile the repetition and banality of the pattern tend to make it look, however repugnant, more regionally normal and less radically evil.

The same thing can be said for discussions of "basic problems of Northern Negroes: economic, educational, and political.

Already there are evidences in the "liberal" magazines of a shift in sympathy from the Negro victim to the "poor, empty" red-neck

> Criminals in Harlem, criminals in Mississippi, are entangled in the same mess. The ones in Mississippi, to whom it is hardest to give any sympathy, may even need it more.
>
> Dissent, Winter, 1965, Letters Column
>
> see also: NY Times Mag., May 13, 1965, "Englishman Goes to Klan Meeting"
>
> The NY Book Review, July 1, 1965, "Fire This Time"

Problems of Negroes have been worked over by so many people that their re-telling has largely lost its bite, except for those people who are involved in the Movement. The truth may be that there is nothing more to say, only to do.

It is tempting to try to shake a jaded audience by piling up heaps of gory description and editorializing with the "big words" like commitment and courage and suffering and sacrifice. But purple prose compounds the problem by giving the impression of propaganda and manipulation.

In recent months the most effective money-and-march-getters have been the least wordy, least interpreted, and most direct statements:

1. Fannie Lou Hamer won the support of the credentials committee at Atlantic City with a simple, reserved, understated recital of what had happened to her.

2. Television film, accompanied by no partisan interpretation turned people on Selma in droves.

3. Reviewing seven of the most important books on civil rights this year, a literary magazine called the book Mississippi Black Paper (statements and notarized affidavits) "the most artless and terrible accounts of all."

The reviewer quotes

COAHOMA COUNTY

I am a Negro, 21 years old. On Feb. 6, 1962, when when I was 19, I was walking with a young man down a Clarksdale street when Clarksdale police officers _____ and _____ stopped us and accused me of having been involved in a theft. I was taken to jail by the officers and they forced me to unclothe and lie on my back. One of the officers beat me between the legs with a belt. A few minutes later, the other officer began to beat me across my naked breasts.

Signed: Bessie Turner

The indictment against American society for its treatment of Negroes is already in. THE PRIMARY JOB OF PUBLIC RELATIONS SHOULD BE TO KEEP THAT INDICTMENT CREDIBLE AND IN FORCE BY SUPPLYING A CONSTANT FLOW OF NEW, VARIED, AND GROWING DOCUMENTATION FOR IT--especially now that everyone is making "progress."

CORE, of all civil rights groups, is equipped to do this job because it has groups and staff all over the country which can supply this documentation.

PROPOSAL

The Public Relations Department should undertake a major campaign to promote CORE's definition of the problems and its programs. Assuming the analysis above, the content of the campaign should (1) focus on an indictment of conditions in a specific area CORE is working; (2) present new, first-person documentation; and (3) state program outlines.

The effectiveness of such a campaign depends on developing a unique CORE style for all written materials: simple, sketchy, immediate, and suggestive, built around a central coherent symbol. I suggest that symbol be the indigenous worker. (See mock-up for magazine advertisement attached.)

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Take out full or half-page space in all the liberal magazines (Nation, New Republic, Commentary, Progressive, Reporter, Liberation; Dissent and Trans-Action if we can get it free; and Look, Newsweek, Jet and Ebony are other possibilities).

Using uniform or clearly similar formats, the magazine ads should be artless, immediate accounts from the project/people/staff in each of CORE's bailiwicks. Each magazine should convey a simple picture of a different area. Since most of our supporters are exposed to more than one magazine, this gives emphasis to both the integrity and the scope of CORE's work. The format could be: "CORE REPORT: _____." (See mock-up)

(It should be made clear that this kind of specific focus is NOT the kind of fund-raising appeal which pictures an Indian boy and says "The chances for Tommy Red Eagle are pretty slim, unless YOU help." It is its antithesis.)

2. Shift strategy on direct-mail solicitation from appeals by Farmer and third-person journalism to simple accounts from the people in project areas.

3. Transform the CORE-lator into a bi-weekly flyer: highly simplified, abandoning straight journalistic style for something in the direction of Jet which is universally readable.

ADVANTAGES

This kind of understanding of public relations has some important advantages:

1. It clearly defines PR as the servant of program.

2. It is simple in principle and execution. All CORE chapters and project areas can easily prepare their own materials for national and local use.

3. It carries educational fall-out beyond mere fund-raising.

IMPLEMENTATION

This understanding of public relations means that all the CORE chapters and project offices must understand their responsibility for promoting CORE's work and for fund-raising. It means that all chapters and project offices must make a disciplined effort to record all events and incidents in their areas (statements, pictures, and tape-recordings).

(Mock-up for CORE advertisements in magazines)

CORE REPORT: MERIDIAN

Meridian is the second biggest city in Mississippi, 50,000 people.

20,000 are Negroes.

Meridian whites say it is a "liberal town.

ACTION

PICTURES

I am a Negro, resident of Meridian, 21 years old. On July 4, 1965, I was walking some kids home from the park when a white man in a car threatened to run me down. He gently bumped me and I was arrested for obstructing traffic. I was carrying a common table knife which I had used to cut watermelon. I was charged with carrying a concealed weapon. The Meridian Star described me as a CORE worker with a long knife...

One afternoon someone shot through our bedroom window and shells splattered against the wall. I was in bed; my face was cut by broken glass...

Freeman, local worker

In Meridian we are conducting a Freedom School, testing the civil rights bill, working to establish a maids' union, distributing clothes to poor people, and registering voters. The entire staff was arrested not long ago for participating in a demonstration and all the men were beaten in jail...

Dick Jewett, Project Director

STAFF/FACILITIES

PICTURE

National CORE pays about $6,000 per month to finance work in the 4th Congressional District of Mississippi. Money is needed. Send contributions to: For information on how your community can adopt a Southern town write:

V

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York City, N. Y. 10038
22 September 1964

TO: All Officers and Regional Representatives

FROM: James Farmer, National Director

do we have a file on this?

Re: Regional Action Councils

The idea for the Regional Action Councils came originally from a staff meeting held last spring in North Carolina. The National Chairman and I passed on the staff recommendation to the Constitution Committee at the Kansas City Convention. The Convention approved the idea and made the Regional Action Councils a constitutional requirement. The Convention also stipulated that the Regional Action Councils should meet monthly as does the National Steering Committee. This latter provision does create some administrative problems for the organization but they are by no means insuperable.

The Regional Action Councils must be seen as providing substance to the "regional" concept in CORE. Until the present, the "regions" have been simply geographical devices to determine membership on the National Action Council. Now the regions can and should become functional organs for regional action. Effective regional action depends upon cooperation between and among CORE chapters. It is my conviction that the Regional Action Council and strengthened regional organization thus can make a most meaningful contribution to viable local program.

As with any structural innovation, we should move somewhat cautiously. In fact, the Regional Action Councils should avoid the perils of over-structuring and be in essence a means of regional programming and coordinating local campaigns.

Obviously, the National Office cannot be expected to subsidize transportation and housing for the Regional Action Councils' meetings. To do so would add tens of thousands of dollars of administrative cost to the already strained annual budget. The RAC's must, therefore, rely upon the financial cooperation of each chapter. The degree of cooperation that they will get will depend upon how well you, as Regional Vice-Chairmen and Regional Representatives are able to sell the idea throughout the region and upon the usefulness which the RAC's actually develop for local chapters.

Since the Constitution calls for election of RAC members by regions at the National Convention, and since this was not possible this year inasmuch as the revised Constitution itself was not adopted till the close of the Convention, we shall have to improvise for the present year. I think that it should be the responsibility of each Regional Vice-Chairman to call a regional meeting of the chapters in order to elect the four chapter members of the RAC for the remainder of the 1964/65 year. At this regional meeting, the problem of financing the regional meetings should also be considered. It may even turn out that

monthly meetings will prove to be too many. Since Regional Vice Chairmen are required to be at National monthly meetings as well, they will now be expected to attend two meetings monthly which will be, in most cases, away from home. I do feel that the region should be left with a good deal of flexibility with regard to means and frequency of meetings of the RAC. If a Constitutional change in this regard proves necessary, it can, of course, be taken up at the 1965 Convention.

We will be preparing later an outline of proposed structure for the RAC's which will include suggested means of making these bodies more responsive to the needs of the chapters without saddling the regions with organizational superstructure.

~~Report of the~~
~~Floor Committee~~
Referred to committee of the NAC committee of the same level

Regional Action Council

REPORT OF THE REGIONAL ACTION COUNCIL COMMITTEE

The Regional Action Council (RAC) Committee proposes that such Councils be set up in each of the five geographic regions suggested, namely:

1. The Northeast
2. The Southeast
3. The South Central
4. The North Central
5. The West

The RAC Committee recommends the RAC councils perform the following roles:

1. Serve to facilitate the flow of communications between the chapters within each region. In fact, RAC could serve as a clearing house, and a discussion forum for new ideas and projects, permitting each chapter to obtain a total picture of what's happening in the region.

2. That RAC shall assist in the initiation and coordination of a regional program; that it shall assist in the coordination of regional project submitted to it by local chapters.

3. In the event of conflicting programs or projects between chapters or between RAC and a local chapter, RAC shall have the authority to resolve such conflict and its rulings regarding such matters shall be binding on the chapters involved unless and until overruled by NAC.

4. RAC shall have authority to enforce its rulings and have all the disciplinary powers of NAC up to and including suspension of chapters. Such disciplinary measures shall be binding unless and until overruled by NAC. It can make recommendations to NAC to take further disciplinary action when necessary. However it should be noted that RAC shall not have the authority to compel any chapter to participate in projects or programs. RAC's disciplinary powers can be used solely to prevent conflicts between chapters and programs within the region.

5. RAC shall provide for workshops, educational and training conferences for the region and shall provide assistance for new chapters.

Structure of the Regional Action Councils

The Raci Committee proposes that RAC consist of 7 voting members elected by a regional conference plus two ex-officio members one of whom is the senior regional field secretary, and one of whom is regional vice-chairmen and a regular NAC member. These members shall not have voting privileges. It was felt by the Committee that the senior field secretary of the region would be valuable to RAC through his familiarity with the region. The NAC member would provide a tie-in with the Regional Action Council and NAC. The Committee proposes the two ex-officio members of the regional RAC be selected at this convention and that they be instructed to set up regional conferences within 60 days to elect the other seven members of the board. The committee recommends that the actual structure and the election procedure of RAC in each region be determined at these regional conferences to best fit the needs of each region.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

Report of the Chapter Arbitration Committee to the Convention:
The Committee Recommends that the following resolution be adopted by the Convention:

I There shall be established a CORE Board of Arbitration, which Board shall have as its Chairman either the First or Second Vice Chairman of CORE, as designated by the National Chairman of CORE, and shall meet at the request of the National Chairman. The Board shall be composed of five members, as appointed by the National Chairman, except that no person shall serve on the Board if he is a member of a chapter whose gievance is before the Board, or if he has personal involvement in the case before the Board:

1. First or Second National Vice-Chairman of CORE (Board Chairman)
2. Regional Representatives of the Area in which the chapter or individual involved is located, except where a regional representative from another Area is assigned to the case by the National Chairman.
3. CORE National Director of Organizations.
4. Regional Field Secretary of area in which the chapter is located, except where in the judgement of the National Chairman it would be appropriate for another Field Secretary to be appointed to this Board.

The NAC members shall be the only voting members of the Board.

II Disputes involving individuals, staff members and/or chapters shall be dealt with according to the following procedural steps:

1. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem by direct negotiation with the other party to the conflict, at its original level.
2. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem with the assistance of a Field Secretary in the area.
3. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem with the assistance of the Director of Organization and/or the National Director of CORE.
4. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem by bringing it before the CORE Board of Arbitration.
5. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem by bringing it before the NAC Steering Committee.
6. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem by bringing it before the full NAC meeting.
7. If all the above procedures have been exhausted and the problem is still unresolved, the parties shall then have the right of appeal to the National Convention of CORE, according to the Convention's established procedure for such appeals.

III A. There shall be a National Convention Arbitration Board of Appeals Committee. This Committee shall be composed of twelve (12) chapter chairmen who are not members of NAC. Members of this Committee, and its chairman, shall be appointed by the National Chairman of CORE.

B. The function of this Committee is to determine whether an aggrieved party, with an appeal it wishes to bring before the National Convention, has exhausted all administrative remedies. Administrative remedies in this case would consist of Steps (1) through (6) in Section II of this resolution.

C. If these administrative remedies have not been exhausted, the Committee shall indicate to the aggrieved parties the next appropriate level at which to lodge their appeal. If the Committee finds that all these steps have been complied with, it shalll conduct, at the Convention site, a hearing with all parties present and able to be heard, and shall certify the appeal to the floor of the Convention, with its recommendations.

National Programming Committee: – Refer to Norman –
Motion: That all CORE chapters be alerted in the future to the possible Freedom Day Campaigns in several counties in the 4th Congressional District of Mississippi and that such chapters undertake simultaneous demonstrations in Washington at other communities to facilitate the registration of Negroes in Mississip through the implementation of the recently signed civil rights bill and its voting provision.

Convention Committee: – Refer to NAC
The 1965 Convention Site has decided on the state of Mississippi. We will not announce the city until further investigation of facilities large enough to house the Convention.

Done to get info on Miss. site. Other proposals

We commend N.Y. CORE for the steps taken to implement an effective C.R. program and urge them to continue their efforts.

Check w/ Marshall England

RESOLUTIONS

Refer to N. Hill

Directive to the National Office via Resolution...URBAN RENEWAL:

Proposed: That the National Office take immediate steps to correct present abuses in the execution of the Urban Renewal Program as they effect minority group persons; that such steps be taken on a professional level and be nation-wide; that a unit be created to deal specifically with the problems inherent in such endeavor and that such unit be staffed with planners and urban specialists, to review continuously proposed plans and programs in which large numbers of minority group persons will be involved.

Further Proposed: That the National Office be authorized to utilize the knowledge and facilities, contacts and apparatus already existing within the New York CORE Department of Urban Renewal and Embrace such department as a National Pilot Project to preceed and facilitate the speedy establishment of a permanent national department of urban renewal.

(Resolution by the New York CORE)

Ways of Communicating Program

Refer to Prog. Dept. & McCain

Proposed: That the National Office using field staff, experienced, chapter members and experts in specific areas, train existing leadership, develop and train secondary leadership.

Training in Community Movement and:

Orgnaization --
Education --
Housing --
Employment --
Chapter Development --
Civil Disobedience & Direct Action.

Suggestion: Training Centers be set up in 25 or 30 locations for the purpose of conducting week-end and week-long workshops in above techniques.

Refer to Rich

In order to help overcome the problem of news blackouts and internal laps in the dissemination of news, the voluntary positions of Regional Information Officers should be established. It will be the responsibility of the Information Officer to help chapters develop access to the news media. Chapters should be directed to establish closer ties with the news media and to establish their own news columns and radio and television programs.

Resolve that the C.R.D. be encouraged to develop workshop & training programs in press & C.R. for the chapters.

Arthur F. Alston of Philadelphia CORE moved that the Convention instruct the oncoming NAC to consider favorably the founding of a weekly, self-supporting nation-wide taloid newspaper for the nonviolent direct action civil rights movement. (Could be sold in Chapters with advertisement solicited.) NO

Refer to Farm

That CORE should create a Political Action Committee to provide chapters with information for political education programs, and that volunteer regional co-ordinators be recruited.

That there be an increase in the number of field secretaries so that more can be resident in each area.

Done

continued....

Brooklyn CORE's Convention Proposals

2. End to Symbolic Demonstrations

a. CORE initiates projects of a permanent character rather than of a token or symbolic nature. We recommend permanent school boycotts in the Fall of 1964 where applicable.

b. Permanent demonstrations against discriminatory states and companies at the New York World's Fair.

9. Propose National Civil Rights Martyr Day parades to be held the each year on July 2 in memory of all the Medgar Evers and Birmingham Children who have given, and will give, their lives for the cause of Freedom.

Programatic Direction

CORE should develop a National Program that would hylight the problems of the unemployed and the unskilled workers and through this demand that the federal government establish a massive public works program to harness the energies of the so-called "unemployable" workers for the rehabilitation of the neglected areas and that present federal training programs be strengthened and that increased subsidies be paid to trainees.

That National CORE compile a master list of products and firms to be boycotted and send this to all chapters for dissemination. This list should also include those pavilions previously picketed at the World's Fair.

Ways of Communicating Program

Intervisitation: The national office should establish or foster a nationa program of intervisitation between CORE chapters. In such a program members of one chapter would visit members of another chapter on a state or interstate level as a method of exchanging information on how to develop programs and resolve problems and as a means of organizing chapters for united action on a regional level.

Des Moines CORE

file Regional action council

March 24, 1965

wp apr. 2

Dear Chapter Leader:

There will be a Regional Action Meeting (RAC) in Chicago on the weekend of April 3rd. I am sorry that it was necessary to call this meeting a week later than was originally planned, but due to scheduling difficulties, this was unavoidable.

James Farmer, who had planned to attend on the original date will not be able to be with us, but George Wiley, National Associate Director, is planning to come. George is particularly concerned with relations between the National Office and local chapters and I think that it will be most helpful for all if he can meet some of the CORE leaders from our region.

The main subject to be covered at this RAC meeting is "The War on Poverty". We will want to explore what the real goals and limits of this program are, how this relates to a CORE community program, and whether we serve our function better by being outside critics or participants on some level. We shall have several experts on this program for our discussions.

A number of persons indicated to me that they felt that our general discussion on the direction of CORE and the implications of the "Community" orientation were useful, so we plan to set aside some time for the continuation of this.

TIME: 9:30 a.m. - Saturday, April 3, 1965

PLACE: North Side Freedom Center
1486 North Larrabee - Chicago, Illinois

PHONE: 642-6719 or 664-7083

REGISTRATION: Friday Evening, April 2 or
Saturday, April 3 before 9:30 a.m.

Please plan to have at least one representative from your chapter present. There will be housing arrangements. In order to help with this, please let me know, as soon as possible, how many (men, women, couples) will be coming from your chapter.

Yours for Freedom,

Ralph

Ralph Rosenfeld
Vice Chairman, North Central Region
16244 Birwood
Detroit, Michigan 48221

Regional Action Council - midwest

~~Detroit~~ check with me

16244 Birwood Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48221
May 20, 1965

Dear CORE Leader:

This letter will have basically two sections: first to tell you about the next RAC meeting and then to report on the last meeting which was held on the May 8th weekend.

The next RAC meeting which is to be held on the June 5th weekend will deal mainly with preparation for the convention. We hope that at least some of the delegates who will be representing your chapter will be able to attend this RAC meeting in order that they may be better prepared to be effective at the convention. We are including a copy of the national constitution (more will be available at the RAC) in order that you may begin to think about such constitutional changes as you will want to propose or discuss. Your special attention is called to Article XII, Regional Action Council which may well need changes.

Besides constitutional changes we will want to discuss the direction of the national organization; the relation between the national and local groups and ways to implement training programs. By the time we meet we will know what workshops are to be offered and can therefore do some preparatory work in these areas in order that the workshops may be more productive. We hope to set up standards for regional representatives in order that we may be in a position to choose the best available people.

We urge chapters to elect their delegates at once in order that these persons may plan to attend this meeting.

We have made arrangements for sleeping and eating at very low prices. ($1/night or $2/night depending on where you stay; some small amount for food which will be available at the place where we shall be meeting.) However, in order to guarantee these arrangements we must have your cards back by May 31. As a matter of fact at the last meeting a motion was passed by the vote of 16 to 6 that "Only people who have made reservations in advance will be sure of accommodations at RAC meetings. Notice of meetings is to be sent to chapter chairmen who in turn are responsible for sending in the reservations." The reason for this is that otherwise it becomes too hectic for those who are trying to make arrangements. By-the-way some persons seemed to have gone to homes where people who volunteered to put them up and after looking the place over decided they didn't like the accommodations. This type of thing could make for problems for our Chicago CORE people. "Nuff" said.

NEXT RAC MEETING

DATES: SAT., JUNE 6, 1965 9 A.M. to 6 P.M.
SUN., JUNE 7, 1965 9 A.M. to 3 P.M.

PLACE: OUR LADY OF SORROWS 3121 W. JACKSON BLVD.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

PHONE: 826-5192

If you get in anytime Friday night, call the above number for instructions.
Please try to be on time for the meetings.

Report on May 8th weekend

Due to unfortunate last minute changes we had to move the site of the meeting from Ottowa to Chicago. This caused some inconvenience and discomfort for both those involved in the planning and for those participating. However, due to some excellent last minute efforts of Riley, Lucas, Lockett, Tournour, Wise, Cage and others, we were able to have a fairly productive meeting.

This meeting turned out to be a joint meeting with SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). On Saturday, we had a panel in the morning and another in the afternoon. After each panel we broke up into groups of about ten persons with a discussion leader in order to examine the issues raised by the panel.

The first panel discussed Organizing Issues and Goals of Organization. The second panel was a criticism of exciting efforts and an examination of how to build permanent community structures as well as finding and developing leadership. Decision making on community projects was also touched upon.

Each discussion group was asked to have somebody record the main points of discussion and turn these in. Several groups did this and we shall copy these reports without editing and of course without any necessary implied approval of content. We feel that the value of this will be that in your own groups you may wish to raise some of these issues and the thinking of the people at the RAC should be of some help. I wish to stress that we have not come up with "answers" but rather what follows may be seen as focused questioning.

- -

A

Suggested topics for discussion:

1. Success image
2. Methods of transition from single issue to permanent organization.
3. How to organize independent political groups.
4. How to turn ghetto into community-should coalitions be formed and if so, <u>how</u>?
5. How to recognize and use local power.

6. Why is violence considered a last resort?
   a. Violence in terms of union movement-defensive rather than offensive.
7. What is the goal to organization?
   a. Values? What should be the relationship of organizer and organizee?
8. If radical change in mind, how do you do it without values?
   a. Is radical change necessary or desirable for civil rights?
   b. Should you work with basic, general philosophy or specific issues taking care of immediate needs?

I. Success image:

Tangible victories needed to gain support of the people. Victories must be defined in terms of relationships to total problem in order to maintain momentum.

The Organizer must be very careful not to let the people be satisfied with small, immediate victories. If the people get so hung up on the immediate problem they easily lose sight of long-range goals.

Often the victory need not be a public victory. If one person in a neighborhood is helped, the news will spread throughout the neighborhood.

Should the enemy be (to the people) the people of the power structure or the effects of the power structure?

1. In order to mobilize ghetto people, you have to give them a specific person to point to and get out of office.
2. But, in order to have any understanding of the whole problem, the people must confront the power structure per se. They must realize that this is the evil.

What is Victory?

1. If one of the two parties uses it as an issue, but only to gain votes, do they not in effect only cover up the problem. And does this not only strengthen the status quo by doing just enough to pacify the people rather than really solving the problem?
2. The difference between concession (small immediate victory-giving the people what they should have already had) and change (attacking and changing the very institutions themselves). The basic assumption seems to be that if you get enough concessions a change will naturally occur but this does not happen naturally. There is a point where enough concessions give the power, to effect change. This point must be recognized and the chance utilized.

Before there can be any victory there must be an issue and the people must be angry.

Problems differ with cities - sensible solutions differ.

Should people be involved in the decision making? (The victory must be theirs)

1. How can you give directions?
2. How do you coordinate issues and still get action on specifics?
3. With individual issues the permanence of the organization is harmed.

Question 2:

Methods of transition from single issue to permanent issue.

People cannot see the power they have. How do you get them to expand to a greater issue? Hang up occurs in different visualization of goal.

Example: Detroit improved their schools within the structure, but did nothing about the fact that the schools were segregated.

Basic disagreement within group over goal of good education. Is segregation so basic a cause that nothing can be done without or is integration so great a problem that if we keep focusing on this do we lose chance of good education? If the education is improved first, perhaps some of the other problems would be helped (jobs, homes, etc.) and integration could then be worked on with more chance of victory.

Using specific examples, the basic issues will emerge. When confronted with the power structure the people will begin to see how they are affected by the evils of it and how it is not only effecting them but it is doing the same thing to the people in Viet Nam, to mothers on ADC and to others in different situations. The evil will be a structure that has the power to do this evil rather than one specific situation that they can obtain a concession on and then go home. (Summary: Correlation of power structure to specific issues)

We need to use issues rather than letting issues use us.

How far you go depends on amount of power. How to use the power is up to the people.

With two of the 8 questions discussed (discounting the overlap of the first 2 onto the remaining 6) and four minutes to go, the group dwelt briefly on the problem of turning the ghetto into a community.

In order to fight issues, must build community. What is the process?
Basic difference:

Community - decisions made by people
Ghetto - decisions from outside

Must work to effect change in decision making.

B

Must keep contact to keep people united in between issues.

Can the community organizer "train" the community in principles and then move out- especially if few part-time people (especially students) must be committed enough to be there in times of crisis - otherwise the project could be harmful.

Is leadership dependence or trust?

1. Moral support
2. Technical advice
   a. When can the community take responsibility for decisions?

Supportive roles develop as movement grows. These roles are those for part time.

There must be enough general experience before person enters specific areas.

Should values be introduced? Impossible - hypocritical to believe in change and not advocate it. Would these values or idealogy be introduced to or imposed upon the community.

Confrontation of power structure brings about insight as to relationship of how system operates in various areas.

Difference between building a movement and organizing communities. Limitations in local level.

Too easy for community action to get bogged down in local problems without going on to bigger issues.

Train ourselves as well as others.

Establish image.

C

How to make the ghetto into a community - how to organize

I Goals

Jobs, education, garbage collection, roads, etc.

II How to achieve this?

- A. Techniques
  - 1. Politics
  - 2. Economic sanction
  - 3. Unleashing of violence
- B. Process
  - 1. Power
    - a. money
    - b. people
      - (1) numbers of people
      - (2) people in direct action (dumping garbage on city hall steps leading to regular garbage collection) vs. telling people to vote for candidate X for city council because she will get regular garbage collection for them

(3) get the issue from the people, but provide direction and support - not intangible abstractions but meaningful issues
(4) we need quick action (with good planning) for a victory (even though it's small) to show people that they can change things, that numbers of people organized can change things

III How does the civil rights struggle relate to foreign affairs?
General discussion - this is more a long-range goal than a present one in terms of focus, time, etc.

IV Violence and self-defense tactics
We should be open to discussion of the pros and cons of self-defense and/or violence around
(1) particular issues
(2) particular times
(3) particular communities

Further discussion of more long-range goals - do we want equality within this system or can we change the system as we go?

Request more discussion on just how we might help these changes come about.

- -

Please send your cards in as soon as possible in order that we may more efficiently plan the next meeting.

At our last meeting we had some 60 CORE people from 6 states and 14 cities. There are some chapters which have not yet participated in any of our RAC meetings. We would like to hear from you about what you are doing and what your chapter's plans for the summer are. Each chapter which participates in the next RAC meeting has been requested to mimeo a one-page summary of their program and bring one ream (500 copies) of these to the next meeting.

I am sorry that this thing has gotten so long, but I hope that it will be useful to your chapter.

Yours for Freedom,

Ralph Rosenfeld
Regional Vice Chairman-CORE
North Central Region

RR:mjh

Enclosures

file ~~WEST~~ RAC

SEP 13 1965

16244 Birwood
Detroit, Michigan 48221
September 10, 1965

Dear Chapter Leader:

This is the final notice on the September RAC meeting to be held September 18th and 19th in Cleveland, Ohio.

As was decided at the regional caucus at the convention the main theme of this meeting will be "Political Action in the Community."

Cleveland CORE has worked out what should be a meaningful program that includes discussing, with the campaign manager of Cleveland's Negro candidate for Mayor, field work and analysis, as well as discussion of civil rights and political action.

It was decided to have regional meetings in different cities this year and in order for this to be successful it is necessary that there be representation from all chapters at this meeting. Cleveland CORE has made arrangements for free housing as well as inexpensive hotel accommodations.

The meetings will be held at the League Park Center, 6601 Lexinton (Lexington ?), Cleveland, Ohio...Phone number HE 2-2790. The Cleveland CORE office is 1740 Crawford Road, Cleveland 6, Ohio...Phone number 791-2111. If you phone one of these numbers from the outskirts of Cleveland someone will tell you how to get in.

The planned activities will begin Saturday morning, but those who get in Friday night will be able to be involved in other preliminary activities.

Once more I urge each chapter to see that they are represented at this meeting and encourage each chapter to send $5 for the expense of running the Region for the year. There will be a dollar-per-person registration fee.

Yours for Freedom,

Ralph Rosenfeld

Ralph Rosenfeld,
Regional Vice Chairman-CORE
North Central Region

RR:mjh

Summary of SEDF Programs

for National CORE

SEDF FISCAL YEAR ENDING AUG. 31, 1965

PROGRAM	DIRECT EXPENDITURE	GRANT TO CORE
Legal	$ 44,346	
Voter Registration (CEP)	-	$ 24,660
Field Fellowship (CDF)	13,000	12,000
Training	7,000	-
2-Way Radios	5,000	1,000
	$ 69,346	$ 37,660

Total $107,006

Proposed in SEDF Budget for Fiscal Year Ending

Aug. 31, 1965

Legal	$ 94,100	--
Voter Registration (CEP)	-	$ 59,850
Field Fellowships (CDF)	16,000	14,000 (est.)
Training	46,000	-
	$ 156,100	$ 73,850

Total $229,950

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
October 22, 1965

TO: NAC members
FROM: George Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: CORE SEDF

Here is a summary of SEDF programs operated for the benefit of National CORE. You will note from the summary that, though some of their program money comes to us directly, much more of it is spent by direct expenditures on programs which we have asked for in support of our work. During the past year a considerable amount of their money came from CORE sources, for example the Art Show, and $25,000 from Broadway Answers Selma and Council for United Civil Rights Leadership. In the coming year, however, a major amount is expected to come from new sources, such as foundations. It is our plan to let them keep the Art Show, at least for the coming year, which should return $60,000 to $70,000, all of which is to go into the CORE legal program. You will note that even in the legal program they intend to raise extra money to meet a proposed budget of $94,100.

****

The CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund has just completed its first full year (SEDF fiscal year ends August 31) after securing tax-exempt status. During this period a number of new programs were begun and others expanded.

SEDF began its field legal program in January, 1965 with the placing on retainer of the firm of Collins, Douglas and Elie in New Orleans and of McKissick and Burt in North Carolina. In February John Due was hired to represent CORE SEDF in northern Florida. Shortly thereafter they secured the services of Murphy Bell in Baton Rouge. A New York office was also set up with a full-time lawyer, principally to handle the massive amount of work resulting from the World's Fair demonstrations. That office has recently been closed and Steve Nagler, who was manning it, has now been moved into the National Office to assist Carl Rachlin.

Cost of the program during the year ended August 31 was $44,346. In the coming year SEDF has retained Carl Rachlin to supervise the program and agreed to pay the administrative expenses involved. There have been modest increases in budget for expenses (not retainers) for the field program and a small reserve for printing costs. Thus the budget for the year beginning September 1, 1965 for Legal Defense will be $94,100.

Last year SEDF made grants to CORE totalling $24,660 for the Citizenship Education Project (CEP) in South Carolina, Florida, California and Louisiana. For the coming year $59,850 is budgeted for South Carolina and Florida. However, it has been unexpectedly difficult to raise money for this program to date. Many of the foundations are adopting a wait and see attitude with regard to the new Voting Rights Act.

The Community Development Fellowship (CDF) program this summer provided financing for some 49 fellowship recipients who worked on CORE projects

at a cost of $13,000. SEDF provided the student with a flat $200 stipend and an additional travel grant and it provided CORE with $12,000 to supervise and train grantees. In addition SEDF spent about $6,000 to secure two-way radios in Louisiana to provide for the safety of those involved in this project. SEDF plans to repeat the project next year at about its current level of operation.

During the past year SEDF financed a workshop for southern staff and community leaders in New Orleans in January and partially financed a similar workshop at the Deer Hill Conference Center in New York State in September. SEDF is now developing a program including a much more extensive series of weekend workshops in about five communities (yet to be selected) throughout the country. There are also plans for two full-week workshops. It is hoped that some workshops can begin before the end of the year. The Leadership Development program is budgeted at $44,000.

NAC members may also be interested to know that SEDF plans to spend $55,000 on its scholarship program during the coming year. This program provides scholarship assistance to students who have shown leadership in the civil rights movement and whose need arises from their civil rights activities. Of the 46 students granted awards in June, 29 had been active in CORE either as chapter leaders or staff members.

Summary of SEDF Programs

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Report on South Carolina Trip George Wiley November 21 and 22

On November 21st I came down from Sumter. Spoke at a small meeting of about fifty people in Sumter in the afternoon; went on to Manning in Clarendon County; spoke along with Congressman Conyers to a rally of about a thousand people; then went down to Charleston later in the evening and metwith some people from Charleston CORE, which is reported in a separate memo.

The next day I went back to Manning to observe the registration under a federal registrar; had discussions with McCain, Robinson and Emerson Brown and returned that evening to Summerville in Dorchester County and addressed a rally of about on hundred people concerning political organization that they are carrying on in Dorchester County.

The work in South Carolina seems most highly developed in three counties: Dorchester, Clarendon and Williamsburg Counties. Williamsburg is where Mr. Demering has done considerable organization. They are working on grass-roots precinct organization. CORE is about the only civil rights group actively working there with Demering. There seem to be relatively few problems with VEP and other such groups. Demering is in the process of organizing a grass-roots political organization which is very far advanced. Over Thanksgiving weekend they will be having a series of rallies and meetings. McCain and Robinson and Brown will all be in there at various times, in addition to Floyd McKissick, who is down for Saturday to be one of the principal speakers. Dorchester County also has a highly advanced organization. The work just really began in earnest there this summer, but a number of very active volunteers, three of whom are still in Dorchester County, plus Frank Robinson have done an outstanding job of organizing there. They have a very active Voters' League plus there is a CORE chapter organized there that seems to be very effective. The chapter has not yet applied for affiliation, but is eager to do this. They have been working on the downtown merchants, conducting boycotts and picketing of downtown stores about employment discrimination; they have been protesting to try to get more school integration and better facilities for people, such as textbooks in the Negro schools, and they have been doing considerable voter registration canvassing, and political organization work. The voter registration in Dorchester County was up to 1756 as of the beginning of the summer. They had registered about a thousand during the summer and another 809 since the federal registrars have come in, for a total of 3468 registered Negroes as of the time I was there. They have a potential of 5370 Negroes in the County, which is 43% of the adult population. There are sixteen precincts in Dorchester County, and as of now Frank and the students there have stimulated the formation of grass-roots political organizations among the Negroes in ten of them, and they hope within the next few weeks to have organized groups in the other six unorganized precincts. They then intend to form a County-wide executive committee and elect a County chairman for Dorchester County. I was very impressed with the level of organization and the developing sophistication in Dorchester County, and the amount of enthusiasm and the interest in forming truly representative grass-roots political organization. This organization and the CORE work in Dorchester County have been fought tooth and nail by the NAACP people in St. George from the very start. The Rev. Robinson and a Mr. Sweigert have opposed every activity of CORE. These are the people who have been the traditional "leaders" and have been engaged in, according to Frank, making deals and selling out Negroes over the years. It was quite clear that the formation of this democratic, grass-roots political organization will completely undercut the power that these men have wielded in that area. There is an NAACP man down in Summerville, Mr. Profit, who is a very good man and is working closely with CORE there. As far as the activity and organization in the County, however, CORE is the

main inspiration and organizing force. This is a county that we should really push, from a number of points of view. It may not be the first to have any Negro elected officials, but it will be one of the first to develop a significant political organization.

Clarendon County is a different situation. The voter registration has been going even better there, particularly since the federal registrars came in. They started with only 650 people registered as of the first of June, and since CORE came in this summer they have been doing extremely well in their voter registration work and in the two weeks since the federal registrars have come they registered over 1800 people. They have now a total of 3350 (as of November 21st) Negroes registered, and an additional 93 registered this past Monday when I was there. They expect that perhaps within three weeks time to have a Negro registration which exceeds the white. The potential among adult Negro voters in Clarendon County is 7735 - there are only 5323 whites, and therefore Negroes represent about 60% of the adult population. The white registration stands only at about 5000, and therefore could be matched or exceeded very shortly. There is a very serious need for political organization in Clarendon County and they are very deficient in this respect. An undertaker, Mr. Billy Fleming, one of the key local leaders there, organized the meeting at which I spoke. However, nobody whom I spoke to knew exactly who was sponsoring the meeting, though CORE people did a lot of beating of the bushes to get a significant response and attendance, and CORE had been doing much of the organizational work in the County. When the meeting was held, most of the people on the platform were various state representatives of South Carolina's VEP (that is Voter Education Project), and they took most of the bows for the work that was going on in South Carolina, even going so far as to say that they were responsible for bringing federal registrars into Clarendon County, when in fact CORE through Frank Robinson's trip to Washington with some of the local people from that area from Dorchester was very instrumental in this taking place. They also collected a substantial amount of money at the meeting and even as late as the next day when I left, it was not known who was going to get the money that was raised. I discussed this matter at some length with McCain, and he indicated that he would begin work to see about beginning to establish some representative grass-roots political organization in that area. Also, McCain, Robinson, and Emerson Brown and I discussed techniques for developing this kind of grass roots political organization in all the areas where they are working. Emerson and McCain are both now concentrating on Clarendon County and they indicated they would begin trying to get meetings together to really begin to set up precinct level political organizations in that area, so there can be an informed electorate so people consolidate themselves as to the issues and as to who are real leaders in their midst, so that they can develop leadership that is representative of their interests.

I had considerable discussion with McCain and the rest of the staff about this VEP organization, which so far as people can tell, is a paper organization consisting of an office in Columbia with Richard Miles as executive director, which basically collects information about voter registration in the state and publishes it. They are connected with the Southern Regional Council. They have, apparently, some kind of an organization that does not in any way extend to the grass-roots level. They have representatives, apparently, in a number of the counties across the state, and these people are for the most part - almost exclusively - NAACP chairmen (branch presidents) in those areas, and the Board of VEP is almost exclusively NAACP people. This is a serious problem, since I am sure these people are going around telling the world that they are doing the voter registration work in South Carolina and are raising money on

the strength of this. For example, during the Watson campaign when we asked AFL-CIO's COPE for money to do voter registration in South Carolina they did not give us any, but I learned now they did give money to VEP. Our people got none of this money and McCain now tells me that the money was distributed to these local VEP people around the state, and so far as anybody knows very little significant voter registration work was done with the money. There is also a report that COPE has allocated $10,000 to South Carolina for voter registration now, which has been sent down. To date we have received no money, and we understand (McCain tells me) $1000 has been turned over to VEP. This money has been used to pay back rent and salaries in their office in Columbia and no money has gotten into the field and again, no money has gotten to our people. There is presumably another $9,000 in the works somewhere and this is apparently already in South Carolina. However, it is not clear if we will get any of this money. There is also a question that since VEP claims it is a representative group that coordinates work of a number of civil rights organizations, it is therefore an attractive recipient for VEP money - foundations, and such people giving out money like to give it to umbrella groups. McCain is on the board of VEP, but it is not clear that this is really going to help getting any significant money to our people. There has also been alot of talk that the Southern Regional Council is going to get large amounts of voter registration money from foundations and various sources. Again, this money may very well be channeled through the South Carolina VEP and there are very serious problems about its really getting where it's needed, namely to our people in the field to buy gas and oil and such to travel around and do the voter registration work.

It seems to me that there are two approaches to be taken with such groups as this. You either have to stamp them out or you have to join them. It's not clear what can be done about stamping this group out at the present time, but I expressed this to McCain and he proposes to project CORE in South Carolina, to make it clear to everyone whatever what we are really doing there so that we will not only get credit, but raise money to continue our efforts. On the other level, there is the directorship. I have heard by the grapevine, of VEP in Atlanta for the Southern Regional Council may be open. McCain had expressed some interest in possibly taking a leave and going down and taking this position if they want to have him, in which case this would give us a major inside track for getting VEP money, not only in South Carolina, but perhaps where we are working in other parts of the South. I think this is a matter that should be looked into right away, because there are probably relatively few possible VEP directors of McCain's stature available and this might be a major "in" for us into that VEP money. You may recall that in previous years Wiley Branton was director of VEP and was very partial toward the NAACP as compared to CORE and we did get some money from them, but we certainly did not get our fair share in proportion to the work we were doing in voter registration.

I also discussed with the staff the importance of developing local CORE chapters in the areas where they are working so that there is a continuing CORE identification in he areas even after we leave and move into other areas, and so that we have a definite and clear entre into these communities. The situation in Dorchester County seems to be a model one, where we have a good local CORE organization that provides a very good entge. We discussed the state of CORE organization in South Carolina and I'd like to present here a brief review. The only functioning groups in addition to the one in St. George is the recently formed group in Pageland over in Chesterfield County.- it was affiliated this summer - This chapter hadn't been visited recently, but Emerson Brown indicated he would go over some time soon and see if they were continuing to function well. A third active group is in Summerton, which is at one end of Clarendon County, though not the county seat. Rev. Fields is chairman there and they seem to

represent a part of a base for our having a toehold there, in Clarendon County. Frank Robinson has worked with that group and will continue to help develop it. They have had an active voter registration program there. The fourth group in the state is the Charleston group that I have already reported on in detail is in some state of disrepair and Frank Robinson will do follow-up work there to see if they can get the chapter in shape as a viable organization, or otherwise recommend disaffiliation. We discussed the areas where there had been chapters which have subsequently died out and are not really functioning. These are in Sumter, where there is a group that hasn't met for ever a year, Rock Hill in York County, which is not operating and not meeting, Friendship Junior College, where we once had a very active group, but where all the CORE people have now left school, and Marion, South Carolina. These for groups were discussed, and we decided that the thing that should be done is that staff would recommend formal disaffiliation of the chapter, but since Sumter, Rock Hill, and Friendship Junior College are areas where we have an active interest and staff people present, they are areas where we thought we would want to reform CORE chapters and we want to begin the process immediately of getting any nucleus of left-over people together to get a clean start at the reorganization of CORE groups in those areas. Staff also agreed to give more attention to the organization of CORE groups in the places where they are working.

file
Southern
Office

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jean Jones

FROM: George Wiley,
Associate National Director

DATE: 11 February, 1965

Raise Dave Dennis salary to $6500.00 annually. Retroactive November 1, 1964.

CC:
Richard Haley
Jim McCain

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York
27 March 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: James Farmer

FROM: Gordon Carey

Re: Southern Office

I read over Mary Hamilton's report to Jim McCain on the Southern Regional Office with great interest. One point she makes I would like to agree with very strongly. That is that if this office is to be effective, it will have to have someone sitting behind the desk and answering telephones during normal office hours five days aweek.

I know that Richard hesitates to do this because of expense, but frankly, I don't think any regional office can operate effectively unless there is someone in it, and Richard will be out of the New Orleans area great deal of the time. It seems to me poor economy not to spend the $60 aweek for an additional secretary when this will actually amount to wasting a good deal of Richard's time.

It is possible that this office can be manned temporarily on a volunteer basis, but that is not too satisfactory either.

cc: Jim McCain

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York
27 March 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: James Farmer

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cc: Jim McCain

Lee SO-Office

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
3 June 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Richard Haley

FROM: Gordon Carey

Re: Communications

I trust that you are now receiving all of the contact list mailings and press releases. If this is not the case, please let me know and I will do what I can to remedy the situation.

Also, I would like to know what specific suggestions you have for increasing the communications between this office and your office as well as between this office and the field staff. Just in case you didn't receive it, I am enclosing several copies of the second memorandum on the Convention.

file SO 0470

November 16, 1964

MEMORANDUM

NOV 20 1964

TO: SOUTHERN STAFF AND CHAPTERS

RE: RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

FROM: CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE

At a staff meeting in late summer, members of the southern staff expressed the feeling of a need for a full time research department to gather necessary information for the CORE Southern Program. Early in October, Judi Nusbaum began to work on the research program in the Southern office. At about the same time, Bill Yates was doing research on Louisiana at CORE's Baton Rouge office. Since that time most of the research has been centered around Louisiana problems; however, the department's work is now beginning to expand into other states. The following information is a general outline of the activities of the research department so that persons concerned will have an idea of the information available from that department.

1. Judi Nusbaum is responsible for gathering and organizing information on agriculture, governmental programs, statistics on farm population, etc. She will also work on any special rural problem that is requested.

2. Bill Yates is responsible for material on governmental and political structure of the states, and information on industry (government contracts, etc.) and employment.

3. Presently most of their work is given to the South Central-Area; it will broaden as requests are received from Eastern States.

4. Information is, of course, available to chapters as well as staff, to the other areas as well as the South. (However, all research is limited to the South.)

5. New Orleans fortunately offers resources for research---libraries, governmental agencies, etc.---that are adequate to present needs. Research staff will maintain contact with others sources by mail or, when necessary, by personal visits.

6. In addition to gathering information, research staff members are building an index of source materials. At some time in the future they will be asked to prepare a list of publications and agencies which will likely prove helpful to chapters and to staff members in the field. This list will be circulated throughout the area so that many problems may be researched on a local level.

7. Requests for information should be addressed to the Research Department at this office.

CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

file - staff proj

January 15, 1965

Mr. Richard Jewett
1714 Everett Avenue
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Dick:

Charles Mason of Washington CORE called me Wednesday, January 13. He reported that the group from Canton in Washington for the FDP challenge was led by Randy Glenn and consisted mostly of high school age youngsters. The group stayed at Fellowship House until Monday, January 11. At that point, Fellowship House put them out. The staff felt that the high school age students should return to school rather than remain in Washington. The other FDP people had left for Mississippi on Wednesday, January 6. The Canton group spent the night of January 11 at Ralph Fertig's house in Washington.

On Tuesday, January 5, Randy Glenn called me and reported that bus and other transportation had broken down. National CORE sent him $400. as an emergency measure to provide return transportation. This money was probably spent in great part on food in Washington.

I understand that Randy and others tried to secure money from the Urban Leagues, church groups and individuals. The staff at Fellowship House indicates that a number of liquor bottles were found on the premises.

Another CORE group from Neshoba County consisted of older adults and behaved in an exemplary manner.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich, Director
Community Relations

cc: Richard Haley
George Wiley

30 Office

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
February 2, 1965

TO: NAC Members and All Staffs

FROM: George Wiley

SUBJECT: Southern Staff Work Shop, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 21 - 23

I shall make no attempt here at a comprehensive report on the Southern Staff Conference but wish to record a few observations and spell out some decisions that were made. In addition to the work shops and the general discussion sessions, I had opportunities to meet separately with the staffs of the three major state projects - namely, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida.

I discussed with the state project directors the need for better fiscal control on expenditures. They identified a number of problems including the fact that they seldom see the bills relating to their projects, which are sent to the National office. I agreed to arrange to get an identifying number placed on each gasoline credit card. Once this is arranged the Bookkeeping Department will then make a summary breakdown of the expenditures for each credit card, each month and send it to the Southern office, the state director and the project director. It was also decided that these costs presently billed to the National office will be a part of the budget of the local project. Dick Jewett indicated that the limit of 1500 miles per month placed on the use of leased cars was not realistic for our operation in rural areas. In future leases, arrangement should be made for about 1000 miles per week.

With respect to telephone credit cards, it is difficult to break down the calls to send to individual staff members. However, someone in bookkeeping will check the calls made on each credit card against the calls listed by the individual staff member on his weekly log sheet. If there are major discrepancies, he will be notified. Otherwise, he may assume that the information submitted on his telephone log sheet is substantially correct.

Ike Reynolds' transfer to California was discussed with him. He will be leaving for the West Coast shortly.

Ways of strengthening the Southern office were discussed. Once budgets are established at the February 6th NAC meeting, all Southern staffs and projects will draw advances and operating expenses from the Southern office. Direct requests to the National office will not be honored.

The program discussion which was the major emphasis of the conference seemed to be quite meaningful to the staff. I was struck by the degree of similarity between the problems of community organization and community involvement in the South to those in the North. I was interested in several features of the organizing effort. First, the trend seems decidedly away from going into a community and starting a Freedom School or a community center. Both of these operations are increasingly being thought of as being developed in response

to an expressed community interest in these activities. This interest would have to be expressed in the form of willingness on the part of community residents to contribute some of their own efforts and resources to the development of the center or school. The result is that in many areas the local people are sustaining major financial responsibilities for the projects in their area.

There was also a dominant feeling that whereas the 1964 summer project in Mississippi had many important virtues, it suffered from the fact that many people came down from the North for short periods of time with their own program and ideas and initiative and this actually inhibited the involvement of local people in the program. As a result, local people did not feel a close identification with the centers and the projects in certain instances. The result was that there was frequently very little left of the program when the people left at the end of the summer. Some centers and schools have subsequently been closed.

I also got the impression that another summer project of the type done in 1964 would not be desirable in Mississippi.

I found the morale of our Southern staff to be quite good considering the difficult conditions in which they must work. I think most of them gained new insight into their work from this conference.

So. Office

MEMO TO: CORE CHAPTERS AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS
FROM: CORE SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
2209 Dryades Street, New Orleans, Louisiana
RE: SOUTHERN RACIAL MURDERS April, 1965

Attached you will find a partial list of racial murders that have occurred in the South in the last two years. Though they are only a small sample of the violence that is traditional in the South towards Negroes and their white supporters, they are a shocking example of the lack of justice in the region. In not a single case has a defendant received punishment for one of these crimes, and in all but one case there has been no conviction. In all of these cases the identity of the killer was known, at least unofficially.

Some of these murders received little or no publicity on a national level. Most fade out of the minds of the public just as quickly as they fade from the front page of the papers and from the television screens.

We feel that very little has been done to attack the Southern system of leniency towards those who commit violent acts against Negroes and civil rights workers. Perhaps one of the causes is a lack of awareness the public has of the reality of the situation. The murders are too short-lived in the minds and hearts of the American people.

Therefore, CORE in the South is beginning a program to remind Americans of the deplorable state of Southern justice and to stir their consciences so that they will demand legislation to correct the situation. In view of recent developments in Alabama and Louisiana, we are demanding the following additions be made to the voting bill now pending in Congress to deal with violence in connection with racial and civil rights matters:

1. Legislation requiring enforcement of and protection for the exercise of all Constitutionally guaranteed rights by federal marshalls, FBI agents or other appropriate federal agents;

2. Legislation requiring the Justice Department to make on-the-spot arrests of violators of Title 18, Section 241-242 of the U.S. Code;

3. Legislation making crimes of violence, especially murders,in connection with civil rights and race, a major federal offense;

Because of the intimidation in many areas of the South of Negroes who attempt to register to vote, use certain public accommodations, and exercise their Constitutional rights, we believe the 1965 Civil Rights Act and the proposed voting bill, as presented, will have little effect without the above provisions.

To begin this program, we hope you will circulate the attached list as widely as possible in your area. We hope you will make copies of the list and submit it, along with your own demands for improved legislation, to all of your local newspapers, radio and TV stations, local officials, Senators and Congressmen. Demand that your Senators and Congressmen work for the inclusion of the above in new legislation.

4/65

CORE Southern Regional Office/2209 Dryades Street/New Orleans, La. 70113

PARTIAL LIST OF RACIAL MURDERS IN THE SOUTH IN THE LAST 2 YEARS----

April, 1963 - William Moore, White, 30's
Gadston, Alabama
CORE worker, shot to death on Freedom Walk
Assailant arrested, NO CONVICTION

June, 1963 - Medgar Evers, Negro, 30's
Jackson, Mississippi
NAACP Field Secretary, shot to death at his home for civil rights activities
Assailant, Byron De La Beckwith, member of White Citizens Council, arrested, 2 trials, hung juries, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - Carol Robertson, Negro, 14
Cynthia Wesley, Negro, 14
Addie Mae Collins, Negro, 14
Denise McNail, Negro, 11
Killed in church bombing
NO arrests, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - Virgil Ware, Negro, 13
Birmingham, Alabama
Shot to death by two teenage boys, white, while riding his bicycle
Assailants arrested, Suspended sentence

September, 1963 - James Robinson, Negro, 16
Birmingham, Alabama
Shot to death in the back by police officer in "self-defense"
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - John Coley, Negro, 20
Birmingham, Alabama
War veteran, shot to death by police
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - young man, Negro
New Orleans, Louisiana
Shot to death by police officer
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

January, 1964 - Lewis Allen, Negro, 40's
Liberty, ~~Missouri~~ Mississippi
Shot to death at his home; had witnessed a white state representative kill a Negro in 1961; murder followed 2 years of constant harrassment; victim had asked for federal protection, but was refused.
No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1964 - 1 woman, 2 men, Negro
20's or 30's
Woodville, Mississippi
Shot to death in parked car
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

March, 1964 - Man, Negro, 40's
Natchez, Mississippi
Shot to death at night in car
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

June, 1964 - Michael Schwerner, white, 24
James Chaney, Negro, 21
Andrew Goodman, white, 20
Philadelphia, Mississippi
Beaten and shot to death for civil rights activities;
Several arrests, including law-enforcement officials; NO CONVICTIONS

July, 1964 - 2 men, Negroes, 19, 20
Southwest Mississippi
Half-bodies found in river during search for missing three (above)
Arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

July, 1964 - Lemuel Penn, Negro, 33
Athens, Georgia
Official in school system of Washington, D.C. Shot to death in his car from passing car when returning to Washington from training for army reserve in Georgia.

Klansmen arrested, NO CONVICTIONS

(C O N ' T)

Summer, 1964 - man, Negro
New Orleans, Louisiana
Shot to death at bus stop from passing car
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

September, 1964 - Herbert Orsby, Negro, 14
Canton, Mississippi
Found drowned wearing CORE tee-shirt; last seen in pick-up truck with white men.
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

December, 1964 - Frank Morris, Negro, 52
Ferriday, Louisiana
Burned to death in his shop—covered with gasoline by white men, set afire, and forced to remain inside.
No arrest, NO CONVICTIONS

December, 1964 - Man and woman, Negro
New Orleans, Louisiana
Shot to death in motel
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

January, 1965 - Ollie B. Shelby, Negro, 18
Jackson, Mississippi
Badly beaten and shot to death by police officers in Hinds County Jail.
No arrests, NO CONVICTION

January, 1965 - Marshall Scott, Jr., Negro, 43
New Orleans, Louisiana
Put into solitary confinement in New Orleans jail with pneumonia; died without medical attention.
No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1965 - Jimmy Lee Jackson, Negro
Marion, Alabama
Shot to death by state troopers during demonstration for voting rights.
No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1965 - John Lee, Negro, 31
Goshen Springs, Mississippi
Found dead on country road with signs of beating—had attended civil rights meetings
NO arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1965 - Donald Rasberry, Negro, 19
Okolona, Mississippi
Shot to death by his plantation boss.
NO CONVICTION

March, 1965 - Rev. James Reeb, white, 37
Selma, Alabama
Beaten to death after participating in in March for voting rights
Four arrests, PENDING

March, 1965 - Viola Gregg Liuzzo, white, 38
Lowndesboro, Alabama
Shot to death from passing car while transporting demonstrators from march for voting rights.
Four whites arrested, PENDING

30. Office

Congress of Racial Equality 38 Park Row New York City 10038 CO 7-6270

PARTIAL LIST OF KILLINGS [redacted] BY WHITES IN THE SOUTH IN THE LAST TWO YEARS

DATE	NAME	ACTION	RESULTS
Apr 63	William Moore, CORE Gadsden, Alabama	Shot to death on Freedom Walk.	Arrest NO CONVICTION
Jun 63	Medger Evers, NAACP Jackson, Mississippi	Shot at his home for civil rights activities.	Arrest NO CONVICTION
Sep 63	4 girls, children Birmingham, Alabama	Killed in church bombing.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
	Young boy Birmingham, Alabama	Shot on bicycle from passing car.	Arrest Suspended Sent.
	Young boy Birmingham, Alabama	Shot in back by police officer for possessing rock.	No arrest NO CONVICTION
	Young man New Orleans, La.	Shot by police.	No arrest NO CONVICTION
Jan 64	Lewis Allen Liberty, Mississippi	Shot at home for having witnessed a white state representative kill a Negro in 61; Killing followed 2 years constant harassment.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
Feb 64	3 people Woodville, Miss.	Shot in parked car.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
Mar 64	Man Natchez, Mississippi	Shot at night in car.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
Jun 64	Michael Schwerner, CORE James Chaney, CORE Andrew Goodman, COFO Philadelphia, Miss.	Beaten and shot to death for civil rights activities; released from jail into hands of waiting mob.	Several arrests NO CONVICTIONS
Jul 64	2 men Southwest, Mississippi	Half-bodies found in river during search for missing 3 (above).	Arrests NO CONVICTION
Jul 64	Lemual Penn Athens, Georgia	Shot in car from passing car for intimidation	Arrests NO CONVICTION
Sum 64	Man New Orleans, La.	Shot to death at bus stop from passing car.	No arrests NO CONVICTION
Dec 64	Frank Morris Farriday, Louisiana	Burned to death in his shop, covered with gasoline, set afire.	No arrests NO CONVICTIONS
	2 people New Orleans, La.	Shot to death in motel.	No arrests NO CONVICTIONS
Jan 65	Ollie B. Shelby Jackson, Mississippi	Shot by police in Hinds County jail for alleged attempt to escape while being transferred to other jail.	No arrests NO CONVICTIONS
	Man New Orleans, La.	Put into solitary confinement in New Orleans jail with pneumonia; left to die.	No arrests NO CONVICTION

Grant SO Office

JUL 15 1965

MEMO

To: All Projects

From: Research Department

Date: July 10, 1965

Response to requests from the Research Department will be slow do to out-of-town conferences, etc. We are weeks behind, so please be patient until we are able to catch up.

Would you please send a list of local people to whom material should be sent directly from the Research Department. A personal letter will be sent to each individual to establish communication with Research Department. Please send list as soon as possible.

Freedom,

Judith Nusbaum

Judith Nusbaum
Research Department

JN/ds

SO Office

wiley

To: All Project Directors, National Office, Southern Regional Staff

From: David Dennis, Southern Program Director

Re: Conferences

During the month of August we a re planning to hold four conferences for all people working on CORE projects in the South this summer. We feel that these conferenfes are necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of the summer project, to discuss direction for future programs and to build a relationship between the project and the college campus.

Conference dates and locations are as follow:

August 21, 1965 People Conference in Homer, Louisiana at the Friendship CME Church. People from all over Louisiana will be attending this conference. If o local people in your area would like to attend, they are welcome to do so.

August 22-23, 1965, Plaquemine, Louisiana for all summer volunteers. Each volunteer is asked to pay hos own room and board. This should run to about $2.10 per day.

Purpose of conference

1. Evaluation of their effectiveness on the summer project.
2. How the summer project they worked on tie in with the project at home.
3. How they can begin to build a relationship between their home project and the project in the South.

August 27-28, 1965, Plaquemine, Louisiana for Field Fellowship workers.

Purpose of conference

1. Evaluation of their effectiveness on the summer project.
2. How can they relate to the local project from the college campus during the fall.
3. To begin to develop a real college campus program for the fall.

All Field Fellowship workers are asked to be present.

August 30-September 1, 1965 Staff Conference. Location will be given at a later date.

Purpose of conference

1. Evaluation of their effectiveness on the summer project.
2. To doscuss direction and programs for the fall.
3. To discuss means of developing training for staff.

SOUTHERN MONTHLY BUDGET (OCTOBER, 1965)

ITEM	S.C.	N.C.	MISS.	Fla.	La.	S.O.	TOTAL
Field Secretaries (12)	1,733.33 (3)	533.33 (1)	373.7[illegible] (1)	408.33 (1)	8[illegible]1.66 (2)	2,22[illegible].99 (4)	6,115.36 --
Benefits (10%)	173.33	53.33	37.37	[illegible]0.83	84.16	222.50	611.52
Task Force Workers (26)	32[illegible].99 (3)	216.66 (2)	758.31 (7)	216.66 (2)	1.083.30 (10)	216.66 (2)	2,816.58
F.S. Expense						600.00	600.00
F.S. Repayments (6,910.59 owed)						300.00	300.00
Rent			90.00	15.00	45.00	100.00	2[illegible]0.00
Utilities			60.00	15.00		30.00	105.00
Phones for Projects			150.00	90.00	150.00	200.00	590.00
Auto Leases (based on 126.04 each)	50[illegible].08 (4)		126.04 [illegible] (1)[illegible]	152.08 (2)	630.10 (5)		1,402.52
Office Supplies	30.00		100.00	30.00	100.00	150.00	410.00
Contigencies (Fines, minor accidents, bail, extra travel, emergencies, etc.)						599.02.	599.02
Car Maintenance (16 cars at 75.00)	300.00 (4)		300.00 (4)	150.00 (2)	450.00 (6)		1,200.00
TOTAL							15,000.00

MEMO TO: SOUTHERN STAFF RE: VOTER REGISTRATION

FROM: GEORGE WILEY DATE: OCTOBER 8, 1965

The National Democratic Party is attempting to accumulate data concerning discrimination against Negroes in any phase of party activity. At a recent hearing I gave testamony concerning problems of voter registration which still exist after the passage of the Voter Rights Act. These problems are very much the responsibility of the Democratic Party, since it is the party in control throughout the South. The National Democratic Party is concerned about the small number of Federal Examiners to be sent into Southern Communities, and they seem genuinely ready to apply pressure to increase the number of Examiners appointed. In order to do this, they need specific incidents of problems that have developed since the passage of the law in areas that do not have federal examiners - such as slow-downs by local registrars, herrassment to potential voters, and any other irregular activities. They also need reports of all complaints that have been sent to the Justice Department from counties without federal examiners. Judi Nusbaum will be in New Orleans on Tuesday and Wednesday, October 12 & 13 and will try to contact as many workers as possible for reports of this kind of activity. In the meantime, it will be very helpful if you will make note of as many incidents as you can recall, giving such specific as location, aprox. dates, & names of individuals involved, if possible.

I also suggest that workers in counties that do NOT have Federal Examiners, and would like to have one appointed, should attemp to have at least twenty individuals send complaints to the Justice Department as soon as possible, since this will greatly simplify the process of having examiners appointed.

CORE NATIONAL OFFICE

ADMINISTRATION

National Director

James Farmer
George Wiley
Nancy Stedman
Benjamin Brown

Business

Edwin Day
Clora Coleman
Annie Page

Switchboard

Suzanne Hawkins

Stock Room

Carlos Rijos

Bookkeeping

Jan Jennings
Arvind Bhauser
Eartha Quintano
Brenda Thompson
Lula Farmer (part-time)
Carlos Orsini (part-time)

FUND RAISING

Fund Raising Administration

Alan Gartner
Marie Simmons
Doris Castle
Jimmy McDonald
Ben Peterson
Rosalind Becton
Frances Crayton
Babette Code

Stencil

Ralph Rojas
Dorothy Warren
Laura Wynder
Peter Windsor

PUBLIC RELATIONS

None

ORGANIZATION

Ronnie Moore
Maxine Skurka
Judy Rollins

LEGAL

Carl Rachlin
Steve Nagler
Charlaine Shelto

WASHINGTON OFFICE DEVELOPMENT

Mike Lesser
Judi Nusbaum

October 22, 1965

1963

CORE
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, NY 38, N.Y.

Minutes of CORE Staff Meeting, McIntosh, Ga.
March 9 and 10

Mary Hamilton, Recorder

Present at meeting: McCain, Tournour, Rich, Carey, Brown, F. Robinson, Hill, Rougeau, Hamilton, Dennis; M. Robinson arrived Saturday afternoon.

CHAPTER DEVELOPMENT. The meeting opened with a discussion on chapter development. McCain expressed concern over the fact that the present field secretaries have not organized as many new chapters as is now possible. He also stated that the present rate of growth is not as fast as it was prior to the Sit-ins and the Freedom-Rides. It was agreed by all present that, due to the increased activity in Civil Rights that CORE has a greater opportunity in developing more chapters, and that this opportunity should not be lost. It was also agreed that the field staff must now make great efforts in organizing new chapters since CORE's success depends, for the most part, upon chapter development. McCain stated that a number of areas have not yet been covered that could and should have been. Also that it is not his job to schedule for the field staff, but that if the field staff neglected to do their own scheduling, he would do it for them. The field secretaries are to send in a schedule of their planned activity for the following two months of April and May. Stressed also was the necessity of nonviolent philosophy.

HOW TO ORGANIZE. Discussion was called for on how to organize new groups. It was once more stressed that CORE chapters must be community based and decision made that will develop the local problems of a chapter. The field secretaries must seek out new people, discuss CORE, its philosophy and techniques with them. It is most generally necessary for the field secretary to stay in an area when a new chapter is formed until that chapter has started its first project. There are no set rules, one must be flexible and learn to recognize what projects will best suit the situation. An important part of the field secretary's job is to find people with positive attitudes, people who have healthy and intelligent understanding of the conditions and who are not getting involved because they have private wars of their own or grudges against other organizations. We have no longer the problem of selling CORE; CORE has been sold through the Sit-ins and the Freedom-Rides. F. Robinson raised the question of old chapers which are no longer functioning. He mentioned specifically chapters that have dual memberships in both CORE and the NAACP. He stated that, from his experience, persons cannot function well when they are active members in both organizations, as the work that is required makes it impossible to belong to two organizations at one time. Is it possible to develop chapters without NAACP-attitude people? The problem lies in the fact that the only persons available, so far, are those who are members of the

NAACP. Now the question is how to get to other layers of people. Carey suggested that the N.O. contributors can be used as sources of new people, as has been done in the past. McCain suggested that the NO send out CORE interest sheets to NO contributors. Rich stated that field secretaries must not rush people into organizing chapters because without really dependable, committed persons, the group will fall apart as soon as the field secretary leaves the area. He stated also that field secretaries, after having formed a chapter, should not make that chapter wait for months before being affiliated. That it was unfair to them to do so and also unfair to the organization. Tournour stated that as far as old chapters are concerned, the biggest problem is gearing them towards working on conditions that are fundamental, such as police brutality. People are still thinking in terms of public accomodations when they should be concerned with more fundamental issues. He continued that from working in Kansas City, St. Louis, and Dayton, his conclusion was that mass protests must be organized to bring about any real changes. Marv suggested that the regional conferences should be used to emphasize the most important projects in order to reorient the chapters. Gene suggested that the NO has the responsibility to aid in reorienting the chapters by issuing directives to the chapters. Norm stated that groups with limited programs do not appeal to the community, that what is needed is new blood and the way to get this is by having a program that attacks the fundamental issues of the community. Another important way is to have the CORE group seek out people with fundamental problems and have them come to the meeting and present their case. Norm stated that the philosophy of nonviolence is of little value if it is not connected with the programs that do not meet the real needs of the community. Gordon felt that the problems of most chapters is that they are either so nonviolent that they do not do any action, or that they are active without being nonviolent. McCain stated that with new groups the field secretary might have to stay in a community for a number of months and participate on their first project with them.

EXPENSE ACCOUNTS. McCain stated that the organization is in grave financial need and that is is necessary for the field secretaries to learn how to cut their expenses down to the barest minimum. He said that expense reports must be mailed weekly, that meals must be listed separately, that receipts for lodging must be included. If receipts are not included with the expense reports, the cost may be deducted from one's salary. This is because the auditors have informed the NO that receipts are absolutely necessary for tax purposes. The field staff was instructed not to hold expense reports on money due them when they have used their own money for the benefit of the organization, but to immediately report the deficit, so that it can be reimbursed while still a small expense. If they do not send in a report of the money due them immediately after it has been spent, they stand the chance of not being reimbursed soon thereafter. Expense advances must be listed by date and check number on report forms. The staff was once again warned about the over use of the telephone credit cards. McCain stated that the staff had recently done a better job keeping telephone credit card expenses down, however, there is room for improvement. It was

suggested tha the field staff notify the National Office by air mail special delivery post card or letter of their locations rather than call into the office.

FINANCES: Marvin Rich reported that the NO has over $60,000 in unpaid bills which were due from four to five months ago. Also that the chapters have done a poor job in raising money for the NO. He said that it is essential that all be aware of the financial difficulties and that all should press the chapters each field secretary is repponsible for, to raise money for the NO. That the most important thing in raising money is to remember to keep the cost of fund raising down. Use local talent when possible and try to use nationally known stars when they are in the vicinity. Marv said that he will send out a memo on fund raising ideas. Also, that the staff should inform people, when possible, that CORE accepts bequests and donations.

TRAVELING. The staff is to use bus and train service rather than air service. Use planes only in cases of emergencies. The NO is presently in the process of acquiring blanket flight insurance for the staff, however, until this is done the staff is to use the $.50 flight insurance payable to CORE. When staff uses cars the cars must be heavily insured. It was suggested that $50,000 would be sufficient. The staff is to pay for part of the insurance and the NO will pay the difference that is incurred through the use of a car for the organization.

COOPERATION WITH OTHER GROUPS. It is necessary for CORE to cooperate with labor, civic and church groups. In some areas it is helpful to work with some political organizations. McCain stated that the time is ripe for CORE to work with labor because labor is now wooing the Negro. Questions were raised concerning discrimination in some labor unions. It was felt that in cases of union discrimination, CORE will handle these cases as it does all other discriminatory practices. The building trades and printing unions were mentioned among those having discriminatory practices. However, the industrial unions have improved considerably during the past few years and there are many areas in which CORE can work with them. Cooperation with trade unions is necessary and can be developed on a national and local basis. The question of working with the peace movement was raised and it was reiterated that CORE's activity is limited to the race issue and that CORE chapters are not free to work on issues other than Civil Rights but that individuals are free to be active as individuals but not as representing CORE. Gordon stated that CORE is not any longer operating only in race relations, that CORE was active in the hospital strike, the ARA and that NY area college chapters have recently become involved in the tuition dispute. Norm stated that it is essential to know the character and objectives of other organizations before beginning to work with them. Marvin stated that is is true that we have broadened our area of activity to include economics and that because of this we cannot help but become involved in making decisions that were not necessary to make before this time. Concerning CORE's relationship with NAACP, SCLC, and SNCC, instances were cited where these organizations have attempted to thwart the progress of CORE. It was decided that the NO would contact Roy Wilkins, Wiley Branton, and others to discuss possible workable arrangements. Gordon stated that the staff must push CORE harder when working with these

organizations on projects. The staff must not take credit when it is not deserved, but we must be certain to emphasize our part in activities.

CORE'S RESPONSIBILITY TO ITS WORKERS AND VICE-VERSA. The staff was warned not to say anything that can cause a libel suit. It was decided that a good "rule of thumb" would be the CORE Rules for Action. The questions was raised, "How far should the N.O. go for a staff person who is acting outside of the line of duty." No decision was arrived at.

PLANNING REGIONAL AND LOCAL WORKSHOPS: Content, range, scope must vary according to the area that is being worked in. Much ground work and preparation is necessary. Some times it is feasible to hold sub-area workshops. Follow-up is also necessary. Gordon proposed the possibility of chapter retreats. He cited a number of examples where such retreats have been very beneficial. The question of national and regional projects was raised. It was asked, "Why is it that national projects are not developed around basic issues such as schools, housing and employment?" Gordon stated that it is difficult to coordinate such projects on a national level, but that they could possibly be coordinated on a regional level. Norm stated that in the South the public accomodations projects have been rallying points, while in the North the issue is employment. Perhaps the NO could coordinate on this basis.

CORE SCHOLARSHIP AND EDUCATION FUND. Marvin spoke concerning SEDF. He said that two persons have been given this scholarship. Also, that the staff should keep on the alert for colleges with community chest type organizations and when found to investigate the possibility of getting these organizations to contribute to SEDF.

PUBLICITY. Marvin reported that the associate membership drive is now under way and that the months of April and May are to be used to intensify efforts by the chapters to acquire associate members. This drive is vital because it is the means by which we will be able to get through the summer months financially. This drive requires the cooperation of the entire field staff. The question was raised that some people will think that we are in competition with the NAACP. It was felt that this is a valid question and that it should be answered that CORE is not competing with any organization but that all organizations in the field of Civil Rights have to be supported. Gordon felt that if the drive is worked correctly, it can also be used as a means of recruiting new members. It was also stressed that we need not work only with CORE chapters but that we should attempt to involve labor unions, churches, civic groups, etc.

STAFF TRAINING. The question of training new staff was discussed. It was pointed out that frequently staff do not know basic skills in organizing such as writing leaflets, cutting stencils, etc. It was also pointed out that new staff have to be trained in methods of organizing for large areas of activity. The staff must learn to keep up with current trends in Civil Rights, i e., those areas in the Civil Rights struggle that are most likely to meet early

success such as ARA and in some areas urban renewal.

STAFF DEPLOYMENT. McCain pointed out that there are new areas that can be developed which need staff help, while there are areas in which staff are new employed that are not presently functioning. It may be advisable to shift staff to the more fertile areas. Marvin reported that the NAC is presently thinking about pulling Dave Dennis out of Mississippi, because although Dave is doing a very good job there, it is now evident that we cannot develop a CORE chapter in Mississippi. It was also stressed that unless the field secretaries show results in their respective areas, it will be necessary to move them to other areas.

STAFF VACATIONS. McCain announced that several field secretaries have vacations due them and that the field secretaries are re - quested to send in their choices for vacation time into the NO. Field secretaries cannot expect to be given permission for vacations unless reasonable amount of time is given the NO so that they can make other arrangements for the areas to be covered.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION. The question was raised as to whether or not out of state staff are covered by the NY office for un - employment compensation. Gordon stated that the NO is now investigating this problem and will inform the staff as soon as it is possible to do so.

TASK FORCE. The Task Force was discussed and it was generally agreed that it had not been active long enough to make a proper evaluation. Gordon stated that new ideas are needed for the Task Force. It was suggested that it could possibly be used to aid the ARA and VEP projects. The idea of using it in a summer program was put forth. The final decision was that these suggestions would be taken to the NAC for discussion.

URBAN RENEWAL. Urban Renewal was cited as one of the major areas in which CORE has begun to work recently. It was also stated that urban renewal is one of the fundamental issues that CORE is now steering toward. Discussion centered around the possible methods used in urban renewal projects. It was stated that when working in urban renewal it is necessary to work with people who are directly involved in being removed from their homes. Norm stated that the problem lies not only in the Federal urban renewal project, but also in the problem of slum housing that is not slated for urban renewal. Our emphasis should be to get the basic conditions changed. Examples of direct action can be sit-ins in the offices of slum landlords, real estate boards, and builders associations. It was noted that federal funds are used for urban renewal in the South and that the housing is still segregated. Field secretaries should watch for areas that can be challenged.

HOUSING ORDER. It was stated that the housing order covers only 25% of new housing. Gordon stated that the housing order changes the Federal Government's position from that of supporting segregation (through FHA as far back as 1948) to the reverse. He continued that this order puts the moral weight of the Federal Government against housing segregation. Marvin stated that there are certain rules that must be followed in filing complaints and that these complaints should be sent to the President's Committee on

Equal Housing and directly to Robert Weaver. It was also stated that each chapter should establish relationships with the FHA, the VA and the local Federal Housing office. It is important that each chapter knows what laws cover their respective areas. Robert Weaver has been very helpful in this respect and it was suggested that he be requested to give this information to the chapters, i.e., the chapters write him for this information. It was noted that frequently the government need only to threaten to refuse funds to prevent a housing project from being segregated. It was noted that the order covers the suburban areas and will thus give people the opportunity to break from the ghetto. Gordon stated that during the discussion with Weaver, he pointed out that in attacking an area, the pattern of segregation will be attempted to be broken, and not specifically to get a Negro family into a home. Marvin noted that this approach will prevent people from making attempts to break housing segregation.

SCHOOL BONDS. Gordon reported on the school bonds project. He stated that the purpose is to attack the tax exemption provision for schools that are built in the South but financed in the North. Gordon explained that to build a school, government agencies will sell municiple bonds to finance companies in the North. The persons who buy these bonds receive 3% interest, tax free. This is illegal because these bonds are used to finance segregated schools.

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MEMORANDUM

TO: James Farmer, Jim McCain, Marvin Rich, Bob Gore, Val Coleman, Gordon Carey, Norman Hill, Clora Coleman

DATE: November 20, 1963

FROM: Richard Haley

SUBJECT: Report of Staff Meeting, November 15, 1963

On Friday, November 15th, the following matters were treated at the staff meeting:

The condensed report of the NAC was briefly analyzed for its meaning to staff. Among the matters contained were:

a - that CORE make the first annual contribution of $1000 to NCDH. The time will be left to the discretion of the National Director.

b - that staff members contribute any ideas regarding CORE's policy statement on employment to the National Director.

c - that staff keep in mind its continuing responsibility to assist chapters in maintaining pressure for expansion and passage of the civil rights bill.

d - that staff develop means for emphasizing the need of return to nonviolence philosophy and practice in local groups; that such ideas be transmitted to the National Director as soon as possible.

It was suggested that the Western Union deposit be raised from $1000 to $2000 or thereabouts.

McCain advised the group of the imminent induction of new personnel, of on-going activities in Taskforce recruitment, of the meeting of Southern field staff in New Orleans on the November 30th weekend. He also informed us of the development of a chapter manual which will be issued in the near future. He invited the criticism and participation of all staff members.

Lula Farmer reminded staff of its assigned responsibility to work out uniform acting procedures that will govern financial transactions between chapters and the National Office. At an early date, Lula will submit a form designed to fill this need.

We were, once more reminded that the National Office is committed to a grant of $1000 to Cleveland CORE under the stipulation that the money

will be used to subsidize the work of Cleveland's Executive Secretary anywhere except Cleveland.

Gordon Carey introduced the content of Carl Rachlin's letter on the National Lawyers Guild. The substance of this is that members of the guild are in a position to take command of important areas of CORE activity through providing legal services to needy CORE groups. It is to be expected that a memo will shortly be issued from this office to local chapters advising closer National-local communication on the matter of hiring lawyers.

The next staff meeting will be held Thursday, November 21st, at 10:00 A.M. The agenda is open.

[c. Jan. 1964]

FILE COPY

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

OFFICERS
Floyd B. McKissick
chairman
Rudolph Lombard
1st vice chairman
Wilfred Ussery
2nd vice chairman
Ralph Rosenfeld
secretary
Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Norman Hill
program director
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

DRAFT OF LETTER TO BE SENT OUT BY J. FARMER ON NEED FOR DISCIPLINE AND DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES.

TO: MARVIN RICH, CHARLES CLEGHAN, JULIUS HOBSON RICHARD HALEY for comments, critisisms, modifications, deletions, additions.
January 6, 1963

FROM: Norman Hill

no replies as of 1-14

CORE, which has been in the forefront of direct, nonviolent action in the civil rights movement, is now seeking to deepen its concerns, to broaden its objectives in keeping with its basic goal of seeking a truly racially open society.

As our leadership, staff and active members throughout the country think through new and fresh dimensions in order for CORE to maintain its ghrust in the civil rights revolution, it is important to remember the philosophy and spirit upon which our organization was founded.

Nonviolence was chosen as CORE's method, not out of fear or reluctance to confront the problem of race bias with militance and a sense of urgency, but because of a conviction that nonviolence was and is a powerful social force to marshal the assets of active goodwill, non-retaliation, and public opinion combined with direct action to bring an end to segregation and discriminations North and South, dedicated, disciplined CORE groups have through action programs have begun to break through the wall of Jim Crow.

Much remains to be done. It is our contention that in spite of the magnitude of the task, the justified impatience of the minority community and the stiffening resistance in some areas of our opponents, that nonviolent direct action is still relevent. In fact, more than relevent, for CORE holds the position that direct nonviolent action is the most effective way to eliminate race bias in employment, schools, housing and voter registration.

A prime factor in our achievements, which have been significant, has been the ability of our active members to conduct themselves through training with dedication and discipline. Now and in the future CORE and nonviolence may be tested as never before. Our ability to meet that challenge depends to a great extent on the will with which we maintain our discipline, the effort we make to train our members as CORE chapters across the country grow and attract more and more people, and the steadfastness with which we maintain remain dedicated to our basic method.

Equally important is the continued realization that there is an intimate relationship between the means and our desired end. If our purpose is to extend the opportunity for full participation in our society, regardless of race, consistency, morality and efficacy necessitate that we practice democracy within our own ranks. Inherent in the CORE Rules for Action is concern for the rights of the individual and the value of internal democracy. Honest discussion and debate are the cornerstones of an open society. The openness of the decision-making process has a crucial bearing on the spirit and dedication with which a project is pursued and the likelihood of a successful conclusion.

- cont. -

As we move into 1964, a year which may be fraught with trials of unforeseen dimensions, the progress made toward the achievement of the reality of racial justice for all Americans may turn on our own dedication to the two powerful social forces of nonviolence and democracy.

annie

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York City, N.Y. 10038

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEMBERS

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Rudolph Lombard 1st. Vice Chairman	1600 East Genesee Street Syracuse 10, New York Area Code: 315, Bus.: GR 8-0843 Home: 474-3467
Wilfred Ussery 2nd Vice Chairman	2338 Pine Street San Francisco, California Area Code: 415, YU 1-1555
Ruth Turner Secretary	1740 Crawford Road Cleveland 6, Ohio Area Code #216, Bus.: 791211
Alan Gartner Treasurer	148 Kirkstall Road Newtonville, Mass. Area Code #617, 527-5963

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Oretha Castle
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Home: 968-8651

Gloria Montgomery
Southeast

1908 North 16th Street
Fort Pierce, Florida

CO-OPTED MEMBERS

George Wiley	329 Westcott Street Syrvcuse, New York Area Code: 315, GR 2-0896
Mark Dodson	71 Scooter Lane Hicksville, New York Area Code: 516, PY 6-9871
James Peck	552 Riverside Drive New York City, New York 10027 Area Code: 212, RI 4-2004
A.D.. Moore	1315 Northwest 51st Terrace Miami, Florida Area Code: 305, FR 4-0114

NATIONAL C.O.R.E. STAFF MEETINGS

NOV.----DEC. 1964

DECISIONS:

(1) All invoices will be sent to bookkeeping for daily posting. Where necessary, department head approval will be secured before payment. Exception: Legal department will receive photo copies of all legal invoices.

(2) All department heads asked to submit projections of operating expenses for the months of December and January. Administrative department asked to compile an approximation of housekeeping expenses, i.e. rent, phone, Western Union, supplies etc.

(3) George Wiley suggested consideration be given to split shifts for National office staff, making possible extended office hours.

(4). Only emergency long distance phone calls will be accepted by National CORE.

(5) Further investigation will be made on reducing telephone bills (Watts line, etc.).

(6) Bob Gore asked to prepare a memorandum for the field staff and chapters, requesting free lodging and food, whenever possible, for field secretaries servicing said chapters. This to be accompanied by a memorandum from George Wiley advising of CORE's critical financial situation. Staff feels that cooperation in this regard could reduce field expenses by some $2600.00 monthly.

(7) Approval for field staff air travel during McCain's absence from the office, by Bob Gore. Administrative air travel during Wiley and Farmer's absence by Marvin Rich.

(8) Jim McCain was asked to write West Coast NAC members requesting their views on the urgency of a replacement for Chet Duncan, and to advise them that there could be no additions to the field staff at this time.

(9) George Wiley asks priority treatment for past due California indebtedness.

(10) Two of the Chicago centers will be closed. The Westside Center will be maintained on an $800.00 per month operating expense basis, to be decreased by $50.00 per month until it is self sustaining.

(11) Marvin Rich placed in charge of financial decisions beginning January 6 until Wiley takes office.

over

(12) Rachlin to follow through on non profit mailing permit and sales tax permit, and report to Rich.

(13) George Wiley agreed with staff that his speaking engagements should be limited and confined to the New York City area as nearly as possible.

(14) George Wiley requested a bi-weekly financial report from bookkeeping to enable him to keep on top of incurred indebtednesses and the over all financial picture.

(15) All bills paid by S.E.D.F. are to be billed directly to that office.

(16) Monies for Southern Projects and salary checks for Southern staff will clear through Richard Haley, Director of the Southern [redacted] office. His responsibilities also include financing of 4th Congressional District Centers and Local offices, and approving all bills originating in the Southern Region.

(17) The possibility of S.E.D.F. underwriting the South Carolina operation is to be discussed with Haley at the Southern Staff Conference.

(18) Wiley announced that weekly staff meetings will be instituted at the National office.

Southern Staff Conference: New Orleans, January 23, 24, 25 (Confirm with Haley)

NAC: New York City. February 5-7

Lawyers Conference: New York City. February 19, 20, 21.

STAFF MEETINGS

2/18/65

1. Ike Reynolds will be sent an airline ticket and expense advance so that he may leave New Orleans for San Francisco on February 23rd. The question of transferring Lou Smith to the West Coast has been discussed with him, and he is free to go around the first of March. This should ease the serious problem of deficiences in chapter servicing in that area.

2. Ed Day has been assigned as coordinator and controller of all CORE mailing lists with the exception of membership and press lists under Marvin Rich's control and legal lists under Carl Rachlin. Ed is also to coordinate and keep record on all bulk malings, including a copy of each such maling. The entire contact list will be sent periodically a list of all materials previously sent Chapter Chairmen.

3. The Dept of Organization will be asked to set up a system for periodic checks on CORE chapter personnel, as an aid to keeping its records up to date. This might be handled by a periodic post card mailing to each person on the Contact list requesting confirmation of address and active membership statics. No response, except under certain specific circumstances, would mean removal from the list.

4. Bob Gore of the Department of Organization is preparing an organization manual for Chapter, which will include a section of materials on each major area of CORE activity, i e. Housing, Employment, Education, and provide space for insertion of additional materials under each heading.

5. A Press Conference will be held Tuesday, February 23rd. at the National Office. Mr. Farmer will discuss CORE's plans for fund raising to finance its Summer Program, a request to Hoover for more federal portection for civil rights workers in Louisiana, and CORE's planned boycott against products of the Crown Zellerbach Company. If this company continues to ignore (1) Civil Rights violations and Klan activity in Bogalusa, Louisiana where this company employs form 40-50% of the total labor force. Attempts will be made to negotiate with representatives of Crown Zellerbach's home offices in San Francisco before any direct action is taken.

NATIONAL CORE

STAFF MEETING

4-6-65

PRESENT: George Wiley, Marvin Rich, Carl Rachlin, Eva Levy, Lula Farmer Clora Coleman, Ed Day.

1. George Wiley announced that the next staff meeting would be Friday night, April 9th at 6 P.M.

2. Additional materials to be mailed to the NAC include Mr. Farmer's testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, New Directions memorandum, and Mississippi Freedom Democratic party material.

3. Suggested items for the NAC agenda are as follows:

   a. Confirmation of Alan Gartner as new Community Relations Director

   b. Budget

   c. Dept. reports

   d. San Diego and Chicago

   e. National office staffing

   f. Summer Projects (expansion of Northern Florida

4. Bob Gore of the Organization Department has advised George Wiley that he will be leaving [redacted] on May 5th 1965

5. Ed Day reported on CORE's present financial position as follows:

a. Gross monthly payroll has been reduced by approximately $6000.00 since Nove 1964.

b. Supplies bills for February, 1965 total approximately $25,300.00, an increase of several thousand dollars over Nov. Dec. and Jan. $8000.00 of this amount, however, was spent on outside appeals.

c. Total income for February, 1965 was_____. Total operating expenses, including field operation for this month were $53,800.00.

6. George Wiley asked Carl Rachlin for an exact breakdown of Legal Department debts, indicating those to be paid by CORE and those which SNCF will pick up.

7. SNCF will be asked to underwrite that portion of time spent by members of CORE's fund raising department on its projects.

8. Eva Levy stated that she does not feel that current CORE special fund raising projects, such as the Asian Corner benefit, will greatly relieve the financial plight, and that she is looking toward long rang plans which hopefully will be more lucrative. Marvin Rich is compiling a memorandum on fund raising for CORE Chapters. It was agreed that additional efforts must be made to get chapter taxes.

9. Reorders for certain CORE literature will be placed, after consultation with Marvin.

10. Staff discussed the possibility of a Major civil rights campaign in Louisiana. It was noted that Mr. Farmer would be speaking in Bogalusa on April 8th and Owetha Castle has requested that he return to Jonesboro April 9th if possible.

It was suggested that more ground work should be laid for Mr. Farmers's public appearances and that it would be beneficial for the organization if this schedules were arranged to allow him to spend a few days working with CORE staff and community people in places such as Bogalusa and Jonesboro

WILEY

NATIONAL CORE STAFF MEETING

1-4-66

PRESENT: Jim Farmer, George Wiley, Jim McCain, Alan Gartner, Carl Rachlin, Greg Harris, Herb Callender, Clora Coleman.

(1) Final reconciliation of the remaining funds from the Mississippi Freedom Riders' bail account is to be accomplished as quickly as possible.

(2) Hospitalization for CORE Task Force workers is to be secured at the earliest possible date. George Wiley requested another memo from Clora Coleman on details of this.

(3) A report on the financial feasibility of moving the National Office to Harlem and termination of the 38 Park Row lease is to be made at the Steering Committee meeting scheduled for January 22-23 (Investigate possibility of sub-leasing present premises)

(4) Request that Ed Day submit notes on desired specifications for the physical layout of the National CORE Office.

(5) Herb Callender will handle transactions for Field Staff cars after conferring with Ed Day re. present status of said cars.

(6) Mr. Farmer will call Mr. McKissick re. best date for meeting with department heads during January 7-9 weekend.

(7) Mr. Wiley suggested periodic memos or meetings to/and with loan creditors re. the financial state of the organization.

(8) A meeting is to be arranged with Audrey Hess re. her $10,000.00 loan to CORE, due January 15, 1966. Also follow up is to be made on renewal of the Currier and Kratter loans.

(9) Follow up is to be made on the Emily C.P. Longstreth legacy of $7576.00 due January 1966.

(10) George is to contact R W D S U re. continued financing of the Rochester Project (Tony Riley) and give Herb Callender necessary information for follow through. A committment has been made to Riley that he will be retained on staff until March 1, 1966.

(11) Alan Gartner estimates January income at $44,000.00. Expenditures are estimated at $90,000, broken down as follows:

Office Maintenance	$45,000.00
Fundraising front cost	15,000.00
Loans (this includes the Audrey Hess Loan)	20.000.00
Suppliers debts	10,000.00

Office Staff

Gordon Carey	367 Avenue S, Brooklyn 23, N. Y.	NI 5-5108
Jocelyn Boyd	83 Rutland Road, Brooklyn, N.Y.	IN 9-2365 (2365)
Jan Jennings	360 Morris Avenue, Bronx 51, N.Y.	LU 5-4299
~~Norman Hill~~	~~252 Mt. Hope Place, Bronx N.Y.~~	~~JI 6-1254~~ ~~[illegible]~~
Marcia McKenna	102 West 93rd St.	UN 5-4716
Jim McCain	c/o Gadson 500 West 149th St.	AD 4-2819
Marvin Rich	33-43 14th St. L.I.C. 6, N.Y.	AS 4-8230
~~Sue Retole~~	~~129 Perry Street, New York, N.Y.~~	~~None~~
~~Patricia Newman~~	~~104 St. Marks Place, Staten Island, N.Y.~~	~~None~~
Shirley Sacks	55 Winthrop Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.	IN 9-8433
~~Don Wendell~~	~~165 Park Row, New York, N.Y.~~	~~BE 3-6128~~ ~~[illegible]~~
~~Marie Terrell~~	~~85 Navy Walk, Brooklyn, N.Y.~~	~~UL 8-1192~~
Brenda Benjamin	1734 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.	Sa 2-2060
~~Mary Ellen Davis~~	~~102 East 124th St., New York, N.Y.~~	~~None~~
~~Bill Larkins~~	~~606 East 9th Street, New York, N.Y.~~	~~YU 2-4005~~
~~John Broxton~~	~~606 East 9th Street, New York, N.Y.~~	~~YU24005~~
~~David Bernstein~~	~~33-47 14th Street L.I.C. 6, N.Y. Apt.(6A)~~	~~As 8-1362~~
~~Fredericka Teet~~	~~351 West 17th Street, New York, N.Y.~~	~~Al- 5 5748~~
Ben Brown	342 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.	UL ~~[illegible]~~ 3-8947
~~Jean Kr[illegible]~~	~~649 East 9th Street, New York 7, N.Y.~~	~~OR - 3-1033~~ 8442
~~Ronnie Val Jean Henderson~~	~~606 East 9th Street, New York, N.Y.~~	~~YU 2-4005~~ 4005

Bob Doe - ~~AA6-6173~~ 620 W. 147th, #4 AD 4-7274

~~John Calhoun - 733 E. 9th St.~~ ~~[illegible]~~

Richard Haley - 11-A Clinton - YU2-3844 Apt. 3-D

Carlos Rijos - 425 E. 105th St, NYC TE1-5873

ARTICLE XIII-A. AFRICAN NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Section I: The African National Advisory Committee shall consist of individuals who will lend their advice, prestige and influence to promote improved relations between Afro-Americans and Africans.

This Committee would work as closely as possible with the National Organization to promote the following:

A. Honest dissemination of world events both here and abroad. The equivalent of a news service that could be relied on to distribute all items relevant to black people the world over. Communications.

B. Cultural Exchanges to again promote the identification of black people with each other. Artists or groups of entrepaneurs to begin packaging art specialities for appearances here in the U.S. and vice versa.

C. Skills Bureau - To begin to rely on the skills of each other for the development of same. A type of service where available talent can be sent where the need is greatest.

D. Economic Power - Encourage more black investments in Africa. This can serve a two-fold purpose for both parties. Businesses here that could use African outlet and African businesses that could benefit from Afro-American market.

E. Image Control - To produce, distribute and create all material dealing with black people. To negate any other source of propaganda.

Alfred Hassler
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271
Nyack, New York

FURTHER COMMENTS ON "OF THE MAKING OF PEACE"

Prepared for the IFOR Study Commission

A few weeks after the meetings of the IFOR Council in Holland last August, Hannes de Graaf and I had an opportunity to discuss the work of the Study Commission set up by the Council to deal with the points that I raised in my paper "Of the Making of Peace." We agreed at the time that he would prepare some questions for discussion, which he has done, and that I would try to deal with some of the questions that had been raised about my paper. Because of the heavy load of work here after my return, including the continued struggle over our tax status with the federal government, I have not been able to do this in the systematic way I had hoped or in time to send the material out to the members of the commission in advance of the January meeting. This therefore is more in the nature of preliminary comments on these matters which, however, I hope will be able to advance the discussion somewhat further.

1. Unfortunately, most of the discussion at the conference and the Council meetings focused on the proposal at the very end of my paper, that the IFOR consider expanding its basis of membership beyond the explicitly Christian position. I think this is an important question and one that the IFOR needs to confront. It is not the principal point of my paper, however. I had suggested (1) that a particular new job needs to be done for and by the peace movement, (2) that the IFOR ought to consider whether it has responsibility to undertake it, and (3) that in the undertaking, it would be worth considering whether the IFOR itself might become the kind of new organization that I suggested.

Logically the first question to be dealt with is the validity of the original point: that a new form of peace organization is needed. If it is valid, then the second question is whether the IFOR has any responsibility to deal with it. Only after that has also been decided in the affirmative, does the question arise of whether the IFOR itself ought to become this new "Order of Humanity," in the process expanding the basis of its membership. In this supplementary paper, therefore, I am dealing only with this first point and its immediate implications.

2. In effect, I have made two points concerning the need for a new kind of international peace movement:

a. The need to move from a generally protest--resistance--horrors-of-war orientation to a more "constructive" position. In the Western countries at least, it is no longer necessary for the peace organizations to convince the public that war is bad, suicidal, or whatever other adjectives we choose. There may still be a few people who believe in war as such, as a builder of virtues and a stimulus to invention, but they are very few.

Similarly, we are having exposed to us the inadequacy of protest alone. I illustrated this by the paper by Lester Grinspoon, "The Unacceptability of Disquieting Facts." Dr. Grinspoon's thesis is that when human beings are confronted with unpleasant facts with which they are unable to cope, and for which they are unable to find resolutions, they escape these by pretending that they do not exist, and even by becoming angry against those who insist that they do. This provides a significant explanation for the much-deplored "apathy" of the public in the face of immense danger.

b. The technological revolution, not only with regard to weapons but in almost every other field of human endeavor, makes it necessary for the peace movement to take a new look at its operations and methods, as well as its objectives. The weapons revolution has totally negated the popular assumption that in the last analysis, when disputes and disagreements could not be solved in any other way, war was available. War is not available any longer, at least not in any sense compatible with continued survival.

At the same time other enormous changes have occurred in the whole matter of industrial production and the creation or discovery of new sources of power. The point was made by Philip Eastman at the conference after I had spoken that he did not come from a country of great affluence and could not therefore speak from that perspective. I want to insist that we must all speak from that perspective. In the United States, by an accident of history, we have been put in the front row of the arena in which this technological revolution is occurring, but its consequences are already being seen in Western Europe and Japan and they will follow for the rest of the world inevitably if the world remains at peace long enough. What I am saying is that the peace movement can no longer be content to react to phenomena that have become crystal clear to everybody; it must be prepared to anticipate what is coming and to try to deal with the consequences before they become unmanageable.

3. From these circumstances I have concluded that we need a new peace effort, distinguished from what has gone before by two factors:

a. It must be a world peace movement rather than a national one. The technological revolution has made virtually every domestic problem a world problem; we cannot continue to have the vast inequities between the industrialized countries and the undeveloped ones that exist now. Communication and transportation, as well as the weapons themselves, have shrunk the globe to such a point that we must be conscious of the fact that we solve these problems together or we are destroyed by them together.

Historically it is to be presumed that the world would move from nationalism to regionalism and only after an extended period there, in the course of which there would be ferocious wars between regional groupings, would it move to a world society. We cannot, unfortunately, wait for history to operate in this way. This is one of the elements that I think leads W. H. Ferry to say that we are at "a disjuncture of history." The regional groupings that we now see occurring inevitably will become power blocs that will confront and destroy each other before ever they are able to move to the larger integrated whole. Therefore if we are to survive as a race we must clearly find some way of jumping over the regional period.

The peace movement in general has lagged behind governments and military organizations in not moving even to a form of regionalism. We have been trapped by our poverty, our meager resources of personnel, and our unimaginativeness in peace programs that have been largely oriented to national cultures and boundaries. But it is not enough now for us to move as far as governments and military groups have moved, to regionalism; we must make the jump that we foresee for mankind and create a movement that embraces and enlists the enthusiasm of people the world over.

b. Such an enlistment of peace-loving persons around the world is not likely to take place with a world peace organization oriented around the negative ideas of protest and resistance, so consequently the new peace movement that I am talking about must be Utopian, holding forth a "vision of the end" worth striving for. The other aspect of the technological revolution, of course, is that the means now are at hand or within sight for creating a society on a world scale in which poverty can be largely banished, disease conquered, and the conditions of a decent life in a material sense at least created for all people.

The peace movement that I am talking about, while not neglecting the element of refusal to go along any longer with governments in archaic war-making nationalistic efforts, must concentrate on the statement and dramatization of this kind of a Utopian vision.

4. In the larger sense, a peace movement consists of a great many different influences working on history:

a. There is the whole intellectual and literary thrust, of writers, teachers, poets and speakers who develop in a variety of ways the prophetic view of a world at peace and a world united. This has begun to develop in our society, much too slowly of course, but still it has begun to develop. Books are coming out, articles are being written, discussion groups on college campuses are being formed. A few items illustrative of this have already been sent to members of the commission; a reading list of others should be created.

b. The scientific undergirding of the new concept of society. This also is developing, both within the natural and the social sciences. It is essential that the peace movement understand the ways in which the new scientists look at the difficulties that confront them in their assigned tasks. (And in looking, we need to keep in mind that 90 percent of all the scientists who ever lived in the world are alive today.) What distinguishes this method is what one commentator has referred to as the "problem-solving approach." The question with such men and women is not whether a problem can be solved, but how and how long. Assuming that the resources are available, the scientists are prepared to sit down and, after a period, come up with an answer to virtually anything that is required of them.

I saw a dramatic illustration of this a couple of years ago, in a conversation with a brilliant young scientist in the field of ecystics (the science of human habitation). We were talking about the need of half of the world's people for decent housing. He, who came from the "think factory" of a large aircraft manufacturing company, said in all seriousness that what we ought to do was to put a group of scientists like himself in a room with a blackboard at one end of it. At the top of the blackboard would be the present fact: "1963--X hundreds of millions of families without adequate homes." and at the bottom the objective: "1973--all families decently housed." With a united world mobilized behind the effort, he had no doubt at all that within the ten years the problem could be solved.

The development of this enormous new scientific potential, the technological improvements of production that are being demonstrated in the mushrooming rise of automation, and the astonishing new sources of power available, mean that existing economic systems, based on the assumption of the distribution of inadequate supplies (an economy of scarcity) are no longer adequate. We have moved into a period in which there is an economy of abundance just over the horizon, and in which therefore the unhappy aspects of unbridled competition can be greatly reduced.

c. The slow erosion of archaic concepts in government. In the United States we are badly hampered by a parliamentary system that puts a premium on old age and conservatism, but away from Congress it is apparent that many young and brilliant men are getting into government who are aware of the things we are talking about. Of course they are greatly limited by the whole institution of government, the commitment to "national interests," and the vested interests of the military, but in many ways they are ahead of popular thinking, at least in the U.S.

d. The "organized peace movement," consisting of organizations of individuals whose function it is to interpret some of the ideas and materials produced and disseminated by the three groups above and through popularization and dramatization to develop a public opinion that is capable of influencing history. This, of course, is what we have been most intimately associated with and what we ordinarily think of as "the peace movement."

I am making the point here that the movement toward peace in fact includes all of these elements (and of course others could be added also), and that our consideration must take this into account. My proposal to the IFOR does not attempt to usurp or duplicate the functions of the other groupings, but only to deal with the so-called organized peace movement and its responsibilities in this situation. The development of intellectual, literary, scientific and political thought related to peace and the new society is going on. We are generally associated with it in one way or another, but we are not ordinarily able to create or direct it. What we are able to do, as we have been doing, is to find ways of representing in a popular way to the general public the implications of this new thought. It is on this that I want to concentrate.

5. If we talk about a peace organization, therefore, that deals with these problems in this kind of way, it seems to me again it has to have two essential characteristics:

a. First it should itself symbolize the new society, so that it may enlist individuals and their enthusiasm. It must represent, on however inadequate a scale, a community of humanity around the world as it confronts the institutionalized forces of political and economic power. It must become, as I have suggested before, a kind of "government in exile" for humanity.

This means of course that it must have individual membership. Membership must have no slightest suspicion of discrimination by reason of national, racial or religious affiliations. The "Order" must seek recruits from every part of the world on the basis of as eloquent but uncompromising a statement of purpose as can be created.

This in itself seems to me to be of major psychological importance and ought not to be dependent upon a complete and adequate statement of what the organization's total program would be. For a great many members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation its program is relatively unimportant. They are members because it is a fellowship of people who are committed to a particular way of life. In the same way, the "Order of Humanity," or whatever it is called, has to be a fellowship of persons who in their own imaginations and beings have found the will to be a part of a community that is larger than their existing national, racial or religious affiliations. In this instance, of course, the national identity is the most urgent, since in our time it is out of the national identity that the problems of war arise, the justification of political and economic systems that stand in opposition to one another and so on. But the important thing is that just as in 1914 there needed to be a Fellowship of Reconciliation made up of those who could not simultaneously hold to their Christian faith and to the practice of war, so there now needs to be a fellowship of those who cannot hold to their humanistic values and simultaneously to the war-making, nationalistic, imperialistic and economically exploiting organization of society.

b. As the organization develops a presence and a staff, it should demonstrate in highly visible ways the nature of the society that it hopes to see created. Thus it is less urgent that such a group send out speakers to harangue people about the general nature of the new world than it is to convene a group of scientists to consider the problem of dealing with illiteracy, or the reclamation of deserts, or the problem of modernization of agriculture, or dozens of other similar things, and then publicize these discoveries. What would be essential of course would be a consistent and continuous reiteration that it is only the militaristic and nationalistic organization of society that stands in the way of achieving the kind of improvements under discussion. I am saying here that education does not take place so much by direct assault as by the constant reiteration of the realities on which we would build; that we do not create a popular movement by playing on people's fears and worries, but by giving them a vision that appeals to their best instincts and putting it in such terms as make it seem feasible and achievable.

6. It was argued in August that such an organization, transcending religious differences especially, would be so diffuse and vague as to lose the drive that comes from a specific deep commitment.

It seems to me that the fallacy to this line of thought is in the assumption that there can be precision and commitment only in terms of religious identification. This is hardly the case. Nationalism has a far stronger hold on most men today than has conventional religion. Such an organization as I am suggesting would have a very precise set of beliefs that would commit those who are a part of it to the building of such a world society as we have talked about here. For millions

of people this is the real issue today. It has far more reality for many of them than either their religious or their nationalistic allegiances. For others, as for me, this kind of commitment to a society freed of the prejudices and divisions created by national and racial and religious prejudice is itself the deepest expression of the Christian faith and provides a working basis for cooperation for very precise goals exactly as the Statement of Purpose in the American FOR provides it for those of many credal and denominational affiliations who comprise its membership.

7. This vision of a "Government in Exile" for humanity is taking hold of many people in many places. Its realization is not necessarily a responsibility of the Fellowship of Reconciliation except that to the degree that the FOR considers itself to be a peace organization committed to the reconciling of conflicts and disputes and the building of a better world, it has an obvious responsibility to assist with efforts consistent with these objectives. It may be that eventually the spark to start it will come from the new International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace; it may come from the Fellowship of Reconciliation or from still another group.

8. Next steps. It seems to me that the following need to be explored:

a. The basic statement of position. This would be a kind of manifesto drafted to try to express the three essential elements of the Order of Humanity: (1) the acceptance of world community by its members, (2) statement of the Utopian society, (3) the rejection of conventional political means of achieving the society, including war and exploitation.

b. The nature of membership. Membership obviously ought to be on the basis of agreement with the manifesto. A membership card of some sort, probably in the form of a passport, should be provided, and membership should be solicited from all parts of the world.

c. Communication. It will be necessary to find some way of sending the basic minimum of materials in a variety of languages, and to locate individuals in the different parts of the world who will act as sort of sub-stations for dissemination. I believe it is possible, through the use of air mail and the translation facilities available in a place like Geneva, to manage this, though it would obviously be suicidal to attempt to set up the publication of a regular bulletin going to all members.

d. Office and staff. A full time staff of three or four people, plus necessary secretarial help, seems to me to be a minimum to get it started. This would include an administrative head, a

publications and communication director, a public relations expert, and a field secretary. Considering the amount of mail and publication that would be required, I would suppose that a minimum budget of $100,000 a year would have to be contemplated to start. My guess would be that, undesirable as it is from many points of view, Geneva would be the most natural place for the central office to be located in view both of the neutrality of Switzerland and also the availability of contact with translators and representatives of various nations through the United Nations.

e. Relations with existing peace organizations. I do not believe that the Order of Humanity can be brought into existence through a cooperative effort of peace organizations or a confederation, because each organization necessarily has its own point of view and a vested interest in that point of view and its membership. None would be willing to surrender what they now have in favor of an untried and unproven new approach. Moreover there would be strong contention among the groups in such a confederation for dominance of their own particular ideas, and of course a tendency to utilize the techniques which the organizations themselves had used. At the same time it will be necessary to work with the friendly cooperation of such organizations and this would be one of the first tasks of the staff and sponsors to achieve. Hopefully peace groups in various countries would serve as the disseminating agencies for materials put out by the central office of the Order.

f. Sponsorship. If this is to have any hope of succeeding at all, it would have to be sponsored by a group both widely representative of the various nationalities of the world and of great distinction. It would therefore be unwise to begin to publicize the Order until after a group of fifty or sixty sponsors, from almost as many countries, representing the literary, intellectual, scientific and artistic riches of the world had become the sponsors. At that point presumably the best way to announce it would be through the publication of the manifesto, which would be signed by all of these people, along with the announcement of the creation of the new Order of Humanity.

g. Program. The emphasis on the existence of the Order as focus of world community to which individuals can relate themselves does not mean that the organization should not and indeed must not have a program of its own. This program, as I have suggested before, would be of two varieties:

(1.) The dramatization and visualization of the Utopian vision. This would take all kinds of forms limited only by the imagination of the directors and the resources available. I have thought in terms of creating a kind of umbrella under which such scientific conferences as I have suggested before might be held. There could also be such things as the Center for the Study of Democratic

Institutions is talking about in the summoning of representatives from the smaller non-committed nations together to set up forms of a world constitution and present it to the great powers. There could be conferences of political scientists dealing with the political issues, of economists dealing with the problems of an economy influx, of agronomists, health experts and all the rest.

(2) The Order ought also to recruit a panel of reconcilers who would move into crisis situations and attempt to reconcile them or, failing that, to produce reports that would be dependable and truthful statements of what the real issues are. I have already stated and elaborated this in my original paper so I will not do so at further length here.

9. For the commission. The fact is that until this meeting in January the Study Commission of the IFOR has not functioned. This therefore is just the beginning of our work together. I would hope that the commission would now put in time over the next six months in a pretty careful consideration, through correspondence as well as meetings, of the various possibilities presented by this proposal, including the question of how it might best be implemented. As soon as there is something concrete, I would hope that we would begin to bring into our discussions representatives of other peace organizations whom we know, other individuals whose concerns are great in this area and who we think might have something to offer, etc. What eventually will come out of this ought to be left fairly open, except that the fundamental ideas would hopefully be kept intact.

December 30, 1963

AH:hh

Peace

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OF THE MAKING OF PEACE

We are peacemakers.
The role we have chosen--or the assigment we have accepted--is the making of peace. If the words are not a measure of our achievements, they are at least an accurate statement of our aspirations. We seek to make peace, not simply to protest against war. The refusal to participate in war, by which pacifists are popularly identified, is only the other side of the coin: a moral requirement but also, in our judgment, a prerequisite without which the making of peace cannot be undertaken.

We are not an esoteric little group seeking ways of separating ourselves from the rest of the world. We are not sectarians, finding satisfaction in the winning of interminable debates or the contemplation of the accuracy of our own direful predictions. We are not a fellowship of those who would closet themselves in self-satisfied seclusion from the turmoil and the torment; we believe that we have insights and understandings that are essential to the alleviation of the world's agony. We are--or would be--makers of peace.

The most generous estimate of our accomplishments to date could not include the claim that we have succeeded. Some things we have done. We have kept the discussion of peace, and the claims of pacifism, alive at times and in places there they might otherwise have died. We have occasionally, in significant but limited ways, helped to arrest or slow actions and policies that might have led to war. But in terms relevant to the crisis of our times, peace has not been made and it is therefore beyond argument that we-we peacemakers have not yet succeeded in making peace.

Since this is so, it is reasonable that we should stop from time to time to take a hard look at ourselves and what we are doing. We have made a point of reminding our fellow men that the world has changed since 1945; that even such apparent practical value as war might have had before then has now disappeared, and that therefore the assumptions of the discussion about peace must be considered fundamentally changed also.

It is a valid warning, but perhaps it needs to be turned against ourselves too. We need to review the extent to which our own activities have kept pace with these deep going changes, and whether we are not continuing essentially what we did in these years before the nuclear age.

To many of us it has seemed reasonable since 1945, that an understanding of the dimensions of the threat that hangs over the world would move millions of people to energetic efforts for peace. Consequently, a substantial proportion of the work of the peace movement in most countries has gone into the job of emphasizing and underlining the destructive power of nuclear weapons and the undependability of the military and political controls that are intended to hold them in check. In this we have been joined by scientists and others not formally part of the organized peace movement.

The result of these efforts has certainly been the mobilization of tens of thousands of individuals for peace activities who were not previously so involved. The CND organizations and such groups as Women Strike for Peace have come into existence largely because a substantial number of people, not pacifists, have been moved to demonstrate their anxiety about war and their insistence on peace.

But these are still a very small minority, and there are signs that they too may gradually be sifting down to a hard core of indefatigables, with the larger constituency drifting back into apathy as the demonstrations fail to change the course of history, and more profound answers are not apparent. And the masses, whose survival is quite as much at stake as ours, and quite as important to them as to anybody who has ever carried a sign in a vigil, do not respond.

Why they do not respond is the most urgent question for the peace movement to consider and answer. Clearly our "reasonable" assumption is not valid; faced with an imminent danger of unimaginable proportions, most people go on about their daily lives as though it did not exist, and when they are confronted directly by the challenge, more often than not respond with hostility to the challenger.

The reason for their non-response has been available to us for a long time in the insights of psychology and religion alike. We have been warned repeatedly that people cannot often be "scared" into constructive action, and that they will not discard even an acknowledgedly bad course of action for no alternative at all.

The problem has nowhere been more convincingly stated, so far as I know, than in a paper by Dr. Lester Grinspoon of the Harvard Medical School, titled "The Unacceptability of Disquieting Facts," and delivered on December 27, 1962, to a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. If there were some way by which time and space could be maneuvered to permit quotation here of Dr. Grinspoon's entire paper I would quote it; in the absence of such maneuverability, I urge you to read it at the first opportunity, and substitute here the entirely inadequate summary:

Human beings have a highly developed ability to reject, in one way or another, disquieting facts with which they feel unable to deal. In the process of rejection, they are able to act as though the facts do not exist, and even to develop a considerable hostility to those who, with the best of motives, insist that they do.

Since Dr. Grinspoon's paper was written in the context of the threat of nuclear war, it is not necessary to strain for the application to our work. The "disquieting facts" about nuclear war are apparent. They have been publicized widely. The response has been pathetically inadequate. If Dr. Grinspoon's thesis is correct, it has been inadequate because the presentation of the disquieting facts has not been accompanied by the presentation of any convincing way of dealing with those facts. In other words, we have presented no persuasive alternative to the present way of dealing with the international tensions that lead to war.

You will say that there is nothing novel about this, people have been demanding for years to know what "constructive" alternatives we offer—and in a sense I feel guilty about beating this same dead horse again. But I also feel stubborn about it, for I suspect the same process of rejection of disquieting facts may be operating for us: we have recognized our inability to state the convincing alternative but, having no way of coping with it, tend to reject it and go about our conventional forms of peace education and action. So now, being stubborn, I want to explore briefly the kinds of response the peace movement in general has displayed to prospective converts.

II

That response would appear to have seven aspects:

(1) Protest. Many of the most visible responses are the demonstrations of protest: against war, against nuclear testing, against particular aspects of a total governmental policy. Usually they include generalized admonitions concerning alternatives: "Hands Off Cuba"—"Brotherhood, Not Bombs"—"Strengthen the United Nations," etc., but these are so unspecific as to be statements of hope rather than suggestions of method.

(2) Insistence on Negotiation. A great deal of emphasis has gone into the insistence that governments must stay at the conference table, must persist in efforts to reach agreement regardless of difficulties and discouragement. Few people would disagree with this, but few people see it as an alternative to present policies, since governments maintain that this is what they are doing any way, and that only the uncooperative attitude of the other side stands in the way of agreement.

(3) Conscientious Objection. The pacifist groups are primarily identified with the conscientious refusal of individuals to take part in war or preparations for war (which ought to be a matter of prayerful concern for them, since conscientious objection should be only the negative aspect of a positive "other way"). For most people, this probably seems even less relevant to the world's dilemma than it did before the nuclear age. Their own uneasiness over the monstrous immoralities in which they are involved may induce a more sympathetic attitude toward the CO as representative of a non-rational but passionately moral rejection of gross evil, but does not lead them to accept conscientious objection as a politically relevant alternative to present policies.

(4) Unilateral Disarmament. Here the pacifist's position becomes more hard-bitten, more radical, and more relevant, yet it has not won acceptance with more than a tiny fragment of the population of any country on earth, and seems unlikely to do so in the foreseeable future. This may be because it has not been presented convincingly, with a due regard for the real values and fears of the average human being. It may also be that, as some pacifists maintain, unilateral disarmament is the only possible salvation for our society, and that if it cannot be accepted, then there is no hope for society's survival. But, whether this is so or not, the fact remains that no realistic view of present society is likely to see any great nation undertaking to disarm unilaterally.

(5) Unilateral Initiatives. The newest emphasis in peace efforts in the United States reflects the entry into the peace movement of the kind of "sophisticated" political thinking that, on the other side, is represented by the Herman Kahns and the Rand Corporations. It is one of the two basic elements of the cooperative effort called Turn Toward Peace in which a variety of American peace organizations, with varying degrees of assurance, are participating. It represents a rejection of a rigid, military-oriented policy in favor of flexibility and a minimum degree of risk-taking. To the extent that it argues that "we" as well as "they" are doing things wrong and need to change, it is a fractionalized version of the pacifist position.

It is vulnerable to criticism from a number of points, principally that unless it is clearly within the context of gradual unilateral disarmament it is not much more than a statement of enlightened diplomacy. One critic* points out that, without the name, many of these things are being done right along anyway.

*Robert A. Levine, "Unilateral Initiatives: A Cynic's View," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, January, 1963.

It appears essentially to be a means of advising one's own government about how to proceed in dealing with the "enemy", and as such must be unsatisfactory to the person who feels that his government is trapped in much the way that he is. In any case, it has not so far shown any ability to arouse wide or intense support.

(6) A Stronger United Nations and World Government. The wistful attachment many people have for these, especially for a "stronger United Nations," probably means that this is the area within which any kind of persuasive alternative must operate. The United Nations is ham-strung by the limitations put on it by national sovereignty; its financial existence is increasingly precarious; its peace-keeping efforts, while dramatic, can operate only outside the area of tension between the great power blocs, which is where the danger of world war exists. Nevertheless, the vision of something that, even as imperfectly as the U.N., stands "above" the contesting nations, remains with many and probably indicates that thousands are sufficiently disenchanted with even their own national governments as to be willing to identify with a just world government, if such seemed genuinely possible.

(7) Nonviolent Resistance to Aggression. Among pacifists a considerable interest exists in developing trained cadres prepared to resist aggression and evil non-violently, either independently or as an unarmed UN police force. Concrete developments here are multiplying small training centers or courses in nonviolence on the one hand, and the World Peace Brigade on the other. Again there is no evidence to suggest that this has any greater appeal as the elusive "alternative" than others outlined. Probably there are two reasons for this: (1) While something like WPB may have relevance to the problems of small, emerging nations, or as the vehicle for a demonstration like the Delhi-Peking March, it is hard for anyone to take it seriously as effective intervention against the supersonic planes and intercontinental missiles of the nuclear powers; and (2) it tends to support an interpretation of the world tension as a need to defend the "good" against the assaults of the "evil", and to obscure the more fundamental view of an entire system that needs basic revisions. (I am speaking here of the way in which these responses appear to the general public, not of the interpretation which their own partisans would give them. WPB supporters, for example, probably include more who take a thoroughly revolutionary view of society than any other group of comparable size.)

This overview is not intended to imply dismissal as unworthy or valueless of any of these "responses" to the world threat. On the contrary, I tend to believe that all are necessary to a peace effort. They are an influence in holding back the rash and reckless; some of them perform the essential task of focussing on the moral aspects of preparing for nuclear war; all of them keep alive the discussion of peace, and this in itself is very important.

But they do not do something else:

(1) Present a convincing alternative to present policies;

(2) Provide a visible goal worth working for;

(3) Provide a means by which individuals may identify themselves with the struggle for that goal.

Hence they do not affect the escape from reality by which most of our fellow citizens deal with the threat.

Of course we have to take into account the possibility that events have already gone too far, that so much evil and injustice have been piled up in history as to make escape from the cataclysmic consequences impossible. But recognition of that possibility is not the same or acceptance of it as an inevitability; our commission is not that of a collection of cassandras, but of a fellowship of peacemakers. Therefore while we have time let us consider whether there may be a program that we have not yet fully explored or developed, that would provide a goal, an alternative, and a means.

III

What would be the ingredients of such a program?

(1) It must offer what W. H. Ferry refers to as a "vision of the end"-- an objective realistically attainable and emotionally worth working for. A test-ban treaty, or even world disarmament, is not such an objective. A world organized as a human society, prepared to apply to human problems the enormous capacities of modern technology, designed to reduce poverty, disease, illiteracy, exploitation, is. The creation of such a society, in which the end is genuine human brotherhood and the transdending of national barriers, could enlist the enthusiasm of men and women, and especially of youth, the world around.

(2) It must provide a way in which the "vision" takes concrete form, so that individuals who yearn for such a world can see what the 1961 IFOR Council meeting called the "Shape of the World at Peace," and take immediate steps to identify with it. It must be world-wide in scope, transcending the divisions of nationality, color, race, religion. It must provide ways in which the persons who identify with it, from many sections of the world, will feel at once a part of it, sharing actual, creative work to realize the "vision" with their counterparts everywhere.

(3) It must not merely forecast the world community of the future--it must be the world community of the present, the forerunner in spirit of a society of and for humanity. It must be the forum from which spokesmen for humanity address all governments; it must serve as a kind of "government in exile" for the mass of humanity now so greatly disenfranchised by their own governments.

(4) It must provide for the continuous dramatic interjection into the stream of human thought of the creative possibilities that exist for a good society, and also provide for the intervention of its representatives, speaking for this microcosm of world community, into the disputes of nations, bringing the word of both reconciliation and justice.

(5) It must renounce war and the use of coercive violence as a basis for the organization of society.

IV

Assuming the desirability of such a vehicle for the world-wide yearning for peace, is its creation practicable or a fantasy? I am suggesting that it is practicable. The suggestions that follow, concerning the nature of such an effort, are tentative and intended to be provocative of further exploration, but they are the outlines of a proposal by which the "vision" may be given flesh, the "shape of the world at peace" become slowly and attractively visible, a magnet to which more and more human loyalty may be drawn, and from which more and more creative ideas go forth.

I begin with the assumption that it would be organizational in form, with individual adherents, and with a headquarters and a staff. Ideally it would be a fellowship of reconciliation, with what those words imply apart from their present organizational association. I wish it were possible to believe that it might be the Fellowship of Reconciliation, but I am aware of the formidable obstacles that stand in the way. For purposes of discussion, therefore, let us refer to it as a kind of Order of Humanity, the organizational expression of a fellowship of those who want now to express their identification with all men of good will everywhere.

Its activities would be such as to fill three major functions:

(1) Provide a concrete, visible, simple means by which individuals of all countries may express their personal identification with the fact of world community, in being and to be;

(2) Dramatize and emphasize the attractiveness of the "shape of the world at peace," as technology has made it possible for it to be;

(3) Suggest ways in which its members and representatives can contribute directly to the building of such a world.

To state such objectives is, of course, far simpler than to realize them. The need for some such focus of world-wide, rather than nationally confined, loyalties and peace efforts is dramatized by the increasing number of proposals for cooperative peace efforts on a world scale, or for new "peace conventions" of one sort or another. Most such proposals so far have not taken adequate account of the limited resources of money and personnel available, or of the built-in difficulties of organizational ideological commitments, or of the hard facts of practical political reality. Nor do they, so far, show signs of building for permanence; the dramatic impact of the transitory excitement of a large conference is not a solid base for an effective peace effort over the long haul.

The Order of Humanity--or whatever it is called--will be a failure if its builders expect quick results. It may succeed if it is planned within the limitations of available resources, and with the objective of creating gradually a force that in five or ten years will be genuinely effective in crystallizing a world public opinion for peace, and transmitting it to the decision-making powers. Such planning should begin at once; what follows is only the most tentative suggestion of what may be possible.

(1) In order to provide individual identification, there would be a form of membership, which would represent a kind of world citizenship. Appropriate physical evidence such as membership cards in the form of passports would be used to give it high visibility. Hopefully some kind of communication, utilizing an air-mail newsletter to be produced and distributed by volunteers in the various countries, could be developed. In addition, projects of various sorts, as suggested below, would heighten the sense of fellowship among the members, and the feeling of involvement in the actual processes of building the conditions of peace.

(2) There is an enormous quantity of material already in existence through which the "shape of the world at peace" can be dramatized. Specifically the job of research and interpretation would be important here, getting from the United Nations and other statistical studies the human interest facts of the way in which a properly directed modern technology could deal with the real problems men and women face. For example, at a time when scientists repeatedly assert that we have the knowledge and skill now to provide food enough for everyone, and when the production of food is held back in some countries to prevent surpluses, the United Nations reports that more people are starving to death now than ever before in the world's history.

The emphasis here must be at a continuous stream of popularized reports and statements filling in the picture of how a society would look in which man's resources, freed from the limitations of national self-interests, were devoted to the job of feeding the hungry, housing the shelterless and healing the sick.

From time to time it might be possible to set up international conferences of specialists in given fields, who would be asked to focus on a particular problem--for example, the reclamation of deserts--beginning with the assumption that they have available to them the resources of a united world.

Skillfully done, what would emerge gradually would be the "vision of the end" of which W. H. Ferry spoke: a focus of hope and an objective for effort with which it would be possible for people to identify.

(3) The opportunity for members and representatives of the organization to work actively at the building of peace could take several forms:

(a) The development of a pattern of "reconciliation teams" of international specialists to discover the facts of particular international disagreements and to try to findgrounds for reconciliation and nonviolent solutions. The effectiveness of this would, of course, be related to the growth in prestige of the Order as a dependable source of information and reconciliation, oriented to the interests of the world community rather than that of national states.

(b) Along with the development of such teams, would come the creation of a network of contacts in as many countries as possible, able to secure the facts in a given situation, make contacts with those who have influence in that country, and publicize to the degree possible the findings and recommendations of the Order of Humanity or its teams. (Obviously these would not ordinarily be comprised of the same persons.) Thus, even where the reconciliation team might not be successful in resolving the conflict, the Order could be the source of reports that would gradually come to have a degree of credibility not now a part of most of our reporting.

(c) Hopefully a pattern could be developed of involvement of individual members in the contribution of a specified period of time, weekly or monthly, to "work for peace." It would be necessary to interpret this "work for peace," as being work for the alleviation of human

suffering in a variety of social welfare efforts within their own communities, as well as more conventional "peace work." The objective here, of course, is to create the realization that all over the world members of this same fellowship are joining at the same time, or for the same period, in the actual building of the society in which they would like to live.

It might be desirable also to create opportunities for representatives of the local chapters of the Order to participate in international efforts of the same sort: work camps, etc. Throughout, the Order and its members must be identified with the vast needs and surging aspirations of the multitudes of human beings who have been left behind so long.

The major issue of our times is not the struggle between Communism and "the free world," or even the question of war and peace. The major issue of our times is the manner in which deep-going social changes, of such a character as legitimately to be called revolutionary, will be accomplished. It is no longer a question of whether these social changes will occur: they are already beginning to occur in many parts of the world, and the decisions are no longer in the hands of those who wish that they would not occur. The issue is whether they will occur through violence or nonviolence, and whether the consequence will be a world more deeply divided or one that can move in the direction of a single community of brotherhood.

In the South of the United States and in Africa, where nonviolence has been significantly present, the tendency to move out of impatience with inadequate accomplishments to violence becomesdaily more ominous. In South America, where nonviolence has made almost no impact whatever, the situation is equally grave, as it is in Asia.

Those of us who believe in the ability of nonviolent methods to deal effectively with this problem of social change and revolution must consider whether it is enough to apply the tactics of nonviolence to individual circumstances in isolated places, or whether we must not now seek a total strategy that envisions a nonviolently organized total world community, in which the well-being of all is the responsibility of all.

Alfred Hassler
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Nyack, New York

MANIFESTO

The Order of Humanity

Explanatory Note: The Council of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in July, 1963, appointed a Commission on the Future, at least in part as a consequence of a paper I presented a few days earlier to the IFOR's biennial conference, entitled "Of the Making of Peace." This Commission met in Basle, Switzerland, in January, 1964, under the chairmanship of Prof. Hannes de Graaf, and discussed this and other material bearing on the suggestion that a new world "peace movement" is needed. The Commission agreed to continue and extend its discussions, and as one next step proposed that I develop a draft of the kind of statement or "manifesto" that could both announce and explain the nature and purposes of such an "Order of Humanity."

This is that draft, ruefully presented considerably later than I had hoped, and even more tentative and incomplete than I had feared. It is not presented as a finished product, but as a further contribution to an important discussion. It is not a homogeneous document, but is in part the substance of a genuine manifesto, in part a prospectus of what the OOH would be and do.

Throughout this discussion, including the original papers, I have tried to keep proposals within the resources of the groups and individuals who would be likely to launch and support such a group. This obviously works to the detriment of the prospectus as a blueprint for world salvation, since those resources are unfortunately very limited, but it does provide an element of realism, I think, to what otherwise may seem a recklessly optimistic document.

Somewhat similarly, I have tried to avoid the polemic in favor of the easily apprehended communication of fact and concern. Before it became a public document, it would obviously have to have the necessary pyrotechnical features added to it.

With these reservations, therefore, this Draft Manifesto is prepared for the meeting of the Commission scheduled for December 7 and 12 at Cambridge, England.

November 18, 1964 Alfred Hassler

P.S. The Manifesto was the basis for a lively discussion by the Commission on the Future, and its members are now committed to a further penetrating consideration of all of the proposals listed in it. I am sending you a copy because I believe that you also will be interested in it and I would welcome your comments, preferably before March 1.

A.H.

Text of the Draft Manifesto

As far back as history runs, the condition of man's life has been one of division and separation. Physical facts of geographic circumstance, problems of communication across barriers of distance and language, even the codification of humanity's hopes and fears in a variety of religions, all have operated to keep men apart. Loyalties have been to limited circles of tribe, state or nation, and too often the political structures erected to implement those loyalties have served to widen rather than narrow the basic division.

Within organized societies also division has dominated, even when verbal commitment is given to philosophical or religious teachings that emphasize the need and desirability of community. Competition for wealth and power has often put a premium on greed and led to the heartless exploitation of men by men. The cruelty with which individuals and groups have subordinated the welfare of their fellow human beings to their own purposes has been evident throughout man's history, in the commerce of peace as well as in the overt horror of war, and has led many thoughtful observers to the despairing conclusion that cruelty and selfishness must always dominate human society and the vision of a world at peace remain forever hopeless.

Yet through the division there has run also another theme: the awareness of a common humanity, and of the things that draw us toward one another despite our differences. Men draw breath and seek sustenance in the same ways at opposite ends of the earth. They long for love and companionship; the affection of a father for his child is not determined by the language he speaks or by whether he cultivates an Asian rice paddy or works at a desk in a European office. Fear, pain, hunger, despair, hope—the deepest emotions man can experience are experienced by all men everywhere. Cruelty and greed are often confounded by compassion and selflessness, and both alike are found in men of all races and nations and classes, and often in the same persons.

Danger—the New Bond

In our day this sense of common humanity has been dramatically intensified by the abrupt new fact of common and universal danger. The development of nuclear weapons capable of obliterating life on a continental scale is a fact of our lives; the invention of rockets capable of hurling these obscene engines of evil across continents and oceans is even now being supplemented by plans for launching platforms hung in space from which not the remotest spot on earth would be safe. That men and nations continue with almost frantic haste to construct these suicidal idiocies, and to do so in the name of peace and national security, seems to confirm the despair of those who see in the future only a few brief years of mounting tension culminating in the total destruction of human society.

Yet with the danger there has also been brought hope. The same scientific miracles that have produced these weapons have provided humanity with the tools by which to set itself free from the bondage of centuries of poverty, illness and ignorance. Within the limitations of human mortality, we stand within sight of a time when all men could live secure in a reasonably decent and comfortable life, free alike from the exploitation of hunger and of greed.

With these new tools, moreover, there have grown new methods, in the calculated mobilization of the immense resources of 20th century technology to attack and resolve particular problems of human needs. Already the accomplishments of the new technology, even when hobbled by archaic political and economic limitations, have been staggering. Freed of these limitations and directed to enlarging the well-being of all humanity, technology could accomplish such miracles in a generation as are now beyond our wildest hopes. And in the accomplishing of those miracles of technical achievement, and the enormously widened horizons of intellectual and artistic development that would accompany them, humanity could find a challenge and a reward far deeper and richer than those of competition and war can ever be.

So all we human beings, whatever our political, ideological or religious loyalties, live together within the paradox of end and beginning. We can choose together to construct the society in which we can live and prosper despite our differences, or we can cherish our separateness a little longer until we are brought forcibly together in a world community of death.

A Larger Loyalty

There is nothing new to the assertion that men must develop a new and wider loyalty, and that this must be to nothing less than the whole human family. Philosophers and poets and prophets have spoken of such a vision across the centuries; in our time they have been joined by journalists and scientists and politicians and private citizens. Yet little has come of these longings. The poems have not been translated into substance; the attempts to draft charters and constitutions for a united world have failed for being too specific prematurely. The United Nations, constructed by practicing politicians and statesmen, has done remarkable things but remains imprisoned by the sovereignty of the nations that are its members. The regional communities of nations that have begun to evolve, out of which a world society might be expected to develop in the fullness of time, are trapped in the military and ideological competitions of their members, so that their road to world community seems likely to lead through the desert of multi-regional war.

The Order of Humanity

We who issue this Manifesto have sought to discover what new thing we, as individuals committed to the building of a free, humane, peaceful society, coming from many different cultures and nations, might do to forward our dream. We are caught again in paradox: on the one hand our conviction that such a great step forward will not come spontaneously out of the political structures of our time but only out of the insistence that committed individuals can bring to bear on them; on the other hand, our awareness of the monstrous size and complexity of the problems we confront and the inability of single individuals to influence them significantly.

No private organization can hope to mobilize such resources of scientific knowledge as are needed to multiply the food supply of our planet, to reclaim deserts, deal with the growing pollution of air and water, cope with the pressures of mounting population on housing, bring modern medical care to every corner of the globe, and the multitude of other difficulties that signify the genuine needs and worries of the men, women and children who

inhabit our world. Even nations, unless they are the very largest, cannot begin to deal effectively with such matters except together, in regional or world organizations. Yet such attempts as the nations make, whether unilateral or multilateral, are constantly frustrated by their mutual fears and suspicions, their inability to trust one another's intentions and good faith.

What then is left? Must we choose between the inactivity of despair and the hardly less despairing resignation that lodges its only hope in the efforts of political parties and governments?

We do not believe that there is any magical formula that will resolve mankin's dilemma, but we do believe that there is something more that individuals can do, and that it is important. We believe that there must be brought into this vast equation a new element: a counterforce to the forces mobilized on behalf of limited national, ideological or economic interests; a voice that speaks on behalf of all humanity rather than for limited or sectional interests. We believe, moreover, that such a new element can be brought into being through the combined efforts of those individual human beings, in all countries, who share this vision. We do not believe that any existing organization or group can serve as such a voice. No political party, no religious communion, no peace organization presently in being is sufficiently universal in scope to perform such a role.

So, because we feel its need so deeply, we have created a new organization, international in scope and worldwide in vision. We have chosen to call it an Order of Humanity, since it represents a commitment by, for and to humanity in general, and we invite men, women and youth of all countries to join us in making it a significant influence for peace and justice.

What It Will Be

The ORDER OF HUMANITY will in its own existence incarnate the fact that millions of persons throughout the world do now accept the fact of world community, in being and to be. Without attempting any of the formalities of statehood, it will serve symbolically as a kind of government-in-exile for these would-be citizens of a society not yet brought to birth.

The ORDER OF HUMANITY will not be aligned politically or ideologically. It recognizes the inevitability of political organization and action, but believes that political, economic and social structures may vary widely within a world community without fatally contradicting the socially useful orientation of such a community. It holds that in any case the ideal form of social organization has not yet demonstrated its superiority, and that new technological and scientific developments, including cybernation and automation, have introduced such novel considerations into the economic life of man as to require that whole new areas of re-thinking be done by the partisans of all economic and social theories.

The ORDER OF HUMANITY will express, repeatedly and in every way open to it, its insistence that all political organizations, whether national or inter-

national, must increasingly commit themselves to—

—the application of technological skills and equipment to the enrichment of human life everywhere, rather than to individual, corporate or national advantage;

—the immediate organization of the surplus productivity of "have" nations for the assistance of the "have-nots";

—the unremitting search for non-violent, orderly and universally accepted methods of resolving disputes between segments of the world community;

—urgent and continuous efforts to achieve agreement on disarmament and the renunciation of war, with arms of any nation limited to domestic police needs;

—the creation of independent multi-national commissions designed to reduce or eliminate inhibitions on trade and travel across national boundaries, to interpret the concerns and apprehensions of national communities to other similar communities, to accept responsibility for studying and reporting on all instances of legally condoned injustice and exploitation anywhere, and generally to ease the suspicions and apprehensions of national societies as they move to international order.

The ORDER OF HUMANITY, recognizing that resort to war is always justified by those on each side as the last alternative to surrender, will regard any war that erupts anywhere, however justified it may seem to be, as a set-back to its work and an imminent threat to mankind's survival. It will never sanction or approve of any war, but will try to hold together the threads of common purpose of which the fabric of the new society must ultimately be woven.

The ORDER OF HUMANITY, in the event of war or in the presence of conflicts that seem likely to lead to war, will exert whatever influence and resources it has to mediate and reconcile the dispute. Failing in that, it will report to the public, in the name of the world community, on the issues and arguments involved in the dispute. Thus it will seek to mobilize world opinion to insist that the disputants do not have recourse to war, but seek instead means of mediation and conciliation.

The ORDER OF HUMANITY stands for the well-being of the individual as the ultimate test of the justice and goodness of any order. Holding this, it must of course oppose every instance of imperialism or neo-imperialism, whether imposed by the use of military, political or economic power. Similarly it rejects as un-human any form of discriminatory judgment or action based upon the characteristics of any group to which an individual belongs, rather than upon his own acts. It will give full support and aid to non-violent efforts to correct such situations, wherever they may occur.

What It Will Do

Membership. The ORDER OF HUMANITY will be open to individual membership

only, which will depend upon acceptance of the Order's statement of principles as defined in this Manifesto, without regard to other religious, racial, national or political identification.

Membership will not be dependent upon financial support, though the Order will depend upon the contributions of its members to sustain its operations. Membership primarily will signify an association with millions of men and women whose loyalty to each other transcends other loyalties, and who consider themselves citizens of a society organized to promote the common good. In the expression of their commitment they will be asked, in the name of the Order, to allocate time and energy on a regular basis to the promotion of various enterprises leading to peace and community in their own areas, whether or not officially a part of the Order of Humanity.

Except where members request otherwise, a membership card in the form of a "world passport" will be issued by the Order. While this will have no legal standing at present it will, liked the Order itself, symbolize the present reality of the community of the future for which we are all concerned.

The total membership of the Order of Humanity will be made public as and when it seems desirable to its governing bodies; the names of individual members will be made public only on the member's permission, and will be kept secret wherever the member fears that he might be endangered by its publication.

Activities. The Order will have a central office, located in an appropriately neutral country, with a staff to be determined by the resources available. Through this staff and the volunteer associates it will seek to recruit, the Order will engage in such activities as seem likely to advance its total purposes and are consistent with its principles. For example:

(1) Human Concerns Conferences. The Order will sponsor, and wherever possible initiate, conferences of specialists to explore the ways in which modern knowledge may be applied to specific human needs. Such conferences would draw participants from all countries, and would span a wide range of concerns. Thus agronomists might be asked to consider how the world's deserts might be reclaimed for the production of food or to provide living space; medical scientists would be encouraged to draft plans for a world assault on cancer; educators might deal with the problem of an objective presentation of history in the schools of all nations; engineers and geneticists mobilized to explore the dangers and countermeasures for air pollution, population pressure, etc. In each case, participants would be asked to approach their discussion on the basis of an assumption that they had at their disposal the resources of the world community, unencumbered by political obstacles, for the accomplishment of their task. The publication of the findings of such conferences, and the realization that only the perpetuation of archaic rivalries and suspicions stands in the way of accomplishing them, would enlarge public understanding of the immense advantages of a world community, capable of so applying its resources.

(Note: I am not assuming here that any one or two conferences would achieve this result. Neither do I suppose that the recommendations of such conferences would automatically be accepted by some body and put into effect. On the contrary, it would be the realization, repeated again and again, that real solutions to real problems are completely frustrated by the absence of a political instrumentality to put them into effect, that would slowly build a public insistence on there being such an instrumentality. I emphasize this, because it is important to understand that immediate results are not expected from these conferences, but that they would be designed for a cumulative psychological effect.)

(2) Human Concerns Publications. The Order will encourage the publication in popular form of the findings of such conferences as are outlined above, along with other similar information already available from UN and other sources, about the enormous reservoir of human and mechanical skills available to the immediate enrichment of human life.

(3) Reconciliation Teams. The Order will recruit a panel of outstanding men and women of many nations from which to select smaller Reconciliation Teams as the need presents itself. Such teams will be called upon (a) in the event of actual or threatened hostilities between states, to go to the point of conflict and seek to avert hostilities and initiate reconciliation, (b) where complaints of unhuman treatment of human beings have been received, to visit, investigate and attempt to rectify the situation, (c) where efforts to reconcile in either case are rejected or fail, the team will make a public report of the issues and arguments involved, always from the perspective of the human concerns underlying the Order itself.

(4) Correspondents. The Order will establish, as rapidly as possible, a corps of volunteer correspondents in all parts of the world, with priority being given to areas where tension exists or major power resides. Such correspondents will be offour categories:

(a) Contacts. Persons sympathetic to the Order's objectives and able to establish direct contact with key figures in government, the press and other influential circles on behalf of the Order and its Reconciliation Team or other representatives.

(b) Information. Politically astute, well-informed individuals capable of reporting dependable information to the Order or its representatives.

(c) Dissemination. Persons with access to the mass media to distribute the Order's releases and publications. Such a person, or another, would also be responsible for publication and circulation within his country or area of the Order's newsletters and other key publications, particularly where the mass media are likely to be hostile or indifferent.

(5) Publications. The regular publication of a periodical directed to the entire membership will be beyond the capacities of the Order for the present. Nevertheless, a major emphasis will be put on publications and publicity, which will take several forms:

(a) Membership Communication. A regular newsletter from the central headquarters of the Order will be circulated, using the good offices of sympathetic national and international organizations and of its own correspondents. This will be brief and will be sent airmail, in the world's principal languages. It will not attempt to duplicate the contents of other publications except when the limited circulation of the original publication makes that desirable.

(b) Reports. Not only the conclusions of conferences such as those heretofore outlined, but also well-documented reports on actual or potential tension situations, instances of unpublicized injustice, and similar matters. These will be made available to the world press and also, via the Order's correspondents, to its members and the public at large where the press is unsympathetic or under unsympathetic control.

(c) Creative Works. The Order will seek to enlist creative writers and artists in the task of dramatizing and interpreting the vision and task of the Order in the particular ways open to them, and in the rich cultures of the world's many peoples.

(d) Interpretative. Pamphlets and leaflets interpreting the Order's own work and principles must of course be produced. Along with these the Order will draw attention to such other publications as will increase public understanding of issues of war and peace and related human concerns, and at times publish such materials itself.

(6) The Sense of Common Effort. The existence of the Order of Humanity, by itself is one symbol of a common will to peace and a human society. Another such symbol will be the commitment of members of the Order to allocate specific periods of their own time to the work for peace in their own communities and countries. Since the building of a peaceful world community is inseparable from the creation of the conditions of peace everywhere, such work is to be found in every community, under official or unofficial auspices or independently by a member or group of members of the Order. Whenever possible, attempts will be made to have members in many parts of the world committing similar periods of time, so that they may have the consciousness of being part of a great company of men and women, toiling anonymously but surely for their mutual good.

Conclusion

The initiators of the Order of Humanity are under no illusions that the Order itself can solve the multitude of problems of every sort that confront humanity in the 20th century, or that it can become the actual world community for which so many yearn. Rather it can be only a symbol of that yearning, a gathering point for the hopes and fears of millions, a visible demonstration of the paradox of continued want and destruction in the face of the possibility of plenty and peace.

Whether even such a symbol can exist and be effective will depend upon how many human beings there are who understand that the principal issue of man's existence is the tension between compassion and cruelty. We humans transfer so much of our passion and frustration to the defense of abstract ideas whose implementation frequently must be at the cost of more human suffering; we become so sure that there is only one way by which happiness may be achieved, and that those who do not agree must either be converted or eliminated.

The Order of Humanity is concerned with the well-being of human beings, and the compassionate ordering of their society. Those who join it will have to be patient in their impatience, forbearing in their insistence, reconciling always in their demands and judgments. Only so can they hope to bring a new direction and a new hope in these desperate hours. We invite such to join us now.

Wiley

Rough Draft

7-8-65

PLAN FOR A COMMISSION OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY

The continued reliance by national states on organized violence poses a grave threat to mankind -- a threat clearly illustrated by the tragedy in Vietnam. On both sides, as in every war, men are ordered to kill men in the name of an abstract conception of justice. Men and nations are entrapped in a spiral of ever-increasing violence. As the military action escalates, the situation becomes steadily more critical.

There is need to stop, need to reexamine, and need to consider the tragedy which has been created in Vietnam. There is need for a voice which can speak out in simple human terms, a voice with commitment solely to the immediate rights and immediate well-being of men, women, and children.

It is proposed that a small group of men, each of great moral authority and political understanding, act as a Commission of the World Community, to aid all of us on this earth in finding an honorable direction away from catastrophe. Such a Commission would consist of men of recognized international stature: jurists, theologians, scholars, Nobel peace laureates, etc., men troubled as individuals by the depth and gravity of the problem. They undertake to speak to and for the peoples of the world, and to encourage them to speak to each other -- to begin a dialogue about the problems surrounding war.

This Commission would be completely independent and would examine the worldwide context of which the war in Vietnam constitutes a current crisis. The Commission would accept the responsibility of making recommendations that could bring about the end of the war in Vietnam and the beginning of honest negotiations leading to a situation in which all men could live in dignity and freedom. The Commission would seek and welcome testimony in all areas it deemed relevant; it would consider ideas, opinions, and petitions from all individuals, groups, and governments; and it would render judgments and recommendations as it deemed them just and functional.

The Commission of the World Community could expect to command the attention of a worldwide audience. Its deliberations and findings would be publicized internationally

through all the mass media, as well as through all the individuals and groups supporting the Commission. Its documents and other resources would be freely available.

The very establishment of such a Commission, an unofficial body composed of individuals, would be based on its members' conviction that responsibility for finding constructive solutions ultimately devolves on each concerned human being. The Commission is willing to take the lead, but it recognizes that its work must be picked up and forwarded by individuals and groups throughout the communities of the world. Therefore, and simultaneously, supporters of the Commission will work to enlist and engage existing groups and to initiate the formation of new groups to carry out this essential function.

The dialogue so stimulated, and the actions which grow from it, can lead to the moral understandings capable of preventing organized international violence. The situation in Vietnam thus serves as an opportunity to focus attention on the need for such understandings.

There will continue to be international conflicts, and tools for handling these must be developed. The Commission of the World Community would encourage people to feel that they have the power and that it is their job to help create these tools for solving deep national and international differences. The Commission and its moral dimension is one such tool -- others will be found once men, and nations, agree to confront each other without recourse to organized violence.

THE COMPOSITION AND OPERATIONS OF THE COMMISSION

Composition: The Commission should be small. A problem exists about the political connections of the individuals invited to serve: should they primarily represent a balance of associations with power centers or should they primarily be independent of power centers? There are difficulties with either choice; the working group will have to decide.

Possible Candidates for the Commission (unscreened):

Hannah Arendt	Kenneth Kaunda	Pastor Niemoller	Bertrand Russell
Isaiah Berlin	Jomo Kenyatta	Philip Noel-Baker	Jean-Paul Sartre
Vinobe Bhave	Abdul Ghaffar Khan	Julius Nyerere	Michael Scott
Jorge Luiz Borges	M. Zafrullah Khanh	Mme. Pandit	Ignazio Silone
Juan Bosch	Martin Luther King, Jr.	Linus Pauling	Arnold Toynbee
Ralph Bunche	the Dalai Lama	Lester Pearson	Paul Tillich
Jose de Castro	Albert Luthuli	Abbe Pierre	Earl Warren
Milovan Djilas	Pierre Mendes-France	Michael Polanyi	
Danilo Dolci	Gunnar Myrdal	Conor Cruise O'Brien	
Ilya Ehrenberg	Jayaprakesh Narayan	Archbishop Thomas Roberts	

Location: Each Commissioner will work at his usual residence, except that it is hoped that each member will be able to visit all of Vietnam at some time prior to the final Commission meeting. This final meeting, to render the report, should be in the United States, and all Commission members should be present. It is hoped that a place in or near the U.N. can be the site of this meeting.

Procedure: The Commission would encounter unique and formidable procedural problems from the outset. The members of the Commission must be quite free to establish their own internal decision-making procedure, to select their own staff, and to set a final calendar for their work process. They will have to select the matters to be decided and the manner in which they wish to render their judgment or judgments. Each member of the Commission should have a small staff which should also attend the Commission meetings. Their joint staff would constitute the basic staff of the Commission.

The Commission should consider itself to be directly responsible to the world community.

FIRST STEPS TOWARD A WORKING PLAN

Working Groups: To make possible the establishment of the Commission and to avoid the kinds of conflicts which could so easily distort or destroy the process of creating a Commission worthy of worldwide public respect, the work will be privately

initiated by a small working group in the United States. The task of building a broad base of support will not be easy. The critical problem of the first stage is collecting a group which can work together with the utmost political openness and discretion and which is strong enough to amass the support needed to get the project underway.

Small working groups in other nations would organize their own tasks. These are some of the steps which seem to be necessary:

the enlistment of a group of advisors;
the further elaboration and definition of the project;
the selection of people to invite those to serve on the Commission;
the selection of notables to be asked to serve on the Commission;
the raising of necessary funds;
the employment and supervision of staff;
the enlargement of the working group when the project is underway;
the establishment of relations with existing organizations for the use of their resources, such as staff, materials, and information channels;
the development of liaison and working arrangements with other national working groups supporting the Commission;
the transfer of those responsibilities necessary for its work to the Commission;
etc.

Some of these tasks will be within the direct discretion of each national working group; others will require international liaison and agreement with the other national working groups.

WE DECLARE PEACE
CALL FOR AN ASSEMBLY OF UNREPRESENTED PEOPLE
in Washington, D.C., on August 6 through 9

"I like to believe that the people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. I think the people want peace so much that one of these days government had better get out of their way and let them have it."
--- President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Aug. 31, 1959

In Mississippi and Washington the few make the decisions for the many. Mississippi Negroes are denied the vote; the voice of the thirty per cent of Americans now opposed to the undeclared war in Vietnam is not heeded and all Americans are denied access to facts concerning the true military and political situation. We must make it plain to the Administration that we will not be accomplices to a war that we did not declare. There can be no doubt that the great majority of the people of the world do not approve of the presence of American troops in Vietnam. We who will come to Washington on August 6 through 9 can not in any sense represent this majority, but we can let our voices be heard in a symbolic Assembly of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace.

August 6 is the twentieth anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima; August 9 the anniversary of the Nagasaki bomb. Therefore, we choose August 6, 7, 8, and 9 for a new attempt to draw together the voices of nonviolent protest in America; not only those who have for so long been calling for an end to the Cold War, but also those whose protests focus on racial injustice, inquisition by Congressional committees, inequities in labor legislation, the mishandling of anti-poverty and welfare funds and the absence of democratic process on the local level. We invite not only those now active in organized protests but ministers, members of the academic community, teachers, women professional people, students, people from the newly formed community groups in slums and rural areas, industrial workers, anyone who wishes to symbolically withdraw his support from the war and who wishes to explore the possibilities of inter-action inherent in this community of concerned people.

Briefly, the activities of the four days will be as follows:

August 6: A demonstration at the White House centering around a "Declaration of Conscience" that has already received over 6,000 signatures; it declares the signers' complete refusal to assist in the carrying out of the undeclared war in Vietnam. Those of the signers who can come to Washington will constitute the core of the demonstration; non-signers will be welcomed in the supporting picket line. The Declaration has been sponsored and circulated by Committee for Nonviolent Action, War Resisters League, Student Peace Union and the Catholic Worker. These groups will therefore have full responsibility for the conduct of this aspect of the four-day assembly. There may be non-violent civil disobedience by a small number of the signers who will seek to present the Declaration to the President.

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August 7 and 8 will be the heart of the Assembly of Unrepresented People. They will be devoted to workshops, probably carried out in the open on the grass surrounding the Washington Monument.

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August 7 (PROGRAM WORKSHOPS): The Assembly will divide itself according to the section of the protest movement which claims the greatest attention of each individual.

There will be groupings of community people and staff who have been working at the local level on organizing the poor to have a voice in the lives of their communities and in the administration of federal anti-poverty funds.

There will be another grouping of people whose interest and work centers on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's attempt to have Congress unseat the five improperly elected representatives from their state.

There will still be other groupings to discuss the recent threats of destructive investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee of elements of both the peace and civil rights movements.

We hope that there will also be present representative groupings from the ranks of organized labor to discuss labor's attempt to have repealed the so-called "right-to-work law" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Additional workshops on other aspects of nonviolent direct action will be scheduled to meet the interests of those present.

August 8; Vietnam (CONSTITUENCY WORKSHOPS): There will be workshops of ministers, teachers, members of the academic community, women, professional people, students, people from local communities, union members and other "constituency groupings" to plan how they can work in the summer and through the year to stop the war.

A Declaration of Peace drawn up by the initiators of the demonstration will be circulated in the workshops for use on the 9th.

August 9 ("Governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."): Those members of the Assembly of Unrepresented People in a position to face possible arrest and willing to pledge themselves to nonviolent behavior during the course of the demonstration will assemble and walk toward the Capitol with the intention of convening the Assembly in the chamber of the House of Representatives and thus deny that Congress has the right to declare war in our names. If stopped along the way we will sit down and declare the Assembly of Unrepresented People in session. One of the group will rise and begin to read the Declaration of Peace circulated in the workshops on the 8th. If, as seems likely, the person reading is arrested before the Declaration is fully read, another person will rise and continue the reading. The Assembly will be open to the reading of additional declarations of peace that individuals or representatives of organizations may bring with them. We hope that this demonstration will serve as a symbol of the desire of the people of the world to express their opposition to the Vietnam War in a democratic fashion.

To implement this plan, we suggest that one focus for community organization between now and August 6 be discussion of what the government should do in Vietnam. The results of these discussions could be embodied in declarations of peace which representatives would bring to Washington. Some groups, particularly those farthest away from Washington, may want to create assemblies at state capitals and city councils on August 9.

Preparation for the Assembly will be coordinated at 107 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. Before and after the Assembly related activities will go on in Washington concerning Vietnam, FDP, 14-B, HUAC and community organization. Volunteers are urgently needed. We can probably provide free housing.

Norma Becker
Bob Swann
Donna Allen
Bob Parris
Mel McDonald
Carl Bloise
Peter Kellman
Barry Weisberg
Dena Clamager
Steve Weissman

Stephen Amdur
Eric Weinberger
Walter M. Tillow
Carl Oglesby
Ed Hamlett
Jeffrey Gordon
Jimmy Garrett
Courtland Cox
Dave Dellinger
Ray Raphael

Sandra Adickes
Francis H. Mitchell
John Porcelli
William Hartzog
Barbara Deming
Mack Smith
Staughton Lynd
Dennis Sweeney
Russ Nixon
Florence Howe
Paul Lauter

Address correspondence to Eric Weinberger or Bob Parris, 107 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Washington, D.C.

Declaration Of Conscience

AGAINST UNITED STATES POLICIES IN VIETNAM AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Because the use of the military resources of the United States in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and elsewhere suppresses the aspirations of the people for political independence and economic freedom;

Because inhuman torture and senseless killing are being carried out by forces armed, uniformed, trained and financed by the United States;

Because we believe that all peoples of the earth, including both Americans and non-Americans, have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the peaceful pursuit of happiness in their own way, and to freedom from military intervention by any foreign power; and

Because we think that we must go beyond conventional protest to put an end to the threat of nuclear catastrophe and death by chemical or biological warfare, whether these result from accident or escalation --

We hereby declare our conscientious refusal to cooperate with the United States government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. We further declare our refusal to cooperate with U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic, or the affairs of any other nation.

We encourage those who can conscientiously do so to refuse to serve in the armed forces and to ask for discharge if they are already in.

Those of us who are subject to the draft ourselves declare our own intention to refuse to serve.

We urge others to refuse and refuse ourselves to take part in the manufacture or transportation of military equipment, or to work in the fields of military research and weapons development.

We shall encourage the development of other nonviolent acts, including acts which involve civil disobedience, in order to stop the flow of American soldiers and munitions to Vietnam and other countries.

NOTE: *Signing or distributing this Declaration of Conscience might be construed as a violation of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which prohibits advising persons facing the draft to refuse service. Penalties of up to 5 years imprisonment, and/or a fine of $10,000 are provided. While prosecutions under this provision of the law almost never occur, persons signing or distributing this declaration should face the possibility of serious consequences.*

NAME ADDRESS

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Some of the more than 5,000 people who signed the original Declaration of Conscience--

J. Malvern Benjamin, Jr.
The Rev. Lloyd A. Berg
Rev. Dan Berrigan, S.J.
Rev. Philip Berrigan, S.S.J.
Julian Bond
Kay Boyle
James Bristol
Emile Capouya
Gordon Christiansen
William C. Davidon
Dorothy Day
David Dellinger
Barbara Deming
Ralph DiGia
Lawrence Ferlinghetti
W. H. Ferry
Maxwell Geismar
Rabbi Everett E. Gendler
Paul Goodman
Robert Brookins Gore
Richard B. Gregg
Margaret Halsey
Ammon Hennacy
Paul Jacobs
Erich Kahler
Roy C. Kepler
Paul Krassner
Irving Laucks
Sidney Lens
John Lewis
Roget Lockard
Staughton Lynd
Bradford Lyttle
Milton Mayer
David McReynolds
Stewart Meacham
Helen Mears
Mary Meigs
Morris R. Mitchell
Mrs. Lucy Montgomery
A. J. Muste
Otto Nathan
Robert B. Nichols
Robert Osborn
Linus Pauling
Jim Peck
Diane di Prima
A. Philip Randolph
Anatol Rapoport
Earle Reynolds
Bayard Rustin
Ira J. Sandperl
Marc Schleifer
Glenn E. Smiley
Monte G. Steadman, M.D.
Harvey Swados
Marjorie Swann
Robert Swann
Ralph T. Templin
Samuel R. Tyson
Denny Wilcher
George Willoughby

Please return signed petitions to one of the sponsoring organizations listed below.

Catholic Worker
175 Chrystie Street
(Att: Tom Cornell)
New York, N. Y. 10002

Committee for Nonviolent Action
325 Lafayette Street
New York, N. Y. 10012

Student Peace Union
5 Beekman Street, Room 1029
New York, N. Y. 10038

War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street, Room 1025
New York, N. Y. 10038

Printed by the Grindstone Press

file Peace

Morris Goldin - Lower East Side E. Broadway
Becky Bernstein - Teachers Committee
Henry Clayton Arts in Action OR 3-1796
Weinman N.Y. Com.
Women's Strike for Peace - (not rep'd.)

25

NSM

Eli Zaretzki

Check on disproportionate call-up from ghetto

Parris - Wants to bridge several movements

Arts in Action
Hank Clayton OR. 3-1796
Bonnie Reisman 477-5581
Next meeting July 27 at 302 Elizabeth St. 2nd floor
speaker: Jen Chandler

Introduction: Some theory behind the Washington Summer Action Project

People active in various protest movements in the country have always talked from time to time about the need for communication between movements. They have talked in terms of sharing ideas, sharing manpower, and generally strengthening each other. But in the past, very little work has been done actually to get people talking together. Some of us see this summer as an opportunity to begin the long-awaited dialogue between activists in various political struggles. This summer in Washington there will be many different groups coming in to D.C. in order to lobby and to take other forms of action. Peace groups will be active around the question of the war in Vietnam, some civil rights groups will be active concerning the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, others will be lobbying for the new voting bill, perhaps some labor groups will be lobbying for 14B? and for repeal of the right-to-work law?.

What we would like to do is to provide a forum for discussion between these different "interest groups" by setting up workshops in the D.C. area that would run continuously all summer.

When the question of "working together" rears its head, the objection is always raised that it would simply "diffuse people's energies," that without a particular concentrated effort by a smaller group of "specialized people" all of the movements would suffer. But the reality is that now the political climate of this country is such that all independent political action is under fire. Johnson seems intent on co-opting at least the visible movements in the country as he has done so successfully with a great portion of the civil rights movement. HUAC's target is any progressive movement <u>including</u> the civil rights movement. We are becoming more and more convinced that the only hope we have of checking Johnson's increasingly "independent" and dangerous foreign policy is with the development of a deeply based "critique" of his actions -- one that he would be forced to heed.

The only chance there is for the conservative forces in the country (which are now in power) to kill the currently existent independent voices of protest is if these voices remain isolated from one another. The only place such movements have to draw strength from is each other. In the past movements have died, have grown stagnant and have left only the bureaucratic skeletons of their former strength. If we are to take hold of the activity which is existent today and build it into something strong, broadly based, that reaches deeply to the people who most need the changes it seeks, then we must begin our work now.

The Washington Summer Action Project would be such a beginning.

Idea: organization of workshops in Washington DC and project areas around the country

Purpose: to begin numerous discussions wherever possible between organizers in the various independent political movements that are now part of the country's radical politics.

Projected goal: that out of such discussion and exchange of opinions we could begin to see our way to developing common programs as part of a new and broad social movement.

In order for such a dialogue to be meaningful it will have to take place on at least three different levels:

a) the people in communities around the country who have begun to organize in order to confront the country with their problems will come together in meetings, workshops and conventions to discover their own sources of strength.

b) We will have to provide some mechanism for the "leaders" or visible figures in various movements to talk with each other about the possibility of common action. King's speaking out strongly about Vietnam is a very heartening proof that such a mechanism is feasible.

c) What we are specifically concerned with here is the "organizer"; the people in various movements in organizations who are responsible for the work that keeps it alive. These workshops will mostly involve this set of people.

The method we are using is to reach those areas of the country which we see as loci of activity: the South, the West Coast, urban ghetto areas, Universities, etc

In Washington DC

People involved: a) SPU, CNVA, Women Strike for Peace, etc- will be in and out of Washington all summer lobbying and participating in various activities in an attempt to end the war in Vietnam.

b) MFDP- There will be a number of people rotating into Washington all summer lobbying for the unseating of the regular Mississippi congressmen in connection with the congressional challenge of the MFDP.

c) NCC and other religious figures: will be in the area lobbying for the voting bill and for the unseating of the Mississippi "congressmen" as well as Vietnam.

Our program would involve reaching all of these groups of people and bringing them together in workshops to discuss:

poverty
peace
community organizing
campus organizing
HUAC
MFDP challenge
Problems of labor
foreign policy in general
South Africa, etc

with the hope that the discussions would clarify the connections which thread these many problems together. Hopefully they would result in the creation of common programs in which people could work together so as to strengthen a general movement toward the integrity of individuals and the further promotion of independent thought and action- while at the same time allowing individuals to feel that they would not be taking their energies away from what they conceive as "the most crucial problem" faced by the country or the world today.

Workshops around the country: Here the same principle would be involved and we would be interested in reaching all those people (mostly students and staff of various organizations like S.N.C.C. and C.O.R.E. and S.D.S.) who are organizing during the summer in whatever area. Dennis Sweeney, Mary King and Ed Hamlett are at present trying to raise money and make the necessary contacts so that there could be a series of workshops in the south this summer at which all the people who had primarily come together to work in the general area of civil rights could participate. They will be responsible for getting people to the workshops to discuss the war, labor problems and all the other various action programs that are being conceived of and are already in motion. The same thing needs to be done in the North and on the West coast.

Mechanics: There will be an office set up in Washington to coordinate the workshops there and to provide all kinds of materials and information for people who come into Washington this summer to participate in action and/or lobbying.

Both the resource people and the participants for these workshpps will be recruited from the various groups that will be in the area.

needs: (for Washington office)

phone: $500 a month	$1,000	for 2 months
office supplies	$ 600	
postage	$ 400	
rent	$ 150	
workshop materials		
information.....	$ 50	
housing	$ 500	(10 auditoriums at $50 each)
transportation.....	$ 500	
petty cash	$ 200	
total	$3,400	

(for 2 month operation)

Rae

Western Regional Office
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
2085 Sutter Street
San Francisco, California
JO7-3430

December 2, 1964

To: Members of the Western Regional Action Council:

Included are your minutes from the Western Regional Convention held in Los Angeles, November 27, 28 and 29, 1964.

Also included are copies of proposals, petitions, resolutions and suggestions submitted by the convention and by staff for your consideration at your RAC meetings.

Because the region is in a desperate bind for money, please remember to bring the copies to the RAC meeting in San Francisco, December 12. This way we will not have to reproduce any more copies. We are out of paper.

COREdially,

Lois Rogers, Regional Office

PS. Perhaps you can encourage the chapters in your area to submit their decisions on the constitution to the regional office before December 12, so you will have those decisions when you meet.

Western Regional Field Offi

WESTERN REGIONAL CORE CONVENTION / LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA / NOVEMEER 27-29, 1964

MINUTES OF THE FIRST SESSION

The meeting was called to order in the first floor auditorium of the Elks Temple, 4016 South Central Avenue, at 8:45 PM on Friday, November 27th, by Hal Brown, Western Regional Vice-Chairman. After welcoming the delegates and indicating the importance of the theme of the Convention, "Greater Unity and Involvement", the Chairman introduced Wilfred Ussery, National Second Vice-Chairman, Virginia Burton and Dick Rapp (who was not present), Regional Representatives on the National Action Council, and Shirley Mesher, Bill Brown (who was not present), Le Faucette, Bennie Holmes, Walter Kauffman, Lois Rogers, and Cleveland Wallace, staff members.

Delegates still in need of housing were requested to consult with Sue Kovner, Housing Committee Chairman for the Convention.

Delegates desiring to serve on the Constitution or Nominations Committees were asked to give their names to Virginia Burton.

Members of the press were requested to leave the hall.

While the committee lists were being compiled, a telegram from Chet Duncan, Western Regional Field Secretary, was read, announcing his resignation.

Committee lists were announced as follows:

Constitution Committee: Jack Weinberg (Berkeley Campus CORE)(Chairman), Mal Burnstein (Berkeley), Beverly Axelrod (San Francisco), Doug Quiett (Marin), John Clark (Phoenix), Andy Montgomery (Santa Clara Valley), Cleveland Wallace (Los Angeles), Silvia Richards (San Fernando Valley), Gene Novak (Oakland), Lorna Richards (Seattle), Bill Fleming (Denver), Austin Coleman (Phoenix), Jesse Smallwood (Stockton), Savannah Bello (Richmond), L.C. Alexander (Tucson), Marian Chaves (Bakersfield), and Purnell Steen (Boulder).

Nominations Committee: Peggy Canady (Denver)(Chairman), Judy Heron (Marin), Norman Brown (San Francisco), Victor Levin (Berkeley Campus), Bob Bailey (San Fernando Valley), Von Abellera (Los Angeles), Frank Glover (Pomona Valley), Georgia Lacey (Oakland), Francis Curtis (Bakersfield), Ambrose Brodus (San Diego), and Larry Gurley (Berkeley).

It was announced that the Bank of America project report would be given by Bill Bradley, and the Freedom House report by Gene Novak (Oakland) and Peggy Canady (Denver).

The Chair opened the meeting to discussion of regional structure, noting the drafts of a regional constitution submitted or to be submitted by the Regional Representatives, the Berkeley chapter, the Berkeley Campus chapter, and the San Francisco chapter.

Mal Burnstein suggested that in order to avoid duplication of discussion, the meeting should be adjourned, the committees should meet, and the Convention sub sequently reconvene to hear and take action on the committee reports. The Chair indicated it would entertain a motion to this effect. The motion was put by Doug Jones (Oakland) and seconded by Austin Coleman. Gene Novak proposed an amendment, viz., that there be no further discussion until the recommendations of the Constitution Committee are available. The amendment was seconded by Barbara Brittin (Los Angeles). Both the amendment and the main motion carried, and the Chair interpreted the motion to mean that both committees should meet at once.

The Chair further ruled, in response to a suggestion from Art Silvers (Los Angeles), that the elections will take place in the Sunday morning session.

The meeting was adjourned to 11:30 PM, when it was hoped that the Constitution Committee's report would be available.

The meeting was called back to order at 11:40 PM. It was announced that the Constitution Committee's report was not yet ready, and the meeting was adjourned to 9:00 AM, Saturday November 28th.

Respectfully Submitted,

Bruce Boyd (Los Angeles)
Temporary Convention Recorder

WESTERN REGIONAL CORE CONVENTION / LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA / NOVEMBER 27-29, 1964

MINUTES OF THE SECOND SESSION

NOTE: Much of this session was devoted to a workshop in community involvement. No attempt has been made to work up comprehensive notes of the workshop discussions, since the entire proceedings have been recorded on tape, and the Regional Office will provide duplicate tapes to the chapters on request. Requests should be accompanied by blank tapes or the cash equivalent. Chapters will receive further details from the Regional Office. Coverage of the workshop discussions in these minutes will enable the chapters to indicate to the Regional Office which parts of the discussions they wish to have on tape, as well as provide a brief overview of the discussions as a whole. It is important that corrections to these synopses be submitted before the Convention adjourns.

The meeting was called to order in the second floor auditorium of the Elks Temple at 10:10 AM on Saturday, November 28th, by Hal Brown. The Chairman indicated that the Constitution Committee had remained in session until two o'clock this morning; that its report could not be expected before 11:30 AM; and that the Convention would accordingly proceed to the Freedom House reports.

The first report was given by Peggy Canady. Some time ago the Denver chapter became dissatisfied with the extent and depth of its involvement in and support from the Negro community. Up until this time the chapter had worked out of an upper middle class neighborhood. It decided upon a thoroughgoing change of approach, moved into the ghetto proper, and began a Freedom House project. The Denver Freedom House is entirely a Denver CORE project; the possibility of cooperating in the project with other groups which might be involved was considered, but rejected as giving rise to too many problems. The Freedom House and the chapter are one and the same, and no separation is foreseen. The work of the Freedom House is carried on by a number of committees. There is a block work committee to research the felt needs of the community; a housing committee which assists people desiring to move to other areas and also investigates such problems as absentee landlordism; an employment committee which has operated so successfully that direct action is seldom necessary, and which also provides information about job openings; and a political action committee. The Freedom House is also used for various educational projects, such as courses in Negro history. (No tutorial program is offered because other groups are already filling this need.) A referral service to various community agencies is operated, pressure being brought to bear on the agencies, when necessary, by community leaders with CORE persons remaining in the background. The Freedom House is staffed by chapter members on a volunteer basis, and is open every day for from five to six hours: on Tuesday and Thursday mornings, and Monday, Wednesday and Friday afternoons. Chapter as well as community activities take place in the Freedom House during the evenings. There is no drop-out program as such, but a program is under way to make children more accessible to the learning process by exposing them to new kinds of experience (visits to unfamiliar parts of town, etc.). Much diffidence in the community about identifying with Freedom House has been overcome by persistent work on the part of the block work committee operating in the community on the basis of continuing person-to-person encounters.

The second Freedom House report was given by Gene Novak. The Oakland Freedom House was set up to help in the No on 14 campaign as a result of decisions at the statewide conference to map the campaign. The House was set up by the Alameda County CORE chapters and staffed by three to seven full-time subsistence workers who live on the premises. The Oakland Freedom House staff is now independent of any one chapter. Some trouble has been experienced raising funds. The Freedom House now has a staff of six. A constitution being prepared will provide that

Freedom House policy be made by staff and not be subject to other review. The Oakland Freedom House staff is composed of both full- and part-time persons, and has requested that this Convention support the Freedom House movement financially and otherwise, and agree that each Freedom House have local policy autonomy and be represented at CORE conventions by delegates who would cast votes on matters affecting Freedom Houses, but not on other matters.

A discussion followed concerning the use of CORE's name by the Freedom House, in which Gene Drew (Chairman, Oakland CORE) indicated the need for a clarification of the kind and conditions of CORE support of the Freedom House and in general of the relationship between CORE and Freedom Houses throughout the region. Gene Novak indicated the difference between the settlement house approach, which is one of doing things for people, and that of the Freedom House, which is one of involving people in constructive self-activity. Bessie Gogol (Los Angeles) spoke against the use of CORE's name by groups not under CORE's organizational discipline; Gene Novak pointed out that the Freedom House staff were committed to CORE rules for action. Bruce Boyd (Los Angeles) suggested the possibility of including the Freedom House staff within the regional task force structure, thus avoiding its control by chapters. A question was raised concerning the incorporation of Freedom House; Julian Frederick read a recent NAC decision forbidding incorporation of groups using CORE's name. It was decided to refer the entire question of the Oakland Freedom House to a committee consisting of Bernie Callahan (Marin)(Chairman), Gene Drew, Peggy Canady, Gretchen Kittredge (Berkeley Campus), Don Smith (Los Angeles), R.B. Cottonreader (San Francisco). Since the discussion of the question had become somewhat heated, Julian Frederick (Santa Clara Valley) asked the committee to bear in mind that we're all on the same side.

Next item of business was the community involvement workshop. The Chair introduced Eileen Hernandez, who led the discussion. Mrs Hernandez began by indicating the problem as one of finding public involvement in our work and pointing out that there are in fact multiple publics, so that the approach should be to fix on a public most likely to respond, and then attempt to reach it in particular. Involvement implies doing things with people, not for them. It is important to know when to initiate a community project, and equally important to know when to let the project proceed under community rather than chapter initiative.

Art Silvers (Los Angeles) described Los Angeles CORE's attempts at community involvement in recent years.

Larry Gurley (Berkeley) indicated two alternative approaches to community involvement: the one in terms of seeking to enlist the community in CORE projects, the other in terms of putting the chapter behind attempts to satisfy the felt needs of the people in the community. This was to characterize much of the subsequent discussion.

Georgia Lacey (Oakland) spoke of the disparity between CORE's self-image and the image of CORE prevalent in the community, and indicated a need for greater self-awareness on the organization's part.

Julian Frederick stressed CORE's role as a direct action group acting in the community as a catalyst bringing about community self-activity and conscious self-government.

Ambrose Brodus (San Diego) said that many problems in the present transition period were likely to arise from CORE people themselves.

A member from the Oakland chapter pointed out that community people frequently contact CORE hoping for immediate solutions to particular problems, where there usually can be no immediate solution until the need for continuing community organization is met.

A member from the San Diego chapter reported a recent increase in community involvement, in which education has been the focus.

A member from Mid-Peninsula CORE reported success with formation of a "Committee for the Poor" working on the felt-needs approach.

Julian Frederick indicated that the plurality of communities with which the

chapters have to deal (both racial and economic class differentia being involved) frequently imposes a zig-zag course on community involvement and public relations work.

Larry Gurley questioned the value of community support for its own sake; the value is instrumental.

Herbert Mann (Los Angeles) spoke about the need for different approaches in the present second phase of the civil rights revolution.

Eileen Hernandez stressed the value of the felt needs approach to community involvement work.

Gene Walker (Oakland Freedom House) spoke about the need to find and involve key community people.

Bill Bradley said that the people in the ghetto have a much clearer idea of where they are and where they want to go than CORE people frequently do, and stressed the need for CORE to implement programs developed by the people on the basis of their own felt needs. CORE should mark well the causes of Malcolm's and Garvey's successes.

The meeting recessed for lunch, which was served on the third floor, and during which the discussion was continued. Principal participants in the discussion during lunch were Jack Weinberg, Robert Tyler (Sacramento), Norman Brown (San Francisco), Arthur Turner (San Francisco), Silvia Richards, Dave Friedman (Berkeley Campus), Larry Gurley, Bob Bailey (San Fernando Valley), and Austin Coleman (Phoenix). Discussion centered around the role of the church, political action, the importance of enlisting the support of women in the Negro community, the successes of nationalist groups, and the nature of the dialogue between CORE and the community.

The meeting reconvened after lunch at 4:10 PM. It was announced that the Constitution Committee's report was now available, and that the adoption of a regional constitution was the next order of business.

There was a roll call. Two questions were raised concerning voting rights. The first was whether the single delegate from Seattle CORE was entitled to cast all three votes for her chapter. The Chair ultimately ruled that this might be done.

The second question was as to the number of votes to which campus chapters are entitled. John Gardenhire (Marin) was appointed parliamentarian. The Chair ruled that campus chapters are entitled to one vote. The ruling of the Chair was appealed on motion by Mal Burnstein, seconded by Jack Weinberg. The vote was 44 to 19 in favor of the motion. Since more than two thirds voted yes, the chair was overruled. Campus chapters were accorded three votes, the same number as community chapters.

Non-voting tellers were appointed. The Constitution Committee's report, in the form of a proposed regional constitution, having been distributed, Jesse Smallwood moved the adoption of Articles I. and II. There were numerous seconds, and the motion carried.

Mal Burnstein moved the adoption of Article III. Barbara Brittin seconded the motion. There was some discussion of the right of this Convention to adopt a constitution at variance with provisions of the National Constitution. Will Ussery indicated that this could be done provisionally. Mal Burnstein remarked that it was a matter of adding to, rather than deleting from, the National Constitution. The question was called and the motion carried.

Art Silvers put and Barbara Brittin seconded a motion to adopt Article IV. After discussion of the status of Alaska and Hawaii, the maker of the motion amended it by addition of a District 5, Alaska, and District 6, Hawaii. The original second was withdrawn and the motion as amended was seconded by Don Smith. Barbara Brittin made a substitute motion to adopt the Article with amendment assigning Alaska to District 3 and Hawaii to District 1. The substitute motion was seconded by Silvia Richards and carried.

Mal Burnstein put and Silvia Richards seconded a motion to adopt Article V. The motion was carried.

Jack Weinberg moved the adoption of Article VI. There were numerous seconds and the motion carried.

Jack Weinberg put and Jesse Smallwood seconded a motion to adopt Article VII. The motion carried.

Wilbert Smallwood put and Jesse Smallwood seconded a motion to adopt Article VIII. Julian Frederick put and Jesse Smallwood seconded a motion to amend Section 2 of this Article by adding to its first sentence the words "or a 2/3 vote of the chapters within the Region". The amendment was carried. Jack Weinberg put and Cleveland Wallace seconded a motion to adopt the Article as amended. The motion carried.

Jack Weinberg put and Barbara Brittin seconded a motion to adopt Article IX. The motion carried.

Jack Weinberg moved to correct an oversight in copying by deleting the second sentences in Article V., Section 1, Paragraphs B and D of the Committee's report. The motion received numerous seconds, and carried.

Gene Novak put and Jack Weinberg seconded a motion to add to Article III., Section 2, the following language: "The RAC shall have the power to raise such moneys as are necessary to carry out its purposes." Jack Weinberg moved an amendment to add to this the following language: "No tax shall be levied on the chapters without the approval of two thirds of the chapters in the Region." There were numerous seconds. Both the amendment and the main motion carried.

Jesse Smallwood moved the adoption of the proposed constitution as amended. Don Smith seconded the motion. The motion carried.

Victor Levin (Berkeley Campus) moved that the Nominations Committee be charged with coordinating and announcing the results of the district caucuses and discharged of its other responsibilities, which are unnecessary under the Regional Constitution. The motion received numerous seconds, and carried.

Don Smith asked for instructions as to what offices were to be filled by the district caucuses. Jack Weinberg instructed the meeting that each caucus should elect one District Chairman and five District Representatives.

It was ruled by the Chair that District 3, having but one delegate present, might have a thirty day delay to report the results of its caucus.

Dave Friedman moved the adoption of a Bylaw to the effect that when a district has five or more chapters, no more than one District Representative may be elected from a single chapter. The Chair ruled to this effect.

Doug Jones (Oakland) moved that this Regional Convention petition the National Convention that the Western Regional Vice-Chairman and Representatives be elected by the Western Regional Convention. The motion was seconded by Cleveland Wallace and adopted unanimously.

Doug Jones moved that this Regional Convention petition the National Convention to delete Article XII of the National Constitution and insert in its place a provision for regional conventions which will structure their own regional action councils. The motion was seconded by numerous delegates and carried unanimously.

The Chair called for corrections and additions to the minutes of the first session, previously distributed. It was noted that the amendment attributed to Gene Novak in the eleventh paragraph is properly attributed to Gene Drew; and that the name of Julian Frederick should be added to the list of members of the Nominations Committee. The minutes were accepted as corrected.

Art Silvers moved to commend the Constitution Committee for its work. The motion received numerous seconds and was adopted unanimously.

Persons wishing to serve on the Resolutions Committee were asked to give their names to Virginia Burton.

Cleveland Wallace moved that Bruce Boyd be appointed Convention Recorder. Silvia Richards seconded the motion, which carried.

The agenda of Sunday"s session was announced: Bank of America Project Report, Freedom House Committee Report, remainder of items as indicated in original agenda.

The Chair called for volunteers to chair the meetings of the District Caucuses.

Volunteers were as follows: District 1, Don Smith; District 2, Gene Drew; District 4, Irma Fleming (Denver). District 3 will caucus and report within thirty days.

The meeting was adjourned to Sunday morning.

Respectfully Submitted,

Bruce Boyd, Convention Recorder.

WESTERN REGIONAL CORE CONVENTION / LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA / NOVEMBER 27-29, 1964

MINUTES OF THE THIRD SESSION

The meeting was called to order in the first floor auditorium of the Elks Temple at 11:30 AM on Sunday, November 29th, by Hal Brown.

The first item on the agenda was the Bank of America Regional Action Project Report, which was given by Bill Bradley. The Report is included as an appendix to the minutes of this session.

The report of the Nominations Committee was brought by its Chairman, Peggy Canady. Results of the District Caucuses to select District Chairmen and Representatives were announced as follows:

District 1: Bob Bailey (San Fernando Valley)(Chairman)
Cleveland Wallace (Los Angeles)
Ambrose Brodus (San Diego)
Fred Patten (California State College at Los Angeles)
Walter Kaufman (Bakersfield)
John Albert (Pomona Valley)

District 2: - Doug Quiett (Marin)(Chairman)
Jack Weinberg (Berkeley Campus)
Savannah Bello (Richmond)
Jack Owens (Mid-Peninsula)
Julian Frederick (Santa Clara Valley)
Vera Dennard (Stockton)

District 4: Jim Williams (Phoenix)(Chairman)
Marilyn Hyslop (Greeley)
L.C. Alexander (Tucson)
Purnell Steen (Boulder)
Bob McNamara (Phoenix)
Cecil Wright (Denver)

(The Chairman and Representatives for District 3 will be announced within thirty days.) On motion by Peggy Canady seconded by Charlesetta Ford (Richmond), the Committee's report was approved.

Will Ussery observed that the establishment of a regional structure was a major accomplishment of this Convention; that very serious problems of the organization were brought out by example in the nit-picking ("literal intellectual masturbation with Robert's Rules of Order") occasionally engaged in during the Convention (this kind of behavior can be a serious obstacle to community involvement) and in the politicking that took place in the District Two Caucus, as a result of which one of the most active chapters of the Region (San Francisco) is without District Representation on the RAC; and that a solution must be found to these problems, which should be seriously discussed in the chapters' membership meetings. On the asset side it was observed that Hal Brown is an outstandingly able Regional Vice-Chairman, and that the Western Region, as well as having set up good machinery for the democratic solution of its problems, has a better chapter base than several of the regions in CORE.

Robert Tyler (Sacramento) brought his chapter's proposal for a California Housing Project. The proposal was ordered referred to the RAC, together with a similar proposal from the Los Angeles chapter.

The Chair requested that draft resolutions be transmitted to members of the Resolutions Committee, viz., Julian Frederick, Bob Bailey, John Clarke, Jr. (Phoenix), Bob McNamara, and Gene Drew, and indicated that if time did not permit consideration of draft resolutions on the floor of the Convention, they would be forwarded to the chapters for consideration by chapter membership meetings.

By way of leading off a general discussion of CORE's direction in the next period, Virginia Burton read the paragraphs on political action in the most recent

NAC Minutes.

Jack Weinberg inquired whether the chapters might submit position papers on the general direction of the organization for consideration by the RAC and NAC. The reply was in the affirmative.

Mal Burnstein cautioned the delegates that CORE should beware the dangers of preclusive concern with political action narrowly conceived.

Julian Frederick spoke of the advantages that might accrue to CORE in consequence of the organization's use of political endorsements as a technique. Doug Jones spoke in a similar vein.

The Chair asked that no motions be made by way of determining policy on political action owing to the small number of delegates present on the floor at this point, and recommended that the chapters seek clarification of the NAC policy in particular terms.

Rodney Fletcher (Los Angeles) inquired whether CORE's political action was to be limited to activities within the two-party system. The reply was in the negative.

Robert Tyler remarked the dangers of partisan political involvement, and mentioned the possibility of CORE running candidates of its own, particularly in local nonpartisan elections. Julian Frederick concurred in noting the dangers of partisan involvement, which can become a trap, CORE's falling into which could easily result in loss of bargaining power.

A telegram from Donnie's Grill, caterer to the Convention, expressing their pleasure in participating in the event, was read by Claude Liggins (Los Angeles), and the Convention recessed for lunch.

Upon reconvening, the Chair announced that a meeting of the RAC with chapter chairmen would be held directly after adjournment of the Convention.

The report of the Freedom House Committee was brought by the Committee Chairman, Bernie Callaghan. Committee's recommendations were as follows: 1) Any Freedom House that does not fall under the policy making procedures of the local or sponsoring CORE chapter or chapters may not have the right to identify itself with the name CORE; 2) Sponsoring CORE chapter or chapters, solely, have the power of policy making for Freedom Houses; 3) The sponsoring CORE chapter or chapters have the authority to provide for programs of finance for Freedom Houses in any manner it sees fit, in accord with accepted CORE policy; 4) This Committee believes at this time that the concept of the Freedom House is proving itself as a valuable asset in the civil rights movement. We further realize the potential value of the Freedom House movement and encourage its use as an integral part of CORE. On motion by Bernie Callaghan, seconded by Arthur Turner, the Committee's report was accepted.

There was much discussion of whether or not the staff of a Freedom House operating under CORE's name should have autonomous policy-making powers. Three viewpoints were presented: that it should have no such powers (the Committee's recommendation); that it should make policy for its own operations; that it should exercise such powers under the direction of the Regional Field Secretary and his staff. Irma Fleming (Denver) put and Cleveland Wallace seconded a motion to turn the matter of the West Oakland Freedom House to the RAC. The Chair disallowed the motion, ruling that the matter should be settled by this Convention. Irma Fleming put and Cleveland Wallace seconded a motion to adopt the Committee's report. After further discussion, the motion carried.

The Chair called for additions or corrections to the minutes of Saturday's session, copies of which had been distributed to the delegates. There being no additions or corrections, the minutes were accepted as presented.

Bill Bradley announced that the San Francisco chapter had learned through correspondence with Mrs Chaney, mother of James Chaney, that she and at least part of her family desired to remove to California. On motion by Cleveland Wallace seconded by Bob Bailey, it was decided that the chapters of the Western Region assist the Chaney family to remove from Mississippi by sending contributions earmarked for that purpose to the Regional Office within two weeks; and that this

should be done without publicity, to avoid retaliation against the family. The Bakersfield chapter undertook to provide housing for the family, which has relations there.

On motion by Ambrose Brodus seconded by Caroline Murdock, it was decided to refer the report of the Resolutions Committee to the RAC. The motion carried.

Irma Fleming asked the Chair's leave to withdraw a brief resolution from the Committee's report and present it directly to the Convention. This was allowed, and the motion was presented that the NAC not fill the vacancy created by Chet Duncan's resignation as Regional Field Secretary until it could consider the RAC's recommendations as to his successor. The motion was seconded by Wilbert Smallwood, and carried.

The Chair expressed the thanks of the Convention to Barbara Brittin and Claude Liggins, Cochairmen of the Convention Committee, and other members of the Los Angeles chapter who had helped in making the Convention a success.

It was announced that a joint meeting of chapter chairmen and the RAC would take place immediately following adjournment without removing to another place. The Convention was adjourned at 5 PM.

Respectfully Submitted,

Bruce Boyd, Convention Recorder.

WESTERN REGIONAL CONSTITUTION
November 28, 1964

ARTICLE I

The highest governing body of CORE within the Western Region is the Western Regional Convention.

ARTICLE II

There shall be a coordinating body of the Congress of Racial Equality to be known as the Western Regional Action Council.

ARTICLE III - PURPOSE

Section 1. The Western Regional Action Council shall be a subsidiary to the Western Regional Convention, the National Action Council and its Steering Committee.

Section 2. The Western Regional Action Council shall serve to coordinate activities within the region; to recommend regional projects to chapters within the region and/or the Regional Convention; to set up regional conferences; and to facilitate communication within the organization. The Western Regional Action Council shall also investigate and attempt to resolve within the region disputes within the chapters and between chapters. Further, the Western Regional Action Council shall have the power of initial review and the power to uphold or reverse expulsion of members by chapters within the region, and shall be available in an advisory capacity to the National Action Council and its Steering committee regarding chapter disaffiliations and chapter trusteeships. The Regional Action Council shall have the authority to resolve conflicts in programs or projects between chapters or between RAC and a local chapter, and its rulings regarding such matters shall be binding on the chapters involved unless and until overruled by the Regional Convention, NAC or its Steering Committee.

Section 3. The Western Regional Action Council shall have the power to raise such monies as are necessary to carry out its purposes. No tax shall be levied on the chapters without the approval of two thirds of the chapters in the Region.

ARTICLE IV - TERRITORY

Section 1. The Western Regional Action Council shall have jurisdiction over areas and districts as follows:

District 1. Southern California (Counties south of and including San Louis Obispo, Kern and Inyo) and Hawaii.

District 2. Northern California (remaining counties)

District 3. Oregon, Washington and Alaska

District 4. Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico

Section 2. The chapters in any district or a geographical zone or state of a district may, if they wish, establish a coordinating orgainzation for their district or zone or state. Any such district or zone or state organization must be approved by two-thirds of the chapters in the district or zone or state and by the Regional Action Council; and its structure and activities must be consistent with this Constitution and with the National Constitution of CORE.

ARTICLE V - MEMBERSHIP OF THE REGIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

Section 1. The Regional Action Council shall consist of:

a. The National Action Council members of the region

   1. National Officers
   2. Regional Vice-Chairman
   3. Regional Representatives

b. The District Chairmen from each of the four (4) geographic districts within the region. The District Chairman shall be chosen by the district caucus at the regional convention.

c. The Regional Director or Senior Regional Field Secretary, who shall be an ex-officio member.

d. Five (5) representatives, who shall be called district representatives, from each of the four (4) geographic districts of the region. These representatives shall be chosen by the district caucus at the regional convention.

ARTICLE VI

Section 1. The Regional Vice-Chairman shall be the chief executive officer of the Western Regional Action Council and shall preside at regional conventions. The Council shall adopt regulations governing the calling, conduct and procedures of its meetings. The Regional Vice-Chairman may call meetings of the Western Regional Action Council.

Section 2. There shall be a Regional Counsel, appointed by the Regional Action Council, who shall be responsible for advising the Regional Action Council, the Regional Office, and the regional convention on legal affairs, and who shall supervise and coordinate all CORE legal work in the Western Region.

ARTICLE VII

Section 1. A Regional Convention shall be held annually at a time and place designated by the Western Regional Action Council.

Section 2. The time and place of the Regional Convention designated by the Regional Action Council shall be made known to the chapters at least two months in advance of the date set.

Section 3. The Regional Convention shall be composed of the members of the National Action Council from the Western Region, together with voting delegates from each chapter in the region. Each chapter shall have three (3) votes; the chapter may apportion its votes, in whole numbers, as it chooses, among its delegates. No person may vote in more than one capacity.

ARTICLE VIII - REGIONAL PROJECTS

Section 1. Projects may be developed by the Western Regional Action Council or the Regional Convention and presented to the chapters for implementation; such projects shall hereinafter be termed "Regional Projects". Any chapter may refrain from participating in a Regional Project, but when a chapter does participate it must accept the Regional organization's program of action. In no case may a chapter take action contrary to the policy of the Regional project, and in no case may a chapter publicly oppose a Regional Project.

ARTICLE VIII Cont'd.

Section 2. A locally originated project may become a regional project only by the request of the originating chapter or by a 2/3 vote of the chapters within the region. The originating chapter, if it desires, shall be allowed to take part in the coordinating of the project.

Section 3. No project shall become a regional project without the prior agreement of 2/3 of the chapters in the Western Region.

Section 4. All press releases and public statements on regional projects must be cleared with the regional office.

ARTICLE IX - AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of a Regional Convention, provided that a copy of the proposed amendment has been circulated to the chairman and secretary of every chapter at least six weeks prior to the meeting of the Convention. The Regional Convention may, by a two-thirds vote, alter the proposed amendment as circulated, but only if such alteration is confined to matters dealt with by the proposed amendment as circulated.

(To the RAC) To be inserted with the other suggestions for future regional projects.

If present problem of getting in to meet with the bank continues, the team recommends the following:

(a) That we threaten boycott of Bank of America in Africa. If the threat fails then we attempt to carry out a boycott.

(b) Threaten to unionize the bank. If threat fails, attempt to do it.

Rationale for sanctions is that the team believes that it is important that other employers understand that the consequence of failing to deal with CORE is serious. It must be pointed out that we are not merely talking about fighting to meet for the sake of meetings. We are fighting for the privilege to subtly and continuously apply pressure to the bank and the FEPC through constantly looking over both parties heads.

BANK OF AMERICA REPORT: SUBMITTED TO THE RAC
Bill Bradley - San Francisco CORE

To the Western Region and the state of California: I am Bill Bradley and I am presenting this report in behalf of the Statewide Negotiating Team.

This report will attempt to critically asses the accomplishments and failures of the Bank of America project. It will attempt to provide proposals for the execution of future statewide or regional projects.

At the outset may I report that the statewide chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality have achieved a great victory. At the beginning of this project the Bank of America had a total of 28,856.00 employees. Of this number less than 2% were Negro; by the bank's own admission, less than 11% were members of other minority groups. In other words the Bank had done practically nothing to promote the hiring of Negroes, and had done very little in attempting to seek out and hire members of other racial minorities.

Beyond this, at the beginning of the project the Bank of America did not have an affirmative program of equal opportunity employment. Prior to CORE's discussions with the Bank of America, it had not indicated any particular interests in involving itself in any regular relationship with the FEPC.

Also in the initial stages the Bank of America had indicated no desire to provide statistical repotts of their progress to either a governmental or non-governmental agency. Prior to CORE negotiation activity that bank had not indicated the slightest willingness to appoint a top management person as a human relations director. Prior to CORE negotiations the bank had only a vague understanding of the concept of compensatory employment. Finally, prior to CORE negotiations the bank had not made a single attempt to place Negroes in high management positions.

After a period of five months of negotiations and demonstrations, it is my pleasure to report to statewide CORE the following:

(1) Over a five month period of time the number of Negroes employed in the Bank of America rose from 1.9% to 2.9%. The number of nonwhites increased from 11% to 13.31%. In other words the bank managed to hire more Negroes (indistinguishable) period of time than it had managed to hire during any ten year period of its existence. Between the months of May and July, 37% of all of the banks new hires were Negroes; during that period of time the number of Negro employees increased from 635 to 872. Through CORE direct action pressure our unilateral goal demand (that the Bank hire between 300 and 800 Negroes and other Non-whites) was easily met. The bank's overall progress in the hiring of Negroes and non-whites indicates that the Bank has moved from the stage of hiring practically no Negroes to the stage of compensatory hiring. The facts speak for themselves, and they indicate that the bank believes that Negroes must be given a special treatment in hiring. Let there be no mistake about it, determined marching feet accomplished this feat. Economic and psychological pressure exerted by some of the 26 chapters accounted for the new policy of equal opportunity employment in the Bank of America.

(2) As a direct result of CORE direct action pressure the FEPC's role has been strengthened in the area of employment. A bank which opposed the creation of a FEPC has seen fit to establish a cooperative relationship with the FEPC which provides for the giving of detailed statistical data pertaining to the progress of hiring of Negroes and other Minorities. This information has been made available to CORE in detailed form. In this respect we are fortunate to have an agency which has staff that can devote its full energies to evaluating the Bank's hiring policies. The effectiveness of this procedure depends upon CORE's willingness to continually show an interest in the Bank's hiring practices through evaluating the FEPC report and making such evaluations known to the public, the bank and the FEPC. FEPC's interests in the Bank of America project is directly related to CORE's interests in the bank's hiring policies.

(3) As a result of CORE negotiation and CORE direct action pressure the bank has appointed a top management person as human relations director. If you remember this concession was made on June 1. However at that time the person appointed to this position had received no training in human relations and CORE demanded that this be corrected. In Augues the bank began implementation of a human relations training program for the Human Relations Director. It is important that top management people have an understanding and respect for black people. It is certainly clear that top management people in the area of personnel needed human relations training. Do not believe for one moment that this position is a cureall; at most it is an improvement over what previously existed. As a matter of fact it is very important that the Human Relations Director is continually evaluated and in general watched.

(4) Through CORE negotiation and direct action pressure a number of Negroes were appointed to high executive positions. In May Lloyd Scott was appointed assistant trust officer; Mr. Murrow was appointed as Vice President to the Bank of America. In the middle-class Negro spirit Mr. Murrow believes that the pickets had nothing to do with his being hired. I think that there are some who would disagree. Prior to CORE direct action 3 Negroes served as branch managers (850 branches) and no Negroes occupied a high executive position. Significant progress in this area will take time.

To all of the chapters who went all of the way I wish to extend the thanks of the negotiating team. Your willingness to hang tough when it got real hot proved that CORE is not engaged in a popularity contest and that it can get the job done in spite of overwhelming resistance from the public.

While we have achieved a great deal it is nevertheless true that we have not managed to accomplish one of our major objectives. We still have not managed to obtain a meeting with the bank in order to evaluate their progress and to obtain an understanding on any matters that may still remain undecided. To be perfectly frank it seems very unlikely that we will obtain such a meeting; however we do not at this stage entirely rule out the possibility. We are still awaiting a reply from the Bank to our last letter in which we requested a meeting with the bank we have a number of alternatives which are listed under recommendations.

The next stage of this report includes an evaluation of the problems of the project including the problems of initiating statewide projects; the problem of communications between the team and the chapters and between team members; the problem of balancing secrecy with democracy; the problem of developing profession public relations, and the problem of coordination and dissemination of public relations material in a statewide project; the problems inherent in middle class organizations that are extremely removed from the black community.

To begin with there are certain problems inherent in a unified statewide or regional project. Since one of a direct action nature has never been undertaken before in the North, let alone in California. CORE members tend to be surprised when they hear that a statewide project which their chapter had approved is now being implemented. They are surprised because many decisions are made at regional conventions and few are carried out. For example the chapters in California have approved the public utilities project, but who knows where the project is right now and where it is going. Therefore it can be assumed that many chapters were surprised when they hear that CORE was negotiating with the Bank of America. I think that particularly those chapters in Southern California were much more likely to feel this way than those in the Bay Area, but this was a common feeling.

One of the major problems in the project was the problem of communication. The negotiating team relied heavily upon two techniques for statewide communication to the CORE chapters. The first technique was joint executive meetings called in northern and southern California. At important stages of the project joint executive board meetings were held to clarify positions and direction. Our objective in the joint executive board meetings was to instill in chapter leadership a feeling for the project and for that particular phase of the project. By this we mean that we hoped to so completely familiarize leadership with the project that it could fully inform its chapter of the project and of whatever proposals were being advanced.

The second technique of communication was in writing. Position papers were developed on every important aspect of the project. For example on March 14 a position paper was mailed to all chapter chairmen in California informing them of our negotiation strategy. The letter was an attempt to keep the chapter fully informed of all developments that were anticipated in the project. A week after the bank-FEPC understanding a detailed paper was sent to each chapter; it fully explained the position of statewide CORE on the FEPC - B of A understanding. Along with this was contained a suggested press release and proposed responses to questions that might be raised on the new position. Finally on at least two occasions statewide progress reports on direct actions were sent to California CORE chapters.

In the areaof chapter communications a number of conclusions can be reached. To begin with, internal communication between chapters and within chapters is of highest importance. With it a member can be given reason and justification (if he agrees with the decisions) for carrying on. Without it his cause becomes whatever the newspapers say it is. Furthermore good internal communications provides a basis for sound communication with the press and public. It is clear that there were a lot of uninformed and misinformed people in the B of A project. Why?

Part of the answer is that information which was received by a chapter chairman was not communicated to the general membership. I could cite at least ten instances in which for one reason or another the chapter chairman and/or committee chairman or

executive officer was not communicated to the general membership. Chet Duncan had commented on this failure on numerous occasions. In a way this is not hard to understand. We are a volunteer organization and at times our procedures tend to be sloppy; at times messages that are received into the office for a particular person never seem to reach that person. Perhaps to a degree communication within the chapter was hampered by a poor understanding of the information received in either a joint executive board meeting, or in writing.

Perhaps on occasion the information was obtained, understood and communicated but the membership simply disagreed with the position. In this case the proper procedure would have been to voice the complaint to the negotiating team or to the Regional Field Secretary. This was not done.

Perhaps the most serious error in communication occurred when B of A and FEPC reached an understanding on hiring of minorities; the negotiating team should have responded immediately. However, instead, the team took a week before it could formulate a response. During that period I as chairman of the negotiating team was in jail serving five days for contempt of court which arose out of a civil rights trial. My absence is no excuse. As chairman of the team I assume responsibility for this indecision. The delay of one week put chapters in the position of having no response to questions like "Why is CORE still in the streets? Don't you know that the bank is an equal opportunity employer since signing with the FEPC?" During the lull many CORE members became convinced that there was no longer a good reason for staying in the streets. It was during this period that direct action participation on the part of many chapters took a real dive. However it must be pointed out that while this was a serious error, it was not as serious as the consistent lack of direct action participation of the majority of CORE chapters throughout the project.

In this area of team to chapter communication one thing is very clear and that is that nothing takes the place of verbal communication. Ideally the best form of communication is that which occurs between the team members and the general membership. Also the state needed continuous reports on direct action, which they did not receive.

Another problem area was communication between team members. To begin with the only communication that occured prior to a team meeting was a phone call announcing the time and place of the meeting. Certainly phone communication could have been used more than it was. Secondly, quite often the team had to meet on very short notice; usually this couldn't be avoided, however on a number of occasions it could have been avoided if a little more planning had been done by the team in advance.

A serious problem in the B of A project was the problem of finding a balance between democracy and secrecy. Remember the Bank of America is the largest banking institution in the world; their power to do evil is great. The negotiating team operated under great pressures -- on the one hand a chapter could easily face legal liability if some of our decisions were disclosed to the public, and on the other hand we could lose the project if CORE members felt that they were being arbitrarily excluded from certain knowledge or information. This meant that policy could always be communicated to the chapter membership, but at times details could not be communicated, because on ocaasion serious legal objections could be raised. It is the feeling of the negotiating team that there is no way of avoiding this problem unless we all want to suffer being sued right out of existence. The mistake that was probably made involved over-emphasizing the need for secrecy. Even this area is plagued with difficulties.

While CORE is not engaged in a popularity contest and will never win one, it is still important that we do everything within our power to win the public relations battle (even though we won't). In this respect the project had its high and low points. During the two months of negotiations public relations for CORE was actually better than the bank's. CORE entered the first negotiation session billed as the irresponsible actions for action's sake organization; we left the meeting as an organization who had demonstrated an ability to be friendly and understanding, and therefore reasonable. Furthermore for a period of two months CORE managed to establish the fact that CORE negotiations prior to direct action -- and most important, negotiates in good faith. Two and a half months of negotiations is a pretty good indication of the good intentions of CORE.

We had other high points in P.R. We managed to get a full page letter published in a number of the newspapers, on the topic of "Why FEPC could not fully handle the B of A employment problem. We had not only established that we negotiate but that we deserved to reach an understanding, simply because the FEPC wasn't able to handle the problem of itself. To this must be added the old adage that once you hit the bricks, that's it. From then on wage a good PR war, but don't expect a sympathetic press and don't expect to beat (especially) the largest banking institution in the world; a bank which controls most of the press in California, at least on crucial issues. In spite of all of this it can still be said that we could have done better in waging an affirmative PR campaign in which we consistently based our press on

anticipation of what the other side was going to do, and not on reaction to what had already been done.

Last but not least, CORE, as a middle class organization has some inherant weaknesses. When the wires are down, we can't communicate. By this I mean that when things get real hot and every one from the governor down to the major to the garbage collector screams, "You have no reason for being in the streets," we can't respond in unison that the FEPC isn't God's gift to the Black man.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) In addition to writing communications, the Regional Field Secretary should be used as a source of verbal communication between the team and the chapters.

(2) A person with skills in public relations should be on the negotiating team. This would make it much easier to keep an offensive public relations campaign going. (Typist's note: offensive as vs. defensive.)

(3) A team from Northern and Southern California should be appointed at this convention to run periodic checks in conjunction with statewide CORE chapters on the hiring policies of the bank. This would serve as a means for applying pressure to B of A and FEPC.

(4) Every effort should be made to get back into the negotiating room. Our inability to get an understanding or periodic meetings will have a damaging effect on future negotiations. This is simply because it marks a hard line which courageous employers by virtue of B of A's position may feel encouraged to take.

(5) Need for the development of new tactics which will enable us to have a more flexible response to the strategy of the opposition. In the B of A project we had two choises at all times, either to stay in the streets all of the time or to stay out of the streets all of the time. We did not and do not have the ability to come out of the streets and go back after a period of time; in many cases we do not have the ability to move into civil disobedience.

(6) A statewide or regional project should be led by top level chapter leadership which is seasoned in negotiations, direct action and group dynamics. Also the person or persons should have enough time to devote to his chapter and to the project.

(7) In regional and statewide projects a pool of legal talent should be readily available to the participating chapters.

(8) Continue to strengthen and cooperate with FEPC. Continue to apply pressure to FEPC to make known to the agency through continued interests in the B of A project.

(9) Begin to work with and consult the black community before the chapter jumps to a conclusion about an appropriate course of action.

(10) Project treasury be organized, if possible, before the project is initiated.

(11) District conferences be held before the project is initiated to inform the general membership of all chapters of the nature and strategy of the project.

(12) Study groups be constructed for the purpose of investigating and recommending procedures of investigating and recommending procedures dealing with the problem of democracy and project security -- report some to the complete receiving body of Western CORE.

(13) Secretarial and research personnel be made available to a project team.

(14) Project public relations should consider the desireability of reaching community leaders: Civic officials, labor, religious, business, etc., regarding project aims and accomplishments.

(15) An aggressive public relations program throughout the year to inform the general public of the existing discrimination against minority groups and problems of minority groups. Without this background support, project PR person has too much educating to do within available limits of time and money.

4. Submitted by the Statewide CORE
B of A Negotiating Team

Bill Bradley Chairman

PETITIONS TO NAC

1. (Submitted by Denver CORE) Petition National Action Council not to fill the vacancy left by Chet Duncan until the RAC has the opportunity to make recommendations.

2. (Oakland CORE) Petition the National Convention to delete ARTICLE XII of the National Constitution and insert in its place a provision for regional conventions which will structure their own regional action councils.

3. (Oakland) Petition the National Convention that the Western Regional Vice-Chairman and Representatives be elected by the Western Regional Convention.

RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED TO RAC

1. Resolved that the Western Regiona and its chapters support the challenge by the Freedom Democratic Party of the seating of the Congressmen from Mississippi, the support to be in the form of organizing and submitting petitions to Washington D.C. or some other effective action. (Seattle CORE)

2. (Phoenix CORE) Resolved that:

1) CORE emphasize employment, and concentrate on projects that produce employment (such as urban renewal, low cost public housing, etc.)

2) A political club be formed closely tied to and containing members of a major political party, but that will retain independence of action.

3) In the area of voter registration, CORE organize all predominantly democratic areas on a block basis with as many block chairmen as possible being members of CORE or closely associated with CORE.

4) That CORE keep all votes (typist's note - is it votes or voters?) registered.

5) That a political newsletter be published and distributed.

6) That CORE members run for Precinct Committeemen, Representatives, State Senators, etc.

7) That at all times, a large enough bloc of votes be retained within the political club and in the population at large in order to influence the choice of candidates and types of legislation.

8) And, above all, that CORE never compromise its principles. Support of a candidate must be withdrawn immediately if anyone shows signs of putting personal political future ahead of organizational goals. This is possible only through the intact maintenance of a voting bloc.

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED TO RAC
(by convention)

I. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE PROPOSALS OF THE WEST OAKLAND FREEDOM HOUSE

1. Any Freedom House that does not fall under the policy making procedures of the local or sponsoring CORE chapter or chapters may not have the right to identify itself with the name "CORE".

2. Sponsoring CORE chapter or chapters, solely have the power of policy-making for Freedom Houses.

3. The sponsoring CORE chapter or chapters have the authority to provide for programs of finance for Freedom Houses in any manner it sees fit. In accord with accepted CORE policy.

II. PROPOSAL FOR VOTING AT WESTERN REGIONAL CONVENTIONS (Berkeley Campus CORE)

Community chapters shall have three votes each. College campus chapters shall have three votes each except where this would make the number of campus votes in a given city greater than the number of community votes. In such instances the number of votes per campus chapter shall be decreased. Apportionment shall be made by the RAC with review by the convention. In no cases shall campus chapters receive less than one vote each.

III. A CALIFORNIA HOUSING PROJECT: A Proposal for CORE (Sacramento CORE)

Our defeat on Proposition 14 leaves us with an opportunity to snatch victory from defeat. We should only count the vote as the loss of a battle, not the war. In assessing our position, what are we left with:

1. About 1/3 of California's population voted "no" on 14. Within this vote, there should be enough goodwill and possible economic support for a California Housing Project.

2. The people who voted "No" on 14 would tend to be more articulate, better educated and hence hold access to the power structure. We should be able to depend on them for letter writing and applying pressure in the right places.

3. There are economic repercussions from 14 that have little to do with race. We should study the initiative and see what type of handicaps it imposed on the public and amplify these problems.

a. A buyer hasn't purchased a home until he records title; the ownership remains with the seller until that time. Hence, a person making a deal for a house in San Diego may have his furniture in the van, and find the recorded owner "in his absolute discretion" has reneged on the deal.

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED TO RAC Cont'd. (by convention)

III. HOUSING CAMPAIGN FOR FAIR HOUSING IN CALIFORNIA Cont'd.

b. The initiative allows home owners to be capricious in selling property, hence the broker will have to work harder. To cover his losses from extra work he will raise real estate fees.

c. Realtors are concerned about the homeowners who sell their own houses, because of loss of the fees. I understand they want legislation where a brokerage fee must be paid, no matter who sells the property. This would restrict the property owner's ability to dispose of his property. Since the realtor has oversold the homeowner on his absolute rights we can use this to the undoing of the CREA.

4. Although the initiative won, there are aspects of the Rumford Act that are still law. The lending institutions are covered. Realtors want the legislators to knock this out.

The above facts create a situation where an action project can be developed, and gain support.

THE PROJECT - CORE can organize a California Housing Project along the lines of the Mississippi Project to combat housing discrimination. The major goal of such a project would be to open the housing market with or without law, and create a situation where the less militant can make inroads on attitude changes. The project should have its own committee or a statewide committee and a staff person. Activity of a "California Housing Project" would be to (1) create highly informed and articulate CORE people on housing segregation to conduct training and education in the ghettos, on local housing ordinances pertaining to code violations for a publicized massive statewide rent strike; (2) agitate in local government for public housing; (3) organize for massive demonstrations at subdivisions and real estate board offices during the summer of 1965 to secure written non-discrimination contracts from the CREA.

ORGANIZATION - 1. The project could chave a committee with a delegate from each CORE chapter. This committee could be the Action Council. The committee members would be responsible for communication between his chapter and the project, and possibly head his chapter's "California Housing Project" committee. The committee would have 2 vice chairmen, one in northern and one in Southern California. These vice chairmen could call meetings of the committee members as needed in their areas. A bi-monthly meeting of the total committee should serve to provide coordination. Since there are variations in the problem of housing discrimination, north and south, it may also be well to have north and south negotiating teams for that phase of the program. The committee would determine the direction of the program, supplying each chapter with minutes of their meetings. The committee would be responsible for fund raising to support the project.

2. A paid project worker responsible to the "California Housing Project" committee should be hired to work full time on organizational and communication details. This person should ideally have experience with the COFO operation, as an added attraction to gain people for the project. The person should be capable of teaching non-violent direct action philosophy. The first few months of his activity would be spent in recruitment, training for non-violence and fair housing in California. There are more than 150 colleges and universities (junior colleges included) in California to recruit manpower for a summer program of the project. If strength for a chapter developed, the regional office would be contacted to develop a new chapter. His purpose would not be chapter building but gaining support for the "California Housing Project".

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED TO RAC Cont'd. (by convention)

SACRAMENTO CORE HOUSING PROPOSAL Cont'd.

The second assignment would be to compile information on various aspects of each local government pertaining to real estate, local realtor boards, locate Negroes who want to move and documenting their experiences for press releases.

THE PROGRAM - 1. Publicize our organization's clean-up-the-slums program, which is to culminate in a massive rent strike to make the landlords clean them up. This type of activity could be designed to let the apartment house owners get some of the "publicity". If landlords clean up Negro ghettos their white apartment house residents will begin complaining about upkeep too. The residents involved in the rent strikes should be well informed on the ordinances and codes.

2. Study the community needs for public housing, utilizing the project worker as a resource person, and make a presentation to local government. Agitate for well-planned projects. Next to Negroes, the realtors fear public housing most. Propose a solution; i.e., board of supervisors buy government resales to provide integrated rental housing in all-white areas, or build government housing projects. Realtors generally see public housing as socialistic, so there should be a great deal of press coverage out of this.

3. The main (and unpublicized)target of the project would be the real estate boards and subdividers. Our priorities in this attack would depend on our numbers. This part of the project would be summer, 1965.

(a.) With a small number we could draw up a contract or memo which would require the real estate board to expel and fine members found discriminating. Since presumably the FEPC can't act any more, CORE would investigate and police the contract. The contract would require all members of the board to sign and expel those not signing.

(b.) Take on sub-dividers when there are prospective Negro customers, picketing with signs: i.e., "Sub-divider misuses my taxes! - FHA-VA loans cost all. Negores can't enjoy their taxes here." Goal: Get sub--dividers to drop government financing, price goes up to be segregated, in terms of down-payments.

MATERIALS - As soon as possible obtain buttons and bumper strips to advertise project and build up pressure in the business community.

IV -
HOUSING CAMPAIGN FOR FAIR HOUSING IN CALIFORNIA (Los Angeles CORE)

1. Institute a boycott of Yes on 14 realtors, demanding that they do not participate in discriminatory transactions.
2. A list of realtors agreeing to sell under the Rumford Act shall be made public and people of good-will encouraged to deal only through them or fair housing groups.
3. Fair housing groups are urged to reorganize to do the following:
    1. Provide local information center for fair housing group and No on 14 realtors.
    2. Provide checking station for activities of Yes on 14 realtors.
    3. Demonstrate against proven discriminators - boycott leaflets, pickets.
    4. Provide pressure on State and/or Eederal tax monies being used on residential construction, without non-discriminatory guarantees.
    5. Demonstrate if non-discriminatory guarantees are not given.
4. Demand that the state reevaluate the licensing procedures for realtors and that the state enact legislation prohibiting realtors from participating in any way with property offered to the public that is not available to all people of the state regardless of race, creed or national origin.

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED TO RAC
(by staff)

After the Regional Convention and the RAC have set policy for the region, it is the duty of the staff to see that this policy is carried out to the fullest extent. To facilitate the carrying-out of policy, I hereby submit the following proposals:

I. Any chapters or individuals submitting proposals to the RAC should submit one copy of such proposals to each member of the RAC at least one week in advance of any given RAC meeting. Also, 5 copies of the proposal should go to the Regional office for its files; one for the originating chapter file; one for the RAC file; one for the project file (if any) and 2 to be forwarded to the CORE National office in the Regional Office monthly report.

II. That each chapter submit to the Regional Office a list of persons, either in that chapter, or available from the community, with special skills such as negotiating; teaching negotiations sessions; Public Relations; teaching same; Community involvement, and teaching same; conducting any workshops, etc., pertinent to CORE activities. This list would be kept in the Regional Office to be used in any given district, or to select persons who could go into other parts of that district or to other districts, to help train CORE chapters and to participate in Regional Projects, etc.

Each name of the list should be followed by that person's skills, and exactly how much experience he has had relating to that field.

III. - REGIONAL CONVENTION PROPOSALS:

1. If no site for any future Regional Convention has been selected at the previous Regional Convention,

a. That site be chosen no less than <u>three</u> months in advance of the proposed Regional Convention, and

b. That all CORE chapters in the Region be notified of the site and of the approximate dates no less than <u>two</u> months in advance of the proposed Regional Convention.

2. That Regional Convention sites be held in a different district each time the convention is held, according to a planned rotation system, to be chosen by the convention, or by the RAC, subject to approval of the Convention, if necessary.

(Alternate Proposal) - That the Regional Conventions be held in a site centrally located in the region.

3. That if any chapter in a given district wishes to host the regional convention they submit their desires to the RAC at least <u>four</u> months in advance of the proposed convention.

4. If the Western Region desires to have National CORE resource people in attendanee at a given regional convention, those resource persons be invited at least <u>three</u> months in advance of the proposed convention.

5. That the host chapter for the convention select convention recorders who will submit a final draft of the convention minutes to the Regional Office for distribution to the chapters.

6. That all of the above proposals be subject to alterations to meet emergency situations.

Respectfully submitted,
Lois Rogers,
Western Regional Office

P.S.

7. That the Western Region find some way of obtaining a mimeograph machine and an addressograph for the Regional Office. A hand operated addressograph can be obtained for about $25.00.

MINUTES
of the

REGIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEETING
San Francisco, Dec. 12, 13, 1964

The meeting was called to order by the Regional Vice Chairman, Hal Brown, at 10:45 AM. The agenda was read, and it was noted that additional items could be added at a later time.

Present were: Hal Brown, Will Ussery, Virginia Burton, Doug Quiett, Bob Bailey, Ambrose Brodus, John Albert, Jack Weinberg, L. C. Alexander, Purnell Steen, and Cecil Wright. At later times during the day, Cleveland Wallace, Savanna Bello, Jim Williams, Jack Owens, Julian Frederick and Bob McNamara arrived.

The chairman opened discussion by saying he felt that many important decisions and precedents would be made. He felt that our first steps should be to straignten out the many problems of the region, beginning with the immediate need of a Regional Field Secretary. The Chairman announced that the only application he had received so far was from Bill Bradley. He asked if any other applications had been received by any other members of the RAC. None were forthcoming.

A background information sheet on Bill Bradley was then circulated to the members and a discussion of his qualifications and problems followed. It was then decided to first outline the "duties and responsibilities" of the field secretary.

We then considered the job of the task force workers.

1. That he should be competent before his is hired, or trained immediately.

2. If task force worker is rejected by any chapter he is assigned to he should immediately be moved out and re-assigned. A worker should never be forced on a chapter.

3. Worker should never be patronizing; no coercion from above.

4. Worker should clearly understand that he has <u>no</u> authority <u>over</u> chapter, but rather, that he is there in a <u>helping</u> position.

Will Ussery then proposed a tentative structure (see diagram) and a very full discussion followed.

Motion by Cleveland Wallace, seconded by Savanna Bello, that Will's proposed structure (with suggested changes by the body) be accepted as our general outline of structure.

Motion made by Virginia Burton, seconded by Savanna Bello, that we move directly to the duties of the Regional Director.

Chair called a short recess to send out for lunch.

Meeting re-convened although five persons who were sent out for lunch had not returned. Chair felt that due to time limitations, some of the

smaller items on the agenda could be disp[illegible]d of in the meantime.

First item - Site of 1965 Regional Conven[illegible]n. Motion by L. C. Alexander, seconded by Cecil Wright, that the next co[illegible]ention be held in District 4. Motion carried.

Representative from Denver immediately pro[illegible]osed the city of Denver for consideration. A suggestion that the chairman appoint a convention committee. Chairman appointed the four repre[illegible]sentatives present to serve on such a committee with Cecil Wright as the committee chairman.

Item 2 - Resolutions:

1. Resolve that the Western Region and its chapters support the challenge by the Freedom Democrat Party of the seating of the congressmen from Mississippi, the support to be in the form of organizing and submitting petitions to Washington D.C. or some other effective action.

Motion by Doug Oliett, seconded by John Albert, that we accept this resolution.

Amendment by Jack Weinberg that Chairman appoint a committee, not necessarily members of RAC, and that they prepare and send out a packet to chapters for suggestions and ways to do something. Amendment died for lack of a second.

Original motion carried. 2 abstaining votes - Jack Weinberg, Savanna Bello.

Motion by Jack Weinberg, seconded by Vera [illegible]nnard, that RAC be empowered to borrow funds to send out a letter to the chapters, with all deliberate speed, to be initiated by Wednesday, Decem[illegible]r 16, 1964. Motion carried.

Letter should include the following:

Letters to the Speaker of the House - McCormick
Letters to the House Majority Leader - Mansfield
Lobbying with Congressmen in local areas.

Staff will implement and send out letters to chapters.

Resolution 2 - Submitted by Phoenix CORE.

Motion by Jack Weinberg, seconded by L. C. Alexander to accept part one as stated. Will Ussery suggested that [illegible] copies of Law S-3237 be sent as information to all chapters.

Part 2, Resolution 2 - Not accepte as stated.

Motion by Savanna Bello, seconded by Cleveland Wallace, that a political independent club be formed to work in local areas, to conform to local conditions, and work independent of political parties.

Substitute motion by L. C. Alexander, seconded by Julian Fredericks, that a non-partisan political action committee be set up, working with political parties to further CORE principals. Substitute motion passed. 1 no vote - Jack Weinberg. 4 abstaining - Will Ussery, Cecil Wright, Purnell Steen and Vera Dennard.

Part 3, Resolution 2 - Moved by John Albe , seconded by Cleveland Wallace, that we accept resolution as written with he words "all predominently democratic areas" deleted. Motion carrie 1 abstention - Julian Fredericks. (Part 4, below)
Part5 , Resolution 2 - Motion by Cleveland Wallace, seconded by (?) that resolution be accepted and added to 1b, "A CORElater be published and distributed by chapters".

Substitute motion by Julian Fredericks, seconded by Will Ussery, that a Regional CORElater be published and distributed. Substitute motion carried. 1 no vote - Cleveland Wallace. 2 abstaining votes - John Albert, L. C. Alexander.

Part 4, Resolution 2 - Motion by Cleveland Wallace, seconded by (?) to accept as stated. Motion carried.

Part 6, Resolution 2 - Motion by Jim Williams that chapters be encouraged to obtain and retain a large enough bloc of votes . . . (Rest of resolution as stated, only substituting words, "Political Committee"), and that Part 7 be combined with part 3. Motion carried.

Part 8, Resolution 2 - Motion by John Albert, seconded by L.C. Alexander that resolution as stated not be acceptd. Motion carried.

Further resolution by Julian Frederick:

Resolve that the RAD recommend to the NAC that a study be made concerning a boycott against the State of Mississippi. Motion carried.

Resolution in form of motion by Cleveland Wallace, seconded by Bob Bailey, that NAC check into the possibilities of Chief Parker being appointed to the head of the FBI, and do whatever it can to prevent such an appointment, if this rumor turns out to be true. Motion carried.

A letter from Jane Comer, acting secretary of Tucson CORE, was read, and the problems noted.

Shirley Mesher, Public Relations Director, presented a proposed fund raising program for the Region. A full discussion followed, and keeping in mind the immediate financial need, the following motion was proposed:

Moved by Julian Fredericks, seconded by L. C. Alexander that each chapter in the Region be asked to conduct fund raising activities, within 30 days, in order to support regional activities in the amount of $3,000.00 to defray expenses in the 13 Western Region states, and that the staff fund raiser be directed to bring back to the next meeting of RAC, or interim executive committee, if such be established, long range plans for supporting regional activities. Motion carried. 1 no vote (?). 2 abstaining - Jack Weinberg, Savanna Bello.

Back to original agenda:

Motion by Jack Weinberg, seconded by John Albert, that general outline used by Southern District, with editing out of areas that are peculiar to the south, by Will Ussery, to be brought up at the next meeting of RAC. Motion defeated.

of proposed additional regional staff
Duties and responsibilities/then listed on blackboard, so that they

so that they could be adjusted to our region. (See attached papers)

Motion by John Albert, seconded by Cecil Wright, that Bill Bradley be recommended for the position of Regional Field Secretary and assume the duties, when necessary, of Regional Director until one is hired. Motion carried unanimously. Recommended further that he be hired as soon as possible, and that consideration of his qualifications and past experience be reflected in his salary.

Motion by Cleveland Wallace, seconded by Bob McNamara, that we set up a steering committee, consisting of the Regional Vice Chairman, the senior field secretary, the district chairmen and the RAC members of the region, to meet when necessary, on a rotating basis among the 4 districts. Motion carried. 2 no votes - Purnell Steen, Cecil Wright.

Motion by Cecil Wright, seconded by Purnell Steen, that the RAC meet quarterly, in the most convenient city in terms of finance, on the second week-end of the month, (Quarterly meetings to fall in June, September, December and March). Motion carried.

Motion by Will Ussery, seconded by Cleveland Wallace, that a quorum for the transaction of business at a Regional Action Council meeting, or its St Steering Committee meeting, shall consist of not fewer than 5 at steering committee meetings, or not fewer than 1/3 of the membership at a RAC meeting. This rule may be suspended by the chairman. All business considered when this rule is suspended, may be reconsidered by a simple majority vote when there is a regional quorum. Motion carried. 2 no votes - Bob McNamara, Purnell Steen.

Meeting then adjourned until 10:00 AM Sunday Morning.

SUNDAY, DEC. 1[illegible], 1964

The chairman called the meeting to order at 10:30 AM. Present were: Hal Brown, Will Ussery, Virginia Burton, Bill Bradley, John Albert, Savannah Bello, Jim Williams, Cecil Wright, Purnell Steen, Cleveland Wallace, L. C. Alexander, Bob McNamara, Julian Frederick, Ambrose Brudus, Bob Hadley, Doug Quiett, Vera Dennard.

Motion by Julian Frederick, seconded by (?) that Roberts Rules for parliamentary procedure, revised, shall govern the parliamentary procedure of the Regional Action Council and its Steering Committee, provided that such rules may be suspended for all or part of a meeting, by a two-thirds vote of the body. Motion carried.

Motion by Will Ussery, seconded by Savannah Bello that a recommendation to the NAC be forwarded to delete the word "Vice" from the title of Regional Vice Chairman. Until such action, the Regional Vice Chairman be permitted to use the title, "Regional Chairman". Motion carried.

Motion by Will Ussery, seconded by Savannah Bello, that RAC recommend to the next convention the positions of Regional Vice Chairman, Regional Secretary, and Regional Treasurer, and that their responsibilities be as follows:

Regional Vice Chairman: Shall preside in the absence of the Regional Chairman. He shall perform such other duties as may be delegated to him by the Regional Chairman.

Regional Secretary: Shall be responsible for keeping a record of all RAC meetings and its Steering committee, and the Regional Convention. Shall be responsible for the dissemination of RAC and its steering committee, and Regional Convention minutes, to all affiliated chapter officers and executive committee members of the region.

Regional Treasurer: Shall be responsible for the handling of all funds, in accordance with generally accepted accounting standards. He shall make regular reports to the RAC and its steering committee and present a general report, covering receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year to the Regional Convention. He shall be bonded in the amount of $5,000.00.

In the time before the next Regional Convention, the Chairman will appoint persons to fill these jobs.
Motion carried.

Motion by John Albert, seconded by Cleveland Wallace, that a provisional agenda will be sent to all members of the RAC or s steering committee and that all items RAC members wish to have included in the agenda be sent directly to the Regional Chairman two weeks in advance of RAC and/or steering committee meetings.
Motion carried.

Motion by Will Ussery, seconded by Julian Frederick re: Regional Advisory Committee: Section I: The Regional Advisory Committee shall consist of individuals who will lend their advice, prestige and influence to promote the growth and welfare of CORE.

Section II: Membership shall be conferred by either the Regional Convention or the Regional Action Council. Members may be removed by action of the Regional Convention or the Regional Action Council or its steering committee.
Motion carried.

Guidelines to selection of Advisory Committee:

1. Should come from several levels:

A. Labor	E. Professional
B. Religion	F. Racial and ethnic groups
C. Entertainment	G. Public officials
D. Business	H. Welfare

District chairmen should bring back to this body at the next meeting, a list of 15 names, numbered in the order of importance, to be submitted for the Regional Advisory Committee. The selection of names shall be considered under the above guidelines.

Next item on agenda was staff recommendations for assistance to chapters. Staff asked for clarification on the relationship between staff, RAC and chapters, and how much can staff do without prior approval from RAC. It was determined that staff cannot be public spokesmen, nor can they initiate actions.

Letter will be written to chapters announcing chet duncan's resignation and asking for cooperation from chapters in trying to improve the region.

RAC will spell out what is expected of chapters, taking staff recommendations into consideration.

Chapters will be sent packets periodically containing informational material, and guide lines on how to use the material. Staff, in its visits to chapters, will also give further guidance in how to use the material and implement the ideas.

The following list contains many of staff recommendations for printed materials to chapters. This material would be sent periodically over specific periods of time:

1. A manual for direct action. Each chapter should read and make suggestions, criticisms, etc.
2. Questionairre asking what chapters expect of staff and RAC.
3. CORE structure from National to local levels

4. Public Relations Booklet
5. Fund raising booklet
6. Samples of reports that chapters should make to the region
7. breakdowns of how to conduct investigations, negotiations, direct actions, etc., how to write leaflets, how to set up offices.
8. Sample constitutions
9. Suggestions for keeping membership files
10. How to achieve community involvement.

Further staff recommendations:

1. More direction for chapters
2. Monthly letter from regional office to chapters
3. Request that National send chapters press releases.
4. Request of National that Regional officers, staff, local chapters, etc. be on National mailing lists.
5. Letter to National asking why we send for information and don't receive any .
6. Project information from chapters around the country.
7. Request that National improve its organizational packet. Staff will submit suggestions.
8. How and when does and will Regional office receive allottments from National
9. Letters to other regiona, sharing our printed material and asking for same from them.
10. RAC meetings set aside time for reports from staff regarding chapters.
11. Discuss further use of staff, specifically task force workers.
12. Letter to National asking for delineations of staff duties and RAC duties.
13. A summer project

All of the recommendations were acted on, some to be carried out by RAC, others to be done by staff. It was discussed and made clear that staff and RAC will work closely together to make this a good CORE region.

Motion by (?) that revised structure outline chart be accepted. Motion carried. Chart attached.

Motion by Julian Frederick, seconded by Cleveland Wallace, that persons authorized to make statements in the Western Region shall include the following in order of preference:

1. Regional Chairman
2. Regional Field Secretary
3. National 2nd vice chairman
4. Regional Representatives to NAC

Motion carried unanimously.

Discusaion of Regional staff problems: Friction in the office was discussed in depth. The RAC considered the problem of friction in the office and directed the Regional Chairman to take steps to make the office more effective.

Motion by Julian Frederick, seconded by Will Ussery, that the Regional chairman be empowered to take such action as he deems necessary to correct existing staff problems.
Motion carried. One abstention - Walter Kaufmann.

Motion by Will Ussery, seconded by Savannah Bello, that RAC ask the national office to send immediately, job spec. on Regional Public Relations job, and the job of office secretary.
Motion carried.

Motion by Julian Frederick, seconded by Bob McNamara, that RAC recommends to NAC that ways be investigated to insure regular payments to CORE employees, and that consideration be given to increasing subsistence salaries.
Motion carried.

Motion by Ambrose Brodus, seconded by Virginia Burton, that travel expenses of the RAC members who came from Districts One and Four be reimbursed. District chairmen fully and first, District Representatives partially and secondly. Motion carried.

Motion by Ambrose Brodus, seconded by Doug Quiett, that follow-up teams be established, one in Northern California for Lucky Stores, and a team for follow-up on the Bank of America.
Motion carried.

Motion by Will Ussery, seconded by Doug Quiett, that Public Utilities project be discontinued.
Motion carried.

Discussion was directed toward expression in chapters for a greater sense of Regional Unity.

Motion by Virginia Burton, seconded by Bob Bailey, that recognition of the tremendous job she has had to do in the absence of a field secretary, above and beyond the duties her own job calls for, be given to Lois Rogers.

The next Steering Committee meeting will be held in Los Angeles on the 9th and 10th of January, 1965. The next RAC meeting will be held on the 13th and 14th of March, 1965, in San Francisco. The February Steering Committee meeting will be held in District Four.

A night letter, composed by Shirley Mesher, Public Relations, was adopted to be sent to chapters for their use, to send to the University of California Regents, concerning CORE's position on the Free Speech Movement at the University of California.

Meeting adjourned at 5:00 PM.

Respectfully Submitted,

Virginia Burton, Temp. Secretary.

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE REGIONAL DIRECTOR

December 13, 1964

1. To administer staff and programs within the region.
2. To act as liason between chapters in this region and the National Office.
3. Make Staff Assignments.
4. To develop plans for, and coordination of, Regional programs.
5. To direct the servicing and organization of chapters within the region.
6. Submit reports to the National Office and the RAC.
7. The Regional Director is directly responsible to the Director of Organization and the Regional Vice Chairman.
8. Determines needs in personnel, material and equipment.
9. Recommends employment and release of personnel to the RAC and the National Office.
10. Recommends acquisitions of facilities, materials and equipment to the RAC and the National Office.
11. Makes general budgetary recommendations to the RAC and National Office, including above numbers 9 and 10.
12. Makes specific budgetary recommendations for particular regional projects.
13. Maintains sufficient financial base to take care of running expenses of the Western Regional Office, travelling field Secretaries, task force workers, emergency regional expenditures, etc.
14. Approves request for funds and/or program from field or project within the Western Regional Office budget. In case of personnel, this will be handled directly. In case of project, this will be passed on to National.
15. Receives expense and program reports from projects, field secretaries, task force workers.
16. Receives reports from the program director and research assistant; same to be incorporated or included with monthly report to the RAC and the National Office.
17. Reports monthly on expenditures to the RAC and the National Office (Receipts and disbursements).

December 13, 1964

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF TH REGIONAL FIELD SECRETARY

1. Service affiliated and unaffiliated ch pters within the region.
2. Coordinate activities within the chapt rs of the region.
3. Help develop programs within the chapter.
4. Interpret National and Regional policies to the chapter and the community.
5. Represent National CORE's views in the area of his jurisdiction.
6. Help to organize and conduct training conferences and workshops.
7. To help chapters develop broader bases so that they reach out and involve more segments of the community.
8. To work with groups in respect to internal functioning; to develop program, organization and leadership.
9. To develop new chapters, delete.
10. To submit regular field and expense reports to the Regional Director of National Office.

The field secretary is directly responsible to the Regional Director where there is one.

FUNCTIONS OF THE REGIONAL PROGRAM DIRECTOR

1. Prepare manuals for use by chapter and staff dealing with means by which the chapters attack the functional areas of CORE's concern, such as:

   1) Slum housing

   2) Urban Renewal

   3) Housing Discrimination

   4) Employment campaign

   5) Voter Registration

   6) Education

2. Prepare guidelines on operational skills for use by chapters and staff, such as:

   1) Conducting negotiations

   2) Organizing a boycott

   3) The role of civil disobedience

   4) Organizing a rent strike

   5) Conducting a voter registration campaign

   6) Community organization

3. Assist in implementing the above activities where necessary.

4. Prepare material for distribution among CORE chapters on topics such as:

   1) Philosophy of non-violence

   2) The direction of CORE

   3) Role of CORE in the community

5. Prepare outlines of projected regional projects and campaigns

FUNCTION OF THE REGIONAL RESEARCH ASSISTANT

The Research Assistant will have the responsibility for carrying on or supervising all of the needed research for the organization at the direction of the Regional Director and Administrative Director. He shall:

A. Do research of all types, including:

1. Research into problems affecting the regional organization, and local chapters, such as urban renewal and city planning, patters of employment and unemployment, economic trends affecting CORE's program, the interrelation between housing and education and other aspects of CORE's program, and other matters for use by the Program Assistant and the respective departments.

2. Research into matters affecting regional projects.

   (a) School Bonds
   (b) Corporate structure
   (c) Federal financing of hospitals, etc.

3. Research necessary for reports, testimony and speeches made by Regional Director.

4. Shall conduct research involving both the longer historical perspective of and the shorter intimate needs of the minority community and the region as a whole.

5. Will study and report in depth on such matters as patterns of control of economic and social essentials throughout the region, to relate to or initiate effective CORE action programs.

6. Will, at the direction of the Regional Director, fulfill specific research requests tendered by chapter and other staff for the execution of their duties and programs.

B Secure the services, volunteer where possible, of other research specialists from universities and elsewhere, to do research on specialized subjects at the direction of the regional director.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICE MANAGER

The office manager will be responsible for supervision of all non-professional personnel, both in this office and in other offices. Among her responsibilities will be:

1. Hiring and supervision of clerical staff.
2. To insure promptness and efficiency of office personnel.
3. To insure neatness and orderliness of the office.
4. Financial: disbursements, accounts payable, etc., in conjunction with the Administrative Department.
5. Supervise incoming mail.
6. Misc. correspondence.
7. Speakers Bureau.

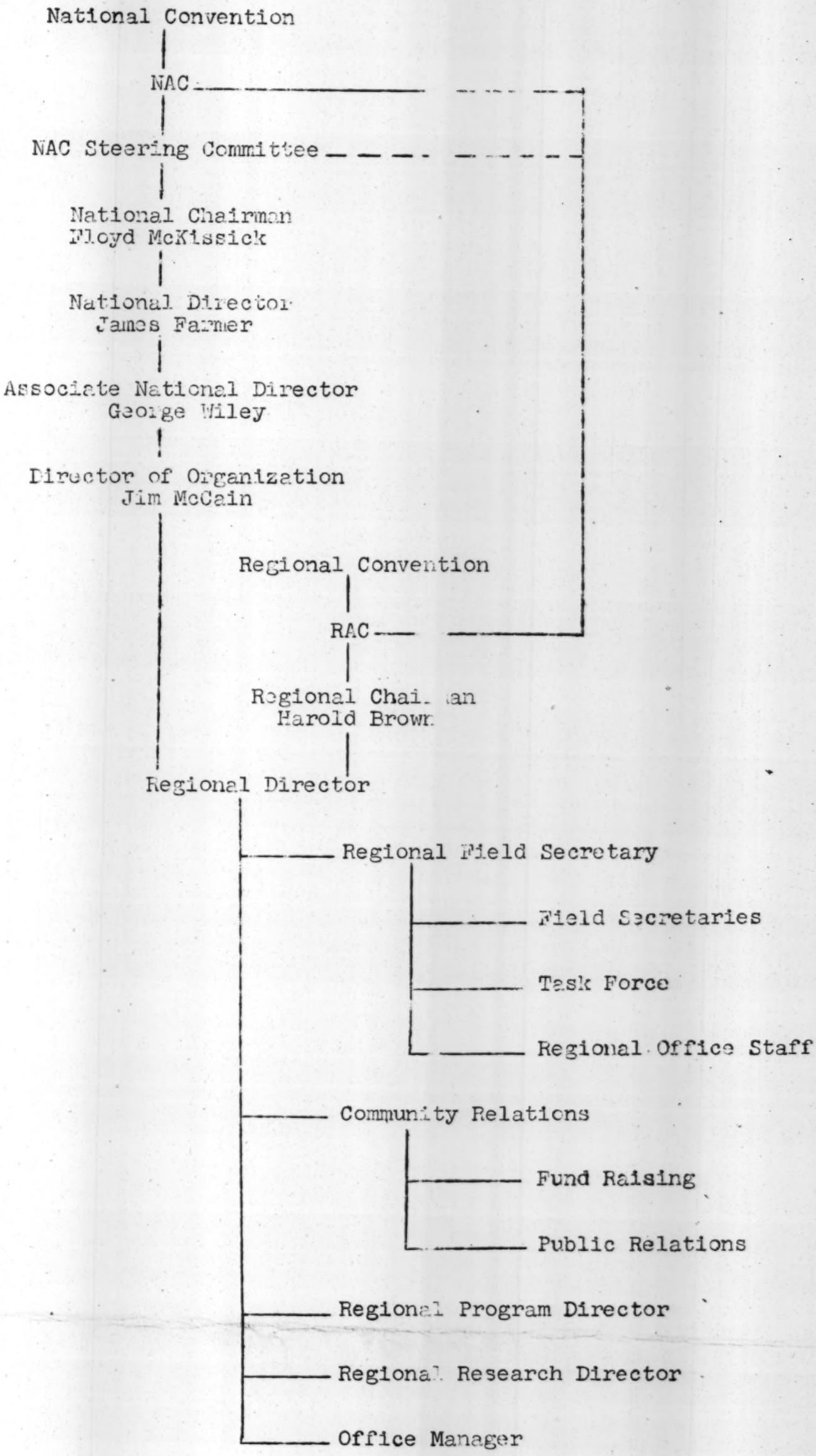
The Office Manager will be directly responsible to the Assistant to the Regional Director and the Administrative Director.

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES
(As of October 7, 1964)

James Farmer	$12,500
General Counsel	12,000
Marvin Rich	9,[illegible]00
James McCain	9,500
Richard Haley	8,600
Gordon Carey	8,400
Val Coleman	7,800
Clora Coleman	6,700
Robert Gore	6,400
Benjamin Brown	5,800
Mary Hernandez	4,900

SCALE

National Director	$12,500 - 15,000
Administrator and General Counsel	11,500 - 12,500
Department Heads	7,500 - 11,500
Regional Directors	6,000 - 9,000
Departmental Assistants	5,500 - 8,000
Office Manager	5,500 - 7,500
Field Secretaries	4,300 - 6,700
Staff Associates	4,900 - 6,400


National Convention
NAC
NAC Steering Committee
National Chairman
Floyd McKissick
National Director
James Farmer
Associate National Director
George Wiley
Director of Organization
Jim McCain
Regional Convention
RAC
Regional Chairman
Harold Brown
Regional Director
Regional Field Secretary
Field Secretaries
Task Force
Regional Office Staff
Community Relations
Fund Raising
Public Relations
Regional Program Director
Regional Research Director
Office Manager

15 February, 1965

B. Wiley

MEMO TO: Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director

FROM: Shirley Mesher, Western Regional Office

SUBJECT: Questions and Answers Regarding Financial Situation in Western Region Need Immediate Reply. All of this per instructions of Wilfred T. Ussery

A. Total Collected to Date (10 February,1965) from Shirley Mesher Personal Appeal: $593.00. All deposited in Regional Action Council Account.

B. Other Revenue in Regional Action Account as of 9 February 1965: $39.03

(It is my understanding that previous monies that came in from National and other sources and previous expenditures during the past few months have been accounted for in a report sent in to the Bookkeeping Department of the National Office.)

C. Total Chaney Account as of 9 February 1965: $230.00
($50.00 was also sent by San Francisco CORE directly to CORE in Mississippi.)

Mrs. Chaney made an appeal, through a friend of hers in the Bay Area, to come to California. This was brought before the Regional Convention in November and they voted to raise the funds for travel and expenses to bring and relocate Mrs. Chaney and her family to California. Supposedly, though they could not be located, she has relatives in Bakersfield. The various chapters were to raise the funds.

Now we understand that she plans to move to New York at the end of this summer and that Ben Chaney will "go to the same school that Andrew Goodman attended". Does this mean that financial expenses are being met by private sources in New York and/or National CORE?

WHAT should now be done with the special monies raised so far? Should chapters be encouraged or discouraged from raising any further funds for this purpose?

D. Total in from chapters to finance Virginia Burton's trip to January NAC Steering Committee Meeting: $175.00.

E. Money borrowed from Mesher Personal Appeal funds by the Western Region to send Virginia Burton to January 1965 Steering Committee meeting: $$354.71 ; ($304.71 for airplane fare plus $50.00 expense money) per instruction Wil Ussery.

($175.00 should be subtracted from this total - see D.)

F. Current balance of Personal Appeal Funds now on deposit in Bank: $413.29

(This is what should be there. However, would imagine that further amounts have been used for on-going office expenses.)

WHAT should be done with any remaining deposits from personal appeal fund?
WHAT should be done with any more donations that come in in response to same?
(I estimate that several hundred more dollars will yet come in.)

cont'd.

G. Enumeration of pressing Regional Office Expenses: (There are many others.)

1. Rent - It is now 3 months delinquint : $165.00 already owed. ($55 per mo.)

2. Office and Paper Supplies now owed: $320.00. (National has bills)

3. Telephone Bill: ?? (Bills directly sent to National.)

4. Personal re-emburesements currently mowed to staff members sfor office expenses: $75.00 (approximate).

5. Current Postage and Petty Cash Needs: $200.00 (see more detailed report submitted by Wil Ussery.

N. SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS are requested as to depositing procedure for fubure funds coming into this office (from National and donations) and as to the use of these funds to meet expenses of this office and as to the payment of debts incurred by this office.

Itemized and detailed directions are needed immediately so that operations can be resumed and/or started.

What expenses will National continue to meet? What should be billed directly to National? Will a new system go into effect ~~in~~ when Ike Reynolds arrives? Who can properly authorize expenditures? ...With what limitations?

In the meantime, we remain stymied and bewildered.... and deciding on a day by day basis.

Best regards.

SM

Shirley Mesher

✓cc: George Wiley

P.S. When shall we overcome?

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
February 17, 1965

TO: NAC members
FROM: George Wiley
RE: Western RAC Constitution

The following are Alan Gartner's comments on the constitution adopted by the Western Regional Convention.

Article I
In saying that the "highest governing body of CORE within the Western Region is the Western Regional Convention", this appears to directly subvert the authority of national CORE and its governing bodies. I would assume (I hope) that they don't mean to do this, but nonetheless I would think it imperative that this be changed.

Article III, Section 2
The first part of this section is a direct quotation from Article XII of the National Constitution, which establishes the powers and functions of the RAC. However, the last sentence of the Western constitution is new and additional. The resolution of conflicts between chapters, between a chapter and the Western RAC, and the binding nature of this power, is an additional power which at the very least subverts some of the present sovereignty of the chapters and dilutes some of the powers of the NAC and Steering Committee. On the latter point, I would think that the national organization, either through its convention or the NAC, ought to decide whether it wants to give up this power.

Article III, Section 3
The power to raise funds does not state in what manner these funds will be raised. In light of the NAC resolution passed this past weekend, the limited power of the Western RAC to raise funds ought to be made clear. It would be my understanding that the only way the RACs could raise money would be from chapters.

Article IV, Section 2
At present the chapters have the power to establish regional organizations with the permission of the NAC (By-Law 1). This section of the Western constitution would prevent the establishment of such organizations - viz. metropolitan coordinating councils or statewide councils - without RAC approval; thus this clause subverts some of the present sovereignty of chapters.

Article VI, Section 2
The power of the "Regional Counsel" to "supervise and coordinate all CORE legal work in the Western Region" subverts the power and authority of CORE's Legal Department. Theoretically, as this constitution reads, the general counsel of the national office would have to get permission from the Western Regional Counsel in order to take action within that region.

Article VII, Section 3
This voting formula is at least inconsistent with national CORE's procedures. I guess it might be possible for a community chapter, feeling its privileges diluted because campus chapters are more fully represented in the Western Convention than they are in the National Convention, to raise some serious questions.

Article VIII, Section 1
This clause takes powers away from the chapters regarding independent projects. At present only national CORE - by declaring something of a "National project" - may do this.

In summary:

There are a number of parts which are clearly unconstitutional, in that they directly contradict or subvert the constituted authority of national CORE. Within this grouping would be Article I and Article VI, Section 2.

Other parts go beyond the powers granted to RACs by the national constitution. This includes Articles III, Section 2.

Several matters are unclear or inconsistent with national CORE's constitution. This includes Article III, Section 3 and Article VII, Section 3.

And finally, several points take away authority from the chapters which they presently possess. This includes Article IV, Section 2 and Article VIII, Section 1.

Obviously, where the Western constitution violates that of national CORE, it must be changed. Where authority is appropriated which exceeds that granted in the national constitution, a decision will have to be made as to whether this is to be permitted. Where chapter sovereignty is violated, I would think that the chapters would have to unanimously agree that they want to give over those powers to the RAC, or at least the national governing body ought to agree to these steps.

Pete staff-prof.

MAR 5 1965

COPY

March 3, 1965

Maxine Skurka
Department of Organization
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, N..Y. 10038

Dear Maxine:

I would urgently request that you inform Jim McCain that San Francisco is not the lost paradise or the promised land.

Eighty-five a month for a furnished apartment is more than reasonable when one thinks in terms of San Francisco economy. If I stayed in the YMCA, I would have to pay the astronomical sum of two ($2.00) dollars a night, or Seventy ($70.00) dollars a month.

I can assure everyone that I am not living in some high rent co-op. The apartment that I have rented is in the heart of the ghetto, two and one half blocks from the office.

My home address is 2338 Pine Street, Apt. 6.

Sincerely,

s/Isaac Reynolds

IR:ler

Isaac Reynolds

cc: George Wiley

staff
MAR 30 1965

March 25th, 1965

Isaac Reynolds
Western Region Field Secty.
CORE, 2085 Sutter St.
San Francisco, California

Dear Ike;

I am now back in Los Angeles. A rally has been scheduled for tonight at which I am to speak. This will wind up the demonstrations around Selma unless something new developes there.

We sent 35 of the kids who had participated in the two weeks of demonstrations to Montgomery Alabama. The feeling was that the trip into the deep South would help them in their civil rights development along with bringing them closer to CORE.

I just ended my second visit to Pomona CORE. The chapter was on the verge of a black-white split. The trouble centered around the ex-chairman, a white southerner, who was manipulating to retain control of the chapter. The constitution was written so as to allow one man control of all program. How that constitution cleared the National Office, I'll never know. When I get back to San Francisco, I intend to write a report on the whole subject of constitutions and chapter stucture with recommendations.

Anyway, I feel that the Pomona situation is now in hand but I will continue to work closely with the chapter.

After the rally tonight, I will be going back to Riverside. I want to spend a few more days with the chapter before making a recommendation on their status. From there, I will be going into the "hell hole", Orange County. If all goes well, I intend to stop at Bakersfield and come back into San francisco. I have loads of information for you.

Yours For Freedom

L.

Louis S. Smith
Field Secretary

C.C. George Willey
Jim McCain

[redacted] ganization with affiliated local groups working

[redacted] PRESS OF

CORE

Western Regional Office

APR 5 19[redacted]

[redacted] discrimination [redacted]

March 31, 1965

Western Union
742 Market Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Sirs:

In response to your letter of March 18, 1965, regarding our Western Union account, I find that I am unable to determine, from your letter, how much money is actually due and owing, and from when.

For example the amounts you say are outstanding do not correspond with the copies of the bills you sent along with the letter. Also, in some instances you do not state whether the amount involved was accrued in 1963 or 1964.

Perhaps the best way to figure this out is to send us copies of the messages sent on the different dates you mentioned.

Your cooperation will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Isaac Reynolds,
Field Secretary
Western Region

IR:lr

CLORA AND GEORGE:

The $98.00 sent to pay the Western Union bill has been used for other office expenses.

Regional Office
2085 Sutter Street
San Francisco, Calif 94115

APR 30 1965

file Core
Western Reg. Office

April 28, 1965

Clora Coleman
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y. 10038

Dear Clora:

Enclosed with this letter you will find several bills.

I well understand our financial condition, however the present method of paying our bills in the western region is very unsatisfactory and borders on being childish. I can't understand why its necessary that I have to w4ite or call the national office every time a bill has to be paid or to check with you to see if a check has been mailed to cover the payment of a bill.

The organization has been made to look foolish more than once because I haven't been able to tell a person or a firm when they would be paid, why they haven't been paid, or if a check has been mailed to them without first calling or writing the national office. There are certain bills that accrue every month that could and should be paid from this office. If we are short of funds to meet some of our bills, the national office could and should inform us that the bills will not be paid.

This letter is later coming because I am working on a report that will contain recommendations that could eliminate the above mention problems. Although the letter is late, I feel that its necessary because if my recommendations are not accepted the problems will still be with us. I would strongly suggest that George and you work something out to solve the problems as soon as possible.

The enclosed money ($202.68) is from the sell of seven jazz records ($35) and an honoraium ($100) and expenses reimbursed ($67.68) by the Calif Counsel for Social Studies. We received two trabelers cheques for forty dollars ($40) for payment of the records and Lois Rogers gave the people their change from her own money. I reimbursed her five dollars ($5) out of the total amount and you now have the balance.

cc G. Wiley
T. McCain
M. Skuska

Sincerely,

d

Isaac Reynolds

Mr. Farmer
file Western Reg Office

Western Regional Office
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
2085 Sutter Street
San Francisco, California

April 29, 1965

WESTERN REGION FIELD REPORT

TO: JAMES T. McCAIN, DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

FROM: ISAAC REYNOLDS, WESTERN REGION FIELD SECRETARY

SUBJECT: WESTERN REGION

Since I've been on the West Coast, I've been rushing here and rushing there and never seem to be getting anywhere.

We found the office staff and volunteers with no idea of their scope of authority or what their functions were. This was a simple matter to solve because of the small number of people involved and the releasing of Shirley Mesher.

After Lou arrived, we began to visit the chapters to asses their needs and abilities to function as a chapter should. I soon discovered why some people advocate the disbanning of our chapter structure. I've visited groups from Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, to Santa Barbara, California, and have found less than ten chapters that were aware of the role that they should take within the community, or of their place within the organization.

Both Lou and I have encountered chapters which have no knowledge of the Convention, McKissick, Farmer, or the over-all structure of CORE. The majority of the chapters have no idea of what they should ask or expect from the National Office or the Regional Office, and I am thoroughly convinced that you (the National Office) nor I (the Regional Office) have any idea of their wants or needs. These conditions prevail here and elsewhere because of a poorly trained staff, poorly located, and in many instances their placement has been politically moved.

The Western Region has been a victim of our faults, and in the words of Malcom X, "We are reaping what we have sowed". Many of the chapters have

drifted, and others are drifting, away from the National Structure because we are not serving them in the way they should be served. Many of the chapters haven't seen a staff person in over eighteen months, and others have never seen one.

I propose we begin instituting changes, and that we begin now in the Western Region by closing the Regional Office no later than June 1. The office as it is now staffed is unable to serve the Chapters properly, and because of the condition of most of the chapters, they are not ready for or need a Regional Office. The belief that an office can serve an area as large as the Western Region with two people tends to give the impression that one is inebriate or insane. The office needs a Regional Director, Program Department, Research Department, Fund Raiser, and three Field Secretaries to be effective as an office.

At the present time, we are unable to provide the office with the necessary material or staff to make it effective. It is extremely important that we stop trying to build from the top, and start at the bottom with the chapters, and work our way up to a Regional Office.

We have been alloted Five Hundred ($500) dollars a month for office expenses. The five hundred dollars, which we have never received, and the salary of the office secretary, Three Hundred Fifty ($350) a month, is more than enough to hire two additional Field Secretaries, or we can use the amount that we have actually spent to show that this change would not cause an increase in our expenses; if anything it will cut travel expenses by placing the people, say in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Denver, or in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle.

Secretary salary	$350.00 per month
Phone - w month average	150.00 per month
Typewriter	25.00 per month
Postage	75.00 per month
Answering Service	18.00 per month

Total Actually spent $718.00 per month

The seven hundred dollars plus, is enough to hire two Field Secretaries. The chapters in Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles have more than ample space and have indicated their willingness to have staff use their office space when necessary.

I would be transferred because, as I suspected, I am not as effective in the West as I feel that I should be, or as CORE would expect me to be.

If action is not taken on these suggestions, I fear that we'll be in serious danger of losing many more chapters and people because of the lack of effort on our part. The recommendations are reiterated below:

1. Close the Western Regional Office by June 1, 1965
2. Hire two Field Secretaries (Bill Brown, Ed Vickery, Bill Bradley, or Walt Riley) with the money now used to operate the office.
3. Transfer me - South - I hate to tell you that I told you so, but we need experienced people in the South now.
4. Put Lou Smith in charge of the Western Region.
5. Reconsider opening the Western Regional Office in a year, or a year and a half.
6. Assign the Assistant in the Fund Raising Department to the West Coast.
7. Bring the staff to the Convention 2 or 3 days early or have them stay late for a staff workshop.
8. Assign staff to workshops during the Convention, and have other Staff members audit their workshops and make constructive suggestions.
9. When hiring new Field Secretaries, assign them to old staff members during their probation period.

Sincerely,

Isaac Reynolds
Western Regional Field Secretary

IR:lr

file
West. Reg. Office

MEMORANDUM

TO: CARLOS ORSINI

FROM: CLORA COLEMAN, OFFICE MANAGER DATE: 5/14/65

cc: ED DAY, GEORGE WILEY, Ike Reynolds

In the future all checks in payment of bills incurred by the West Coast Regional Office are to be sent to Ike Reynolds in this office; this is to include Pacific Coast Telephone, Western Union, I.B.M. Typewriter Rental,etc. Some bills such as the rent for this office are paid by Ike from monies sent him for this purpose. Since we do not have a West Coast bank account at present these checks are made out to Ike Reynolds and countersigned for whatever purpose they are to be used; payments for bills which we receive here are made out to the payee and cleared through Ike.

West Reg

AUG 3 1965

3219 Adeline St
Berkeley, California
July 31st, 1965

TO : George Wiley, Associate National Director

FROM: Louis S. Smith, Western Region Field Secretary

Re : Request for report on staff location

I will be leaving the office tomorrow afternoon for a tour of the CORE Chapters in the Northern half of the Region. My first stop will be Eugene Oregon and from there to Seattle. I hope to make it as far as Edmonton Canada.

I have spoken to the Eugene Chapter and found that they are presently involved in action and could use my help. It is difficult to say how long I will have to stay there so just assume that I am in Eugene untill I notify you otherwise.

Present plans call for my explaining CORE'S new direction to the Chapters and setting up fund raising apparatus for our Southern Programs. (Money to be sent to the National Office).

Yours For Freedom

P.S. Received your memo concerning the training conference on the 27th of September and have cleared my calendar so as to be free.

The bad typing can be blamed on me, (as well as the spelling) but I cannot be blamed for the "pinko" ribbon.

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
October 21, 1965

TO: Morris Abram and William T. Coleman, Jr.
FROM: James Farmer and George Wiley
RE: Suggestions for the organization of the White House Conference on Civil Rights

The idea of a White House Conference to explore the basic elements necessary to give substance to the American ideal of full citizenship for all of its citizens is praiseworthy. The general theme of "to fulfill These Rights" seems broad enough to cover the areas that should be discussed. A narrow emphasis on the so-called Moynihan Report - that is to say on the "problems of the Negro family" - would be to avoid the most fundamental issues meeting consideration. Neither should the Conference begin with the assumption that we now have the necessary framework of laws, policies and machinery to assure the rights of Negro Americans, and that the task now is boiled down to the preparation of Negroes to accept the rights and responsibilities. For many of us are painfully aware that eleven years after the Supreme Court's historic decision on school desegregation and a year after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, only seven and a half percent of the school-age Negroes in the South have entered predominantly white schools. We are also aware that de facto segregation plagues our school systems in the North, maintained by subtler forms of discrimination now becoming institutionalized in the urban centers of the North.

We could also point to the failure of justice in southern courts, when Negroes or civil rights workers are involved - another example of the failure of the institutions of our society to deal justly with the American Negro. The Conference must deal with the adequacy of the framework of our laws, customs and institutions to bring about the fulfillment of rights for Negro citizens. It must deal with the questions of what are the impediments to the implementation of our national policy to desegregate the schools, to give Negroes access to the political process, decent and integrated housing, jobs and justice before the law.

We also believe that there are major problems to be considered, which transcend the question of racial discrimination, though these problems are grevely aggravated by discrimination. It seems to us that the major problems are bodically economic in origin and that the "crisis" of the Negro family is a result as opposed to a cause. If our society provided adequate numbers of jobs paying decent enough wages for Negro families to maintain themselves with some sense of dignity and self-respect, much of the apparent family pathology would rapidly vanish. There appear to be people high in government who believe the exact converse of this premise. We would welcome the Conference as a vehicle for debate of these questions. In this connection, we have also fundamental questions to ask about the War on Poverty.

than encompassing a broader spectrum of minority groups. We recognize that the Negro is not alone in facing discrimination and poverty. But he is some 92 percent of the nation's non-white population and has faced oppression the longest and to the greatest degree.

We suggest that you invite those within the government, the civil rights community, and the academic world who have demonstrated knowledge and concern in this area. As a result of such preliminary discussion at the November meeting, we would expect the development of a comprehensive and reliable account of the "state of the Negro" in America for the spring meeting.

We believe that the November Conference should be a working session, limited to approximately 100 persons participating in workshops and panel sessions. We suggest that all invitees be asked to commit themselves to participation in the entire program of the Conference. Those invited ought to be representatives of all of the civil rights groups, key government officials, a representation of church, civic, and labor organizations, members of the academic community and others with a demonstrable contribution to make, including "grassroots" persons who can bring to the Conference the truth of their own experiences and knowledge, a due leavening from vicarious speculation and secondary generalizations. The November meetings should not be merely procedural preparation for the spring Conference, but should come to grips - at least in an exploratory way - with some of the major problems and set the direction and tone for the spring meeting. Following these meetings, we would then envisage the spring Conference as a larger group of people exploring some of the more specialized areas in greater detail.

The content of the November meeting (as well as that of the one in the spring) might well be divided into three parts. First, what is the situation today? Second, where are we in terms of implementation of present laws and programs? And third, what more needs to be done in the way of new laws and programs.

We will submit some specific suggestions on names of persons who we think would have a valuable contribution to make to the November Conference.

c-o-p-y

INDICTMENT

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA
MIAMI DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
v.
WILLIAM WORTHY, JR.

Cr. No. 214-62-m-Cr.
Filed 4.24.62

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

That on or about October 10, 1961, at which time there was in force and effect a state of national emergency proclaimed by the President of the United States, William Worthy, Jr. the defendant herein, then and there being a citizen of the United States and not being within any of the exceptions contained in the regulations duly issued and promulgated under Section 1185(b) of Title 8, United States Code, to wit: 22 CFR 53.2 and 53.3, at the Miami International Airport, Miami, Florida, within the Southern District of Florida did unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly enter the United States without bearing a valid passport, the said defendant then and there having arrived from the Republic of Cuba, a place outside the United States for which a valid passport is required under the aforesaid regulations.

1952

In violation of Section 1185(b), Title 8 United States Code.

A TRUE BILL

5 yrs. prison
$5000 fine

/s/
Foreman

Edward F. Boardman
United States Attorney

Alta M. Beatty
Special Attorney
U.S. Department of Justice

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

July 23, 1962

Will attend

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

On August 7 in the racially and politically hostile atmosphere of Miami, William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, goes on trial on the unprecedented charge of returning home to his native land "without bearing a valid passport." Because of vehement Justice Department opposition to a change of venue, Mr. Worthy's volunteer attorneys lost on a motion to have the trial transferred to New York or Washington.

This vindictive and discriminatory prosecution, under the 1952 McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act, represents a threat to all of us and to the principles of liberty that we hold dear. In singling out Mr. Worthy and no one else for prosecution, the federal government is affronting the entire Negro community. If successful in obtaining a conviction, the Justice Department will have gravely encroached upon freedom of the press and the constitutional right to travel.

Because of the seriousness of this case, and because of my role as vice-president of the Workers Defense League which has undertaken Mr. Worthy's defense, I am inviting Negro leaders to meet with me at my office on Tuesday, July 31, at 2:00 p.m. Mr. Worthy will give us a report on the facts and background of the case, and then we will move on to appropriate action.

Will you let me know if you can join us? I hope very much that you will be present.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

P.S. If you will not be in the city on July 31, won't you kindly send a representative who can sign, in your name, any collective statement decided on by those present.

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

112 EAST 19TH STREET NEW YORK 3, N. Y. ALGONQUIN 4-4953

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president

HARRY FLEISCHMAN
chairman of the board

GEORGE S. COUNTS
treasurer

VERA RONY
national secretary

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NATHANIEL M. MINKOFF
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FRANCIS SHANE
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WILLIAM STERN
NORMAN THOMAS
ROWLAND WATTS
ROY WILKINS
PEARL WILLEN
MORTON WISHENGRAD
JERRY WURF
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL
ARNOLD S. ZANDER

CAROLA WEINGARTEN
administrative secretary

We invite you to join with us in an unusual action, a petition to the Attorney General to discontinue the prosecution of William Worthy for returning to the country of his birthwithout a passport. Worthy, who is represented by attorney William Kunstler, acting in behalf of the Workers Defense League, will stand trial in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida on August 6th.

Worthy, a foreign correspondent for the Baltimore Afro American was refused renewal of his passport in 1957, after he visited China in defiance of a government ban on such travel. The U.S. District Court in an appeal taken by the American Civil Liberties Union, upheld this refusal. The Court of Appeals (D.C. District) affirmed this decision and the U.S. Supreme Court refused review. The present indictment was issued after Worthy returned from a trip abroad in the course of which he visited Cuba, travelling only with birth and vaccination certificates. His newspaper dispatches have been favorable to the government of Cuba, and critical of American foreign policy.

This case is unique in that for the first time a native born American citizens, who has not lost his citizenship, is facing criminal prosecution for returning to the United States without a passport. This brings into sharp focus the area of permissable restraint which can be exercised by the government during peacetime. We believe that this prosecution is particularly outrageous because it appears to be a blatant attempt to suppress public expression of opposition to American foreign policy. We are therefore, taking a step unusual for lawyers, in requesting that the prosecution be discontinued.

Kent-Dulles Case

Ample precedent for such action has been established, not only in the hundreds of cases that are non prossed by local U.S. attorneys every year, but also in those instances where the Solicitor General of the U.S. has confessed error on the part of the government by refusing to prosecute an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

We hope, therefore, that you will wish to join with us in this petition by so indicating on the enclosed card. May we urgently request that this be returned to us at once, as we wish to present the petition to the Attorney General prior to the date of trial, August 6th.

Sincerely,

HARROP FREEMAN
Cornell University
Law School

ROWLAND WATTS
Special Counsel
Workers Defense
League

MELVIN WULF
Legal Director
American Civil Liberties
Union

oeiu 153
Encl:

July 31, 1962

STATEMENT RE: WILLIAM WORTHY CASE

One week from today, on August 7, 1962, William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, is scheduled to be tried in U.S. District Court in Miami for the unheard-of "crime" of re-entering the country of his birth "without bearing a valid passport."

For the overwhelming span of American history nearly all U.S. citizens who journed abroad did so freely, without carrying any kind of official document. It is an unfortunate mark of our present-day regimented thinking and behavior that, since 1952, the American people have accepted and tolerated the McCarran Act provision requiring a passport as a condition of departure and re-entry.

Over and above this specific law, which has been very harmful to America's reputation abroad, stands the fact that only Mr. Worthy has been indicted on charges of lacking a passport. Civil Liberties lawyers who have checked the record of enforcement assert that numerous white citizens not bearing passports have left the United States and returned, without being penalized in any way by the Department of Justice. Since Mr. Worthy is colored, the peoples of the world inevitably draw their own conclusions.

With all the forcefulness at our command we call for the indictment to be quashed forthwith. It appears that the McCarran Act of 1952 is not only blatantly unconstitutional in restricting the right to travel, but that Mr. Worthy is being singled out for prosecution because he reports the news as he sees it and upholds the people's right to know.

In the remaining days before the scheduled trial we call on Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to grant an immediate appointment to a delegation chosen by the undersigned, in order that the Administration better understand that the colored community has a deep and abiding concern with the outcome of this extraordinary and improper indictment.

Office of: A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Telephone MOnument 2-5080

H42-1160

43 rd & 5th Ave.
2 P.M.
571 5th St.
Manhattan

Richard — Jim McCain attended this meeting

AUG 20 1965

A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
suite 301
New York 27, New York
MOnument 2-5080

August 17, 1962

Dear Friend:

Yesterday at a meeting of Harlem leaders in my office the Committee for the Freedom of William Worthy was formally organized.

With the help of two subcommittees on mass action and finance we intend in the next few weeks to bring the "illegal re-entry" conviction of William Worthy before the bar of American and world opinion.

Many concerned persons throughout the country will join with us to arouse community interest and support. We intend to let President Kennedy know the uncompromising determination of Negroes to fight for the complete vindication of an honest newsman.

Our mass action subcommittee will meet Tuesday afternoon, August 21, 2:00 P.M., at my office.

The group as a whole will meet on Thursday afternoon, August 23, 2:00 P.M., also at my office.

I hope that you, or your representative, will be able to join us.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

enclosure

P.S. A self-explanatory petition is enclosed. We can supply further copies on request. Or would it be possible for you to duplicate it promptly, for the widest possible circulation?

We would appreciate having all petitions returned to this office when signed.

COMMITTEE FOR THE FREEDOM OF WILLIAM WORTHY
217 WEST 125 STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y., ROOM 301

PETITION TO:

Honorable John F. Kennedy
President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

William Worthy, world famous Afro-American newsman, was convicted August 8th in Miami, Florida for the crime of entering his own country of birth without a valid passport. This violates his constitutional rights to travel and report news across the world. This is the first case of its kind in American history. We protest his conviction as citizens of the United States and as Afro-Americans.

Name	Address	Telephone

PETITION

The Honorable Robert F. Kennedy
Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D.C.

The undersigned respectfully present to the Attorney General of the United States their objections to the indictment of William Worthy under Section 1185(b) of Title 8 of the United States Code.

Mr. Worthy, a native-born United States citizen and an accredited member of the press, has been indicted for entering the United States without bearing an American passport. Our objections in law are set out below. In addition, we believe that the indictment of Mr. Worthy is a serious blow to the freedom of the press and, more generally, to the constitutional right to travel that is guaranteed to all citizens.

We urge that the prosecution be discontinued.

Ample precedent exists for such action, as U.S. attorneys often non pros cases and the Solicitor General on occasion refuses to press an appeal to the Supreme Court.

1) We have all read the full indictment. We believe it invalid for indefiniteness, as not stating a crime, as unequal or vindictive prosecution, and contrary to the Constitution and law as hereafter set forth.

2) All of us address ourselves to the legal questions involved in the statute, regulations and action taken:

a) Section 1185(b) U.S.C. and the indictment tries to make it "unlawful for any citizen of the United States to depart from or enter, or attempt to depart from or enter, the United States unless he bears a valid passport." This, the Attorney General has attempted to apply to William Worthy, a citizen. But "entry"

is defined by 8 USC* as "The term 'entry' means any coming of an alien into the United States, from a foreign port or place or from an outlying possession, whether voluntary or otherwise..." Since Mr. Worthy is a citizen and not an alien he has not made an entry within the meaning of the statute.

b) Section 1185 of the statute is so badly drawn, inconsistent and indefinite as to be invalid as a criminal statute: (1) Note par. 2(a) above. (2) The term "United States" is defined as including all territory and waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. This would mean that if any American were to sail or fish outside the territorial water and return into such water, each such trip would be a criminal violation of sec. 1185 -- there must be thousands of such cases (never prosecuted) each year. (3) Any citizen who lost his passport, had it stolen, or returned from a country which a passport was not required until recently would violate the statute.

c) This is the first case of which we know wherein an American citizen has been prosecuted for trying to return to his home. The whole theory of citizenship and domicile is the place to which one can return, unimpeded, from wherever he may be.

d) Any Supreme Court case upholding the constitutionality of antecedent sections similar to sec. 1185 (22 U.S.C. 223-226) did so on the basis of an exercise of the war power in time of war or on the power to regulate the entry or movement of aliens. We are not at war and Mr. Worthy is not an alien.

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* Sec. 1101 (18) for all of Chapter 12, of which sec. 1185 is part.

e) Section 1185(b) requires, as a criminal statute must, proof that Mr. Worthy willfully made an illegal entry. The facts do not justify any such construction. Mr. Worthy merely came into Miami Airport to be admitted to entry into the United States. He did not clandestinely sneak acress a border. At the Miami Airport he presented certain documents normally required for entry -- health certificate, vaccination, birth certificate. These were accepted by the immigration, health and customs officials as authority for Mr. Worthy toreturn home; and they so permitted him to do. Mr. Worthy therefore made a legal entry with the permission of the only United States officials authorized to pass upon this question.

f) Even if Mr. Worthy had no "documents" with him, his coming to the Miami Airport would not be illegal. The United States officials there might properly have given him a passport, restricted passport, an entry permit or other documents entitling him to come back home. He could not tell whether he would get such documents and be welcomed home or not until he presented himself. He is entitled to present himself for the purpose of ascertaining these things without any criminal liability for so doing; he is not thus guilty of willful illegal entry. If documents were needed and not given presumably Worthy could turn back.

g) Even under the literal words of the statute (sec. 1185) the "documents" which Mr. Worthy showed at the Miami Airport were permits to enter so that the entry could not be illegal. The section (1185 g) reads: "Passports, visas, reentry permits and other documents required for entry under this chapter may be considered as permits to enter for the purpose of this section."

Mr. Worthy, either under the facts in (f) or (g) above, therefore made a legal rather than an illegal return to continental United States, his home.

h) The earlier Circuit Court decision (Worthy v. Herter) that one who had used or might use the passport to go to another country to which travel was restricted by Executive order does not authorize the present prosecution. It may be that the giving of a paper "passport" is a "sanction" of travel abroad so that the government does not have to give a passport for areas where it cannot sanction or guarantee travel with safety. It is quite another thing -- something never before held -- that (1) an American citizen is guilty of a crime for travelling without a passport (without sanction or protection); (2) and above all that a citizen who returns home, not having sought sanction or protection or in any way harmed the United States is, by the act of returning home, made a criminal.

i) Mr. Worthy is a fully accredited news reporter of independent and eminent standing. He has, in addition to the <u>right</u> of every American citizen to travel, the <u>right</u> and <u>obligation</u> to maintain freedom of the press. The press is constantly going to areas for which valid passports and visas are not given to ordinary citizens -- the war zones in times of war, Korea, Congo, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, etc, etc. The American people are entitled to and need American reporters to report facts -- not to rely on what other nations furnish us.

* * *
* * *

Change of venue

Small group to Washington to confer with Atty-Gen.

Pleading ignorance of the law with perhaps more reason than Mr. Randolph, can

Dr. Cartwright to carry challenge to OPC

Ask Miami CORE to attend trial — Main U.S.P.O north courtroom Monday, Aug. 6.

Farma wishes opportunity to sign statement

Will be willing to send telegram.

Worthy in N.Y.

SP 7-6346

October 14, 1944

GPK

Minutes of the National Executive Committee of the
Congress of Racial Equality

George Houser opened the meeting in the absence of James Farmer, Chrmn. Bonnie Blair and Bernice Fisher opened the discussion of groups in other cities; others added information to make the following report: Detroit has about a dozen active members who meet regularly. Activity is not at its highest point; but there are good plans being made. New members are needed. Columbus Vanguard League continues to meet every Thursday with about twenty active members and with mass meetings bi-monthly with three or four hundred. Focus of attention at the present is on integration of teachers in the public schools, and on a hospital survey. New York CORE is not reporting much in the way of action at present; but has made such people as Ann Hedgeman aware of their existence. (At this point George Houser made a point of the fact that in spite of lessened activity now and then in some groups, there is an increasing awareness of CORE and its possibilities.) Chicago CORE continues active in spite of a decided loss of leadership in the spring. Units are concentrating on housing and schools, with an impending campaign against jim-crow in the University of Chicago. One interesting point is that the group has voted to expand activities into the areas of anti-Semitism and anti-Japanese prejudice. Cleveland's group was reported not yet ready to join the national federation. It is doing things in the right direction...as is illustrated by the roller skating rink case and by the episode at the pool, with which most CORE people are familiar. The YMCA is a focus of attention. Syracuse CORE has suffered also from a loss of leadership since the departure of three leaders in a few months. Washington has the problem of two groups, neither of which is actually a CORE group, but both of which have had similar activities. (Later on in the week-end, Jim Farmer spoke of a new group which seemed headed for CORE participation.) Denver has written and asked to affiliate. The group seems both dynamic and respected. San Francisco CORE is concentrating on the YM, police education, public places, etc. Indianapolis CORE seems to have taken on new life and is interested in affiliating. Seattle is a question mark, with three names of contacts, but no definite CORE group. Harrisburg has a good group with promising action, but again not crystallized as a CORE. Kansas City(Kan. and Mo.) have groups which were represented at the last national conference, and seem to be doing good work from all reports.

The first item on the agenda concerned the constitution, whose initial concern was officers. The Correlator Editor brought several points for discussion with the following conclusions...the paper is to be issued every two months beginning with the November copy; it is to be brief as possible and to play up CORE action; yet to include news of FEPC etc. as it is currently of interest. The question was raised as to the inclusion of CPS news which might give the wrong impression to readers who were not aware of CORE's neutrality on that question. It was decided that each vice-chairman should have a committee, and that if possible Priscilla Jackson be included on the CORRELATOR staff. The CORE list was revised for the use of Bonnie Blair and other officers; and the secretary instructed to send copies to all officers etc. The vice-Chairman in charge of affiliations, Vincent Baker, was unable to attend the conference. It was voted that the Secretary write to him urging letters to go immediately to all contacts, and that they should be regularly informed as to CORE matters. In case the burden was too much for Vincent, George Houser felt it important enough that he volunteered to fill in if necessary, as assisting in the group contact. Vincent too was urged to have a committee help.

The vice-President in charge of Literature and Publications asked that the title be changed to Education and Literature. George Houser led in a discussion of a leaflet similar to "What is CORE". After lengthy consideration of varying points of views, it was decided that there was a need for a leaflet focussing on the idea of CORE, what has been done, and the technique of non-violence. This leaflet was analyzed, and the question raised as to whether CORE has not in the past stressed the technique almost to making it a fetish, and that perhaps CORE should deal with problems from the view of solving them the best possible way, rather than emphasizing the non-violence. It was finally decided that Bernice Fisher should write the leaflet with this point of view, but that George Houser should revise it and send it to the members for corroberation. Most of the group felt, in spite of this criticism, that non-violence was essential to CORE as CORE. The duties of the Sec'y treasurer were next on the program. She was asked to send stationery to officers.. to mail the minutes of the meeting. (Financing was finally left in the hands of a special committee, headed by Eugene Stevens of Vanguard League A necessity budget of two hundred and fifty dollars was decided upon, and letters voted to be sent to contacts and members.

Jim Farmer who had arrived to preside over the sessions, helped to set the next convention for the 2,3,4 of June in Columbus. This group of the Executive committee, in essence the Council, would have to meet again (probably Jan. 6,7 in Detroit) and act as a Council, after asking all affiliates to name their Council delegates, if they are not already on the list.

George's plan for a non-violent campaign against Jim-crow. The idea was received with enthusiasm. Some question was raised on the sponsorship of FOR because of the pacifist tag which it would lend to CORE; but it was concluded that a long list of interested organizations and people would solve the problem, particularly since the actual sponsoring would be in the hands of the local group...such as a CORE group in Washington, D.C. George was given a list of possibilities and the vote of confidence of the group.

On national projects the major interest was in housing. Each of the groups was to be asked for all possible information on attacking the housing and restrictive covenant problems for compilation. Jim Farmer took full responsibility for this. Second, activity was to be urged in local groups; and third, all possible advertising of such activities was to be published in the newspapers. The second focus of interest was to be FEPC and it was suggested as the chief interest in the first CORRELATOR.

Tne meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Bernice Fisher, Sec'y.

Those present: James Farmer, George Houser, Bernice Fisher, Bonnie Blair, Hildegard Dietz, Harland Bristah, Priscilla Jackson, Eugene Stanley, Eloise Howard, and some visitors. (Representing New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and Columbus respectively.)

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
Executive committee meeting, March 3-4, 1945, Cleveland, Ohio

Present: James Farmer, Chairman, New York; George Houser, Cleveland; Harland Bristah, Margaret Rowe, Mayola Traylor, Benita Blair, Detroit; Tom Mathews, Oberlin; Eloise Howard, Eugene Stanley(abent Saturday), Columbus.

which were approved as read with correction of Eugene Stanley's name.

Chairman Farmer opened the meeting with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, October 14, 1944. In the absence of Bernice Fisher, Bonnie Blair was appointed secretary. Reports from local groups were first made.

Space

DETROIT: Core is still attempting to get a court case on Trainor's Restaurant in Highland Park. Second major interst is the housing project being contemplated by the FPHA, in connection with which the group issued a statement and sent it to all officials connected with the housing tie-up, as well as newspapers and citizens' groups. Recently detroit Core was host to college students from Albion, Michigan and youg people from Flint, who are starting Core activities in their towns. Greenfield's Restaurant, opened last year thru core & NAACP pressure, still tries to discourage Negro patrons, and few Negroes eat there, altho Core has publicized the need for using it to keep it open, thru the Michigan Chronicle. Dtroit core meets regularly Tuesday evenings, with an attendanse of fifteen.

COLUMBUS: Is in midst of intensive fight with the local street railway, to get them to hire, place and promote Negroes. The FEPC HAS BEEN BROUGHT INTO the fight. The Vanguard League has recently completed a survey of Columbus hospitals, finding much discrimination against Negro nurses and physicians. An article in the Ohio State News presented the findings . The Board of Education employment policies are still being worked on.. The annual membership drive will soon be opened with a mass meeting.

OBERLIN: became an affiliate of the Congress last month. Main project of the group was last year, when a barber shop was opened, because all the existing shops refused to accept a non-discrimination policy. Core members sold 200 shares at $ each to college students to back the new shop. It became so successful that a2nd barber was hired. Last year the restaurants in Elyria, a neighboring city, were opneed. Recently reports have come in that thru lack of patronage by the Negro residents the restaurants have started to discriminate again. Oberlin Core members have spoken at other Ohio Colleges- Kent, Wilberfor force, Ohio State- as well as young people's and church groups.

CLEVELAND: Has a small but interesetd group. Two projects YMCA; the dept store employment policies. Has achieved recognition around town for what it has done thus far. Small amount of jealousy by other groups in town who might have done these things years ago.

SEATTLE: Group going, centered around Friend's student house , University of Washington. Have opened up a bowling alley.

capitalize

San Francisco: Has carried on bowling alley projects. A report of the Navy Mutiny trial was made by Pauli Murray.

New York: Has new chairman, Mrs. Dorothy Sullivan. Gave an interracial in December with wonderful turnout, 300 people. Cleared $50. Main project now is Sloane House, YMCA. CORE picketed it while the

Board of Managers was meeting there. Jim Farmer was not turned down for residence [redacted] but Vincent Baker was, and because of the excellent set-up for a case, with good witnesses, ACLU may prosecute.

SYRACUSE and DENVER - no info.

WASHINGTON DC Core group organized last November. With membership of 25, chairman Stan McNair. Group is not [redacted], as yet, is unaffiliated, meetings are irregular, [redacted].

HARRISBURG - "The Interracial Group" experiments with use of NVDA in public places. Mary Douglas, Chairman. Difficulties derive from the smallness of the town in that everyone knows all that happens.

KANSAS CITY CORDO [redacted] recently affiliated with CORE. New chairman is Lawrence Scott. Group is planning race relations institute in April.

See page 3

With completion of reports by local groups, George summarized the condition of the national organisation, a pessimistic outlook, because almost no action had been ~~taken~~ carried out by the executive officers since the October meeting. Ellen suggested that the real lack on the part of the officers was time in which to carry out what they had undertaken. The need was for a paid national secretary, and ~~[illegible]~~ to support him, required a larger financial campaign than the $250 ~~present~~ current annual budget. ~~[illegible]~~ A professional money-raiser ~~such as Harris Dalgrim~~ could do the job for perhaps a 10% commission. George felt the national COFO has not a strong enough local base for such an organisation, ~~[illegible]~~ and suggested ~~[illegible]~~ the first steps from our present position toward an executive secretary: that we get ONE person to become responsible on a national level, so as to organise it. George Houser offered to take this job & was unanimously accepted. He will first take care of these matters:

1) See that the Conelator is put out, with it being the news exchange of the local groups.
2) Contact the various local groups, as to membership and activities, names & addresses of officers.
3) Make a mailing list that is correct & up to date.
4) Centralise the treasury.

Jim Farmer pointed out another reason for a paid national secretary: so that the work would not have to be done by those paid by other organisations.

The group ~~[illegible]~~ authorised Jim to make inquiries about a large money-raising campaign, so as to be able to report at the next executive meeting when plans would be made for the ~~[illegible]~~ annual convention in June.

James Farmer presented a copy of the ACLU draft of a model civil rights law for states, suggesting that copies be sent to each local group.

Report from vice-chairman of Literature & Education: Only 3 groups replied to the letter asking how many copies of the purpose & discipline were wanted, only 2 asked for copies: Chicago 500 Detroit 300, Oberlin & N. Y. representatives said their groups also needed copies. The purpose has been printed at 85¢/100, 2000 copies. The lack of funds will restrict discipline to mimeographing for the present.

Bernice Fisher's suggested pamphlet about CORE was read and it was felt changes would be needed in layout. Two magazine articles by Houser will be published presently, in the Crisis and the April Fellowship magazine, which can be obtained inexpensively for CORE distribution in reprints. Decision as to quantity desired was postponed to next meeting. George's pamphlet on NVDA will be put out by Fellowship Publications in May. Probably 50-60 pages at 25¢ each. A. Phillip Randolph to be asked to write the introduction. An arrangement can be made to have CORE's name printed on a number of these pamphlets — a minimum of 500 — to be bought by the national CORE and distributed thru local groups. The pamphlet still needs a title, something about fighting Jim-Crow with non-violent direct action. Suggestions welcomed.

The Correlator editor said the material would be sent to Houser for mimeographing that week.

→ The decision as to whether a part of the profit should be allowed for the national CORE or the entire difference between wholesale cost & 25¢ be turned over to local groups was postponed until definite cost could be obtained.

In regard to the Summer Project, George asked that a committee be formed to help him make decisions ~~in connection with~~ it, so that the planning will become less an individual affair & more of a CORE action. One person from each of the CORE groups represented was appointed by the chairman: Gene Stanley, Jim Farmer, Bonnie Blair, George Houser. The possibility of not being able to carry on the summer project in Wash. DC was discussed, for although Houser has done much preliminary work there, the lack of a strong CORE or other single group to sponsor the project is a real difficulty. The only possibility is to have a Coordinating Committee, of representatives of existing local groups who approved the project as set up, with whom the full-time volunteer workers would plan their action. George is to meet with a tentative Coordinating Committee on March 21 in Washington & a definite decision will be made at that time. Alternative cities suggested were Kansas City Chicago Columbus & Detroit, because of the CORE groups active in them. Also St. Louis if the MOW would sponsor. Eugene Stanley did not feel Columbus was the best place for an intensive campaign because the Vanguard League, current projects are of necessity long-term, so that 2 months work, although

it would arouse public opinion, could not make a real change. Detroit representatives felt a project could be worked out in connection with the acute housing problem, which the local group could not begin to handle and which required full time intense work. The representatives from each possible location for the summer project were asked to discuss it immediately with their groups and send word within two weeks. The essential problems to be considered: Projects to be worked on; housing for workers (is group living possible?); financing thru part-time work and local support.

Eugene Stanley made the treasurer's report: The first appeal for funds brought in $133.60, total expenses $4.30. George Houser had $15 of national treasury money and Bernice Fisher had $25 or $30 in Chicago. It was decided that Eugene should be the person responsible for all money, and that a second appeal should be sent out, on CORE stationery, to get not only the balance of the current year's $250 budget but also money for the summer campaign. It was decided to print stationery, 1000 letterheads of which 300 bond 700 mimeograph paper, for the use of present officers until June. the letterhead is to include 7100 Hinsman Road Cleveland as

the national address; a list of the 9 affiliated groups; the names of the officers, with George Houser being listed as Organising Secretary rather than a vice-chairman, and Gene Stanley of 171 N. Monroe Columbus 3 Ohio as Chairman of the Budget Committee.

Affiliations were reported: the complete list now includes Denver Chicago Kansas City Detroit Oberlin Columbus Cleveland Syracuse New York. ~~George has been carrying on the responsibil~~

The next Executive Committee meeting will be April 21st and 22nd, ~~at~~ starting Saturday at 1:30 PM, in Cleveland. At that time the constitution will be discussed, and suggested changes will be ~~made~~ considered. The Detroit delegates were appointed as a committee to bring ~~these~~ recommendations. Also on agenda for April 21: Summer Campaign Financial Drive Convention in June.

James Farmer is to correlate all information from local groups about the housing problem. George Houser is to correlate info about YMCA policies & projects.

Possibility for action by either local or national CORE groups was seen in the segregation in prisons. The executive committee agreed to authorize the statement that the Congress of Racial Equality will back up any action taken inside the prisons. Those corresponding with prisoners are to pass the word along, & encourage action, because pressure & publicity on the outside is

insignificant without action on the inside at the same time. Both are essential.

In regard to Oberlin representatives question about how to get Negroes to frequent places opened up by CORE, suggestions were made that posters be used in strategic places, and newspaper articles also. Meeting adjourned.

Respfully Submitted

Sec Pro temp

B Blair

A SUMMARY OF THE MINUTES OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING MARCH 3 and 4, 1945 CLEVELAND OHIO

Present: James Farmer, George Houser, Harland Bristah, Bemita Blair, Eloise Howard, Eugene Stanley.
Visitors: Margaret Rowe, Mayola Trayler, Tom Mathews:

The meeting opened with reports of local group activities, including news about Detroit, Columbus, Oberlin, Chicago, Cleveland and New York. There was no special news from Syracuse, Denver or Kansas City. There was a brief report from unaffiliated groups in Seattle, San Francisco, Washington and Harrisburg.

The second item of business concerned the condition of our national organization. Everyone agreed that we had not to date done an adequate job of organization on a national level and that the main difficulty was that we don't have a full time national executive secretary. We agreed that our aim should be to raise the money to support a national office with a full time executive secretary. It was moved and passed that a professional money raiser should be contacted for some information on raising money for national CORE. James Farmer will report on this at our next meeting.

It was agreed by the group that some other system of organization would be necessary for the immediate future in order to make our national organization function properly; therefore, it was agreed that temporarily (until our June Convention) the national office would be changed to 7100 Kinsman Rd. Cleveland, Ohio, and that George Houser with his office facilities would assume a position temporarily of Organization Secretary.

James Farmer presented a copy of an American Civil Liberties Union draft of a model Civil Rights Law for states suggesting that copies be sent to each local group.

It was reported by the Vice-chairman of Literature and Education that the CORE Statement of Purpose had been printed and was available at 85¢ per 100. The CORE Discipline will have to remain a mimeographed document until funds permit its being printed.

Bernice Fisher's first draft of a leaflet on CORE was read and the group felt that more work would need to be done on it. It was felt that we should put off consideration of this until a later meeting, because of lack of funds for printing it at present. It was reported that Crisis magazine and Fellowship magazine are both to carry an article on CORE in the near future. It was agreed that CORE should order some reprints of these articles, the exact quantity to be decided at the next meeting.

George Houser's pamphlet on Jim Crow and non-violent direct action was discussed. It was reported that the present plan was for Fellowship Publications to put it out in May and that CORE could order a quantity with its own imprint on. The group decided to order a minimum of 500 to be bought by national CORE and distributed among local groups.

The CORElator editor said that material would be sent to Houser for mimeographing that week.

The group discussed the summer action project for a considerable time. There was a growing apprehension in holding the project in Washington, due to the lack of strong local support. A committee composed of Benita Blair, James Farmer, Eugene Stanley and George Houser was appointed to make final decision on the place for the campaign. Other alternative places were Kansas City, Chicago, Columbus and Detroit. Representatives from each of these groups agreed to discuss this project with their local groups and send word to the Cleveland office within two weeks.

Eugene Stanley made a treasurer's report. The first appeal for funds brought in $138.60. The total expenses were $4.30. In addition, George Houser reported he had $15. of national money and Bernice Fisher had $25 or $30 in Chicago. It was decided that Eugene Stanley should be responsible for all money, and that a second appeal should be sent out on CORE stationery to raise the balance of $250. for the current year's budget and also money for the summer campaign.

It was decided to print stationery, 300 on bond and 700 mimeo.

The time for the next Executive Committee meeting was set for April 21 and 22, starting Saturday at 1:30 in Cleveland. One item on the agenda at that time will be a discussion of the Constitution; The Detroit delegates were appointed as a committee to bring recommendations. Also on the agenda will be the summer campaign, financial drive, the Convention in June.

George Houser was authorized by the group to write a letter of protest to James V. Bennett, Director of the Bureau of Prisons, against the punitive action taken on Milton Kramer because of his protest against segregation of blood by the Red Cross.

Respectfully submitted,

Benita Blair
Secretary, pro tempore

Re 1

Minutes of April 21, 1946

Present: Farmer (New York), Houser (Cleveland), Shearer and Stanley (Columbus), Blair, Sparks, and Rowe (Detroit).

Minutes of previous meeting, March 3, 1946, read and corrected: (1) should read on page 2, in treasurer's report: " a second appeal to raise the balance of the current years $250 budget" because the budget in total, not the balance, was $250. (2) [redacted] Final paragraph, add: "National CORE authorized correspondents of prisoners to inform them that any action opposing segregation and discrimination inside the prisons- would be backed up on the outside with action by [redacted] national CORE."

Report of national office: Stationery was printed. A letter was sent out to ascertain the active mailing list -- (a) affiliated and unaffiliated groups, and their officers; (b) individuals. As a result, the file is in better shape. There still is a pronounced need for more literature to send to inquirers.

Report of Detroit committee on recommended changes in the constitution was made and the executive committee revised the recommendations. Detroit group was designated responsible for making carbons of the recommended amendments to use at the convention.

Summer campaign against Jim Crow: Report of organizer, Houser: The Washington, D. C., group met March 31st and decided that they were not sufficiently prepared to have the campaign. Organizer then investigated Detroit and Chicago -- in each city the local group felt they should sponsor it. Decision finally made for Chicago because: (1) Houser knew that city better; (2) better organizational support; (3) projects are more specific, further progressed; (4) it seemed easier to picture a successful result to the campaign in Chicago, because of greater race tensions in Detroit.
Current problems of the campaign: (1) Publicity -- Suggested channels: CORE groups, N.A.A.C.P., press release for the Negro press, American Council on Race Relations, contact list. (2) Fund-raising -- It was suggested that CORE send out a letter to people with means, telling about the campaign, and signed by its endorsers. (3) Progress -- This the Chicago group should decide.

Suggestion was again made that the national CORE have an advisory board with names of well-known people. Shearer warned that they must be picked carefully to prevent having persons who might act contrary to our beliefs. It was agreed to suggest a list to the convention for additions and substractions, before sending letters to each one asking their support in this manner.

Preparations for the 3rd annual national CORE convention were reported on by the Columbus representatives. The Vanguard League committee in charge is Eloise Howard, Frank Shearer, and Eugene Stanley, who are arranging for registration, housing for delegates, a church for headquarters, local publicity, and the meetings. Agenda for the convention was set up as follows:

Friday night, an open meeting with speakers, suggestions being: Rev. Ray Burkhardt of 1st Community Church; Pres. Wesley of Wilberforce University; Rabbi Harry Kaplan of Hillel Foundation; Dr. Floyd Fenst of Broad Street Christian Church; and a CORE member. Subject of the panel to be Direct Action in Racial Conflicts. Before the meeting Friday registration for the convention would be held, with a fee of $1.00 per person. The executive committee is to meet Friday afternoon at 4 p.m., to take care of final details. Saturday morning business session, covering as much as possible of the following: Secretary's and treasurer's reports; brief reports from local groups; revisions of constitution; the advisory board; the summer project; money-raising; a permanent office and paid executive secretary; literature; resolutions; elections. Committees to be appointed Saturday a.m.: Credentials, Resolutions, Nominations Saturday afternoon: 2-3 p.m., a panel discussion on n.v.d.a. techniques, to be appointed by the National chairman, Farmer. 3-5 p.m., projects. 7:30-9 p.m., business meeting. 9-12 p.m., social affair. Sunday from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. would be the final business session,

Publicity for the convention will be first, a mailing immediately to announce the date and place, give a brief summary of the program, and find out the number of people intending to come (by having a tear sheet on the announcement). The second mailing will be the completed program, with postcards to return for reservations. Because of the difficulty of finding housing in Columbus it will be necessary to stress reservations in advance.

The pamphlet on n.v.d.a. incidents in the United States, written by George Houser, could be printed by CORE with a union job at $395. for 5,000 copies. It was decided however to ask Fellowship Publications to print it now that their paper allotment has been increased. 1,000 copies to be bought by CORE for its own distribution, F.O.R. to distribute as many copies as can be disposed of through their channels. All the copies are to have the back cover printed with the CORE Statement of Purpose and a blurb.

Another finance letter is to be sent out by Eugene Stanley, copy of which was approved by the executive committee. Summer campaign literature is to accompany it.

It was moved and passed to buy 3,000 reprints of the article, "We Say No to Jim Crow" in the April Fellowship magazine. Discussion of other literature was tabled.

The Kansas City, Kansas, Committee on the Practise of Democracy was voted into the Congress of Racial Equality.

A discussion of traveling expenses for members of the executive committee was postponed until the budget-planning at the convention.

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MINUTES OF NATIONAL CORE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING,

OCTOBER 13th and 14th, IN CLEVELAND

Members present: George Houser, Benita Blair, Dorothy Sullivan, Mamie Alexander, Lois Drushell, Walter Jackson, Paul Commerse, Mary Bullock. Members absent: Frank Shearer, Irene Osborne, Barbee Durham Eugene Stanley, Mayola Traylor, Margaret Rowe. Visitors present: Gerald Bullock, Faith Galt, Catharine Raymond.

Report of Executive Secretary. New stationery is being printed with the 1945 officers, executive committee, and Advisory Committee.

Advisory Committee: Nine acceptances include Anna Arnold Hedgeman, E. Stanley Jones Howard Thurman, A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, Willard Townsend, Allan Knight Chalmers, Roger Baldwin, George Schuyler. Three persons indicated that it would not be possible for them at this time to be on the Advisory Committee although they were sympathetic with the work of CORE: Lillian Smith, Carey McWilliams, and Louis Fischer. No replies have been received from Charles Johnson, James Carey, or Rayford Logan. It has been suggested that the addition of Ira De A. Reid be considered at the next convention. It was moved, seconded, and passed that the report concerning the Advisory Committee be accepted with a vote of commendation.

A mailing has been sent out to the educational secretaries of all CPS units, informing them of CORE and enclosing post-cards for demobilized men to use in getting information about existing groups in the communities to which they will return on leaving camp.

It was reported that a letter has been received from the Workers Defense League concerning CORE's affiliating with the League. The WDL has a fee of 100 dollars entitling an organization to representation on its Board. The executive committee tabled the matter until we are more adequately financed.

Reports on Some Unaffiliated Groups Around the Country. Seattle has a group called the Christian Friends of Racial Equality, which primarily uses the social and educational approach to the racial problem. A sub-committee of this group, called the Committee Versus Discrimination, uses direct action in some of its work. Mrs. Edith Steinmetz, the president of the Christian Friends of Racial Equality, proposed the question as to whether a sub-committee of a group could affiliate with national CORE. The executive committee felt that before such a sub-committee could be considered for affiliation, it should be assured that the group is following the direct action program, and that it would not be subject in its action to restraint from the larger group. It was felt that nothing further should be done on the matter of affiliation until there has been clearance on these questions with Mrs. Steinmetz.

The Social Action Committee of the Church of the People in Seattle has been in touch with the national office concerning the starting of a CORE group there. Several letters have come also from Portland, Oregon, asking for help in getting a CORE group started there. Ruth Lee, a student at Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana, writes that an interracial action group there needs some help in following through on an action program. She writes in detail about problems they have confronted in trying to break down discrimination in theaters, restaurants, and barber shops. She further indicates that the police are antagonistic, and that the Indiana Civil Rights law might as well not exist. In Pittsburgh the Interracial Action Council has invited George Houser to speak October 15th. He will see what possibility there is for the Council to affiliate with national CORE. A new group using the name CORE has recently started in Los Angeles. They are not ready for affiliation quite yet. In Philadelphia a new group has been started recently, also.

The executive committee felt there was need for a West Coast organizer of CORE. It

was recommended that early in 1946 the executive secretary plan a one-month organizing trip on the West Coast. It was thought that a budget of 300 dollars ought to be adequate. If the executive secretary can not follow through on this, it was recommended that the chairman do this if possible.

Reports from affiliated CORE groups consumed the next portion of the meeting. Reports were heard from Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus, Denver, Detroit, New York, and Peoria.

Treasurer's Report and Finances. A report from Eugene Stanley, in absentia, indicated that we have $480.37 in the bank. It was recommended by the executive committee that the next meeting include a thorough discussion of finances and budget, and that a plan for raising an adequate budget to cover our needs be prepared preceding the meeting. Among expenses which will have to be met will be literature, printing, office supplies, promotional funds for CORE expansion, the year-round and summer projects, including salary for a director and traveling expenses for a CORE organizer. The method of raising the money will include contributions from our affiliated groups, amounting to one per cent. of their annual income, plus five dollars. Second, it is hoped that members of our Advisory Committee will be willing to sign a letter for an appeal for funds. Local CORE groups will be asked to submit a list of persons in their communities who might be sympathetic to our work.

The memo on the mass non-violent interracial movement was discussed. It was agreed by the committee that such a movement is needed. The procedure decided upon for following through on the idea was: (1) Discuss it with members of the Advisory Committee. George Houser will try to meet with some of them in New York in November to discuss it. (2) Map out a city by city plan for mass membership growth, starting where CORE groups are now functioning. (3) A national organizing committee will plan to meet with local leadership to plan a local campaign. In each locality the campaign would be started through a week-end institute or a two- or three-week workshop. The motion was passed that copies of this memo be submitted to all local groups and that they discuss it as thoroughly as possible. It was strongly urged that each local group make a special effort to have its two Council members meet with the executive committee in December. It was recommended that the Advisory Committee also be invited to attend this December meeting if possible, in order that the memo might be discussed thoroughly.

Year-Round Project. In preparation for this project this procedure will be followed. (1) The summer project will be printed up, showing its accomplishments and the potentialities of this type of campaign. (2) Obtain testimonials from project participants and community leaders on the worth of the project. (3) Get statements from community leaders where the year-round project is to locate, citing the need and inviting the group to come. (4) Prepare an attractive advertising leaflet for the year-round project. (5) In order to choose volunteers carefully a thorough application blank should be prepared as well as a blank for those given as references by the prospective volunteers. (6) A local as well as a national committee will be needed for planning details of the campaign. (7) A full time paid director must be found. (8) A plan for raising money for publicity as well as to help finance the volunteers must be made.

Some of the above work has already been done. A thorough questionnaire in preliminary form has been prepared. Some testimonials have already come into the office.

Possible locations for the project are St. Louis, Kansas City, Chicago. George Houser reported on conversations he had with several persons in St. Louis who were interested in the project's coming there. The question of a possible director for a year-round project was discussed without any conclusive findings. The names of the following persons were mentioned in the discussion: Homer Jack of Chicago, Barbee Durham, Herman Burrell of Cleveland, George Houser, James Robinson, formerly of Chicago, Al Orcutt, formerly of Columbus.

The committee decided that the year-round project probably should not begin until

next summer, and that at that time the summer project should be expanded throughout the year. The emphasis is to be put on its being a training center for leadership in non-violent action rather than the project's ability to wipe out Jim Crow in the community where we locate. It was moved and passed that Chicago be the site of the first year-round project. A further motion was passed that if it is feasible in terms of financial resources, abundance of volunteers, and cooperation of local people, a summer project should be set up in another city such as St. Louis.

Persons to be asked to make plans for the project include Frank Shearer, Natalie Moorman (Washington, D. C.), Benita Blair, Barbee Durham, Paul Commerse, George Houser. Advisory Committee members to be asked are George Schuyler, A. J. Muste, Roger Baldwin. It is hoped that Willard Townsend will work with the Chicago local committee.

Literature. The pamphlet, Erasing the Color Line, will be out soon. CORE has ordered 1000 copies. A "What is CORE?" leaflet will be drafted by George Houser and sent to the affiliated groups for corrections and suggestions. The CORE Action Discipline will be printed up immediately in a convenient small size leaflet. The first draft of another longer leaflet on the "Story of CORE" will be written by Gerald Bullock, to be submitted at the next meeting. He will send a questionnaire to each group to obtain information for this piece of literature.

Miscellaneous Action Items. Eric Johnston, the new president of the Motion Pictures Producers and Distributors of America, is to be written concerning the role of the Negro in Hollywood films.

FEPC. Local groups should find out which of their Congressmen have not signed the discharge petition in the House. Further action that local groups could take was discussed. It was reported that national CORE had asked to be listed as a cooperating agency with the National Council for a Permanent FEPC.

YMCA. Each CORE local, it was suggested, could help in gathering material for a pamphlet on the YMCA and race, which George Houser expects to put out, by investigating the practice of their local Y.

Prison segregation. A report was made of a letter Adam Clayton Powell had written to the Attorney-General on racial segregation and discrimination in federal prisons.

School strikes. It was recommended that the executive secretary write to the school superintendents in Gary and Chicago expressing concern for the recent school strikes and urging interracial teaching staffs and a program of inter-cultural education.

Next Meeting. The date for the next meeting of the executive committee will be preferably December 1st and 2nd, but if necessary on the 8th and 9th. The meeting will be held in Cleveland, beginning at 2:00 p.m., in the CORE office at 1850 East 81st Street. Council members (two representatives from each affiliated group) are to be present at this meeting also. The motion was passed that one half the fare of each executive committee member who needs it should be paid to the December meeting. The recommendation was further made that local CORE groups pay one half to full fare for their two Council members.

Respectfully submitted,

BENITA BLAIR
Secretary

Congress Of Racial Equality Executive Committee Meeting, September 14, 1946, Bethany Church, 10508 Hampden, Cleveland 8, Ohio

Present: Shearer, Houser, Swann, Osborne, Durham, Myrick, Abbott, Rustin, Morrow, Coleman, Raymond (substituting for Henry). For the evening session, in addition to the above: Klein, Bullock.

Treasurer's Report: Eugene Stanley's resignation was presented and accepted with regrets. He had sent to George Houser the CORE balance, $816.82, and his records. Bayard Rustin was nominated as treasurer to succeed Eugene Stanley, and appointed by the chairman, Frank Shearer. It was moved and seconded that two persons be empowered to sign checks and that either be able to do so; passed. Bayard Rustin and Catharine Raymond were named as the two. It was agreed that an account should be opened at the National City Bank of New York, 111th Street Branch.

Secretary's Report: George Houser presented reports from unaffiliated groups in Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Portland (Oregon), and Berkeley (California); also from the Lincoln group. (These reports and those from the groups represented at the meeting will be given in the forth-coming CORElator.) In answer to the letters written following the resolutions made at the convention, replies have come from the CIO, the American Veterans Committee, the Detroit Interracial Church, and Governor Arnall.

Executive Committee: William K. Hefner of Philadelphia was named to fill the vacant place on the Executive Committee, pending his acceptance.

Advisory Committee: The following persons have agreed to serve a second year on the Advisory Committee: Roger Baldwin, Allan Knight Chalmers, E. Stanley Jones, A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, George Schuyler, Howard Thurman, Willard Townsend. About thirty persons were suggested for the seven places left vacant. Moved, seconded, and passed that it is the policy of this organization not to have on its Advisory Committee any individual who is affiliated with the Communist Party or one of its known front organizations; the decision over any name proposed would then be made in the light of that policy. Moved, seconded, and passed that we also refuse to consider those affiliated with Naziism fascism, or the America First Party. Moved, seconded, and passed that we try to get members of the Advisory Committee representative of various groups, such as a Nisei, a Jewish person, jazz, classical music, a liberal woman, an educator, an actor. The following were named to be invited in each field: 1. S. I. Hayakawa. 2. Rabbi Wise. 3. Frank Sinatra. 4. Marian Anderson. 5. Lillian E. Smith. 6. John Dewey. 7. Orson Welles.

Literature: The Executive Secretary was empowered to order up to 5,000 copies of the leaflet, What is CORE?, up to 5,000 copies of the CORE Action Discipline, and up to 5,000 copies of the Statement of Purpose; also stationery. The series of action pamphlets which were assigned last year was discussed; moved, seconded, and passed that the executive secretary send letters to the groups that had been assigned pamphlets to write to try to get first drafts in by the time of the next Executive Committee meeting. Moved, seconded, and passed that Philadelphia be asked to do an action pamphlet on department stores. A preliminary draft by Irene Osborne of a pamphlet on the YMCA has been given to the executive secretary.

Public Relations Workshop of the American Council on Race Relations was announced for September 27th to 29th. The executive secretary was authorized to register as the CORE representative at the workshop if he wished to do so.

Fulltime Executive Secretary: George Houser reported that the time that he will be able to give to CORE will be more and more limited. It was agreed that a fulltime person was needed for the job, but it was felt that $800 was not a sufficient sum to have on hand in order for CORE to make any connitments. A sub-committee was appointed to report back to the next Executive Committee meeting on plans for raising at least $1500, the names of two or three or more persons who might be prospects for the job, and an outline of the estimated expenses, based on past experience. The committee is to be composed of Gerald Bullock, chairman, Marjorie Swann, Lynn Coleman, and Olcott Abbott. Bayard Rustin is to furnish the committee a financial estimate.

Transportation in the South: The effect of the Supreme Court decision in the Irene Morgan case on bus travel in the South was discussed. It was suggested that CORE put out a piece of literature to encourage both Negroes and whites to break down segregation. Moved, seconded, and passed that the Executive Secretary be empowered to make any contacts necessary to present the issue, especially before the National Intercollegiate Christian Council assembly at Christmas time . It was decided that a test tour should be made in the South; a committee, with Bayard Rustin as chairman and consisting of two or three other New York CORE people, is to work on the plan.

Next Meeting: The next meeting of the Executive Committee will be held in Yellow Springs, Ohio, on January 4th and 5th. It was suggested that more time be given to the next meeting.

Congress Of Racial Equality Executive Committee Meeting, September 14, 1946, Bethany Church, 10508 Hampden, Cleveland 8, Ohio

Present: Shearer, Houser, Swann, Osborne, Durham, Myrick, Abbott, Rustin, Raymond (substituting for Henry), Morrow, Coleman. For the evening session, in addition to the above: Klein, Bullock.

Treasurer's Report: Eugene Stanley's resignation was presented and accepted, with regrets.
He had sent to George Houser the CORE balance, $816.82, and his records. Houser mentioned that at times it had been inconvenient to have the bank account at a different place than the office, and suggested that Bayard Rustin be the appointed treasurer. It was so ordered. Moved and seconded that two persons be empowered to sign, and that either be able to do so. Passed. Bayard Rustin and Catharine Raymond approved to sign, singly. It was agreed that an account should be opened at the ~~City National~~ National City Bank of New York, 111th Street Branch.

Secretary's Report: The group in Minneapolis have sent in $5.00 as an affiliation fee, but have not returned the affiliation blank that had been sent them. The Berkeley group is active; they have not filled in the affiliation blank. There is a group in Portland, Oregon, working under the name of CORE, but they have lost leadership lately to some extent. In Cincinnati there is a CORE group of six persons; Houser and Rustin had had a meeting on Thursday with about fifty persons. The Philadelphia group is not yet affiliated; they have broken down discrimination in department store employment. No word lately from Los Angeles, Denver, or Detroit. Houser read a letter from Lincoln: their roller-skating rink case is in court; they have a promise that the swimming pool will be open; The Central Social Action Committee is working in slightly more conservative fashion; they have pledged $100. for next year's summer project, and suggest that other groups make pledges. In answer to the letters written ~~following~~ following the resolutions made at the convention, replies have come from the CIO, the American Veterans, the Detroit Interracial Church, and ~~Lt~~ Governor Arnall.

Reports from the Groups:

Columbus: Civil Rights Week is to be observed. There will be a meeting next Saturday night with Judge Rivers. There will be a sale of tags during the week. Work is being done on restrictive covenants. They are trying to get the KKK state charter revoked. They are still working on discrimination in the hiring of teachers. Also on stores. Working on discrimination in a Negro restaurant which discriminated against white people.

Cleveland: A CORE group was put out of Euclid Beach Park, and one member who came late to the park and was consequently alone was beaten up and rather seriously injured; the policeman involved (park police) is being sued in a criminal court and the case will come up September 30th. An ordinance is to be introduced into the City Council Monday night calling for the licensing of parks. Department stores are being worked on. The situation in the orphanages is to be publicized. The group plans to go again to Euclid Beach.

Chicago: There have been violent attacks on Negro homes. The group is working on a boycott of Wonder Bread, because the bakery refused to hire Negro truck drivers. All roller skating rinks in the city have agreed to open up.

New York: The group is getting reorganized. They plan a picket of the Mortgage Conference of Greater New York, which controls granting of mortgages, and discriminates against Negroes in their mortgage policy. The Palisades Park has said that there would be no further discrimination there.

Executive Committee: Someone is needed to take the place ~~of~~ not accepted by Bonnie Blair. Bill Hefner of Philadelphia was suggested. If Bill can not do it, Wilson Head was named as second choice.

Advisory Committee: All the persons who served last year and who were invited to serve again have accepted except Annam Arnold Hedgeman and Allan Knight Chalmers. The latter has been away from his office, and it was felt that he would probably accept on his return. About thirty persons were suggested for the other seven places left vacant. After discussion it was moved and seconded that the Committee should not consider the name of any person definitely known to be Communist, or to be affiliated with any Communist-front organization, for the Advisory Committee. Frank Shearer rasied the question of what is a Communist-front organization. Motion withdrawn. Moved and seconded that it is the policy of this organization not to have on its Advisory Committee any individual who is affiliated with the Communist Party or one of its known front organizations; the decision over any name proposed would then be made in the light of that policy. Shearer said that it was not constitutionally possible to make policy in the Executive Committee. But the motion was passed. Moved that we also refuse to consider those affiliated now or in the past with Naziism, fascism, or America First. Party Motion changed to read, affiliated now with . . .; seconded, passed. Moved, seconded, and passed that we try to get members of the Advisory Committee from certain fields, namely: Nisei, Jew, jazz music, classical music, liberal women, ~~lawyer~~, educators, actors, Catholic churchmen. The following were suggested to be considered in the order named within each field: 1. Hayakawa. 2. Rabbi Wise. 3. Frank Sinatra, Duke Ellington. 4. Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor. 5. Lillian E. Smith, Eleanor Roosevelt, Mary McLeod Bethune. 6. John Dewey, Charles Wesley. 7. Orson Welles, Hilda Sims, Abbie Mitchell. 8. Bishop Shiel, Vincent Sheean, Monsignor Hillenbrand.

LITERATURE:
"What is Core"....we are out of the pamphlet; there are no changes to be made except mechanical changes -- officers, etc.
Shearer:
"I move that the Executive Secretary be empowered to order up to 5,000 copies of "What is Core". Seconded, Passed.

CORE Action Discipline:
"Move that the Executive Secretary be empowered to order up to 5,000 copies of this pamphlet". Passed.
Discussion of price being printed on leaflet; this is to be left up to the local group as many are distributed free.
Discussion of picture on leaflet; suggestion that picture used on Summer campaign leaflet was not suitable because it would lead to the idea that picketing was the important or only point of discipline.
Rustin: reason for having photograph on leaflet is to make it more appealing--example of Common Ground pictures, C.I.O. pictures etc. The picture used on summer campaign does not necessarily have to be used.
Motion voted on: 6 for having picture and 5 against. Motion passed.
Shearer:
"I move that the choice of the picture be left to the Executive Secretary, the Treasurer, Rustin and Catherine Raymong. Seconded, Passed.

Statement of Purpose:
Suggestions: that instead of using the word committee, just use Congress of Racial Equality and let the local groups which have different names, such as Vanguard League stamp their name.
Shearer:
"I Move that the Executive Secretary be authorized to secure printing of up to 5,000 "Statement of Purpose" with authority to change the format to permit stamping of the name of local affiliates. Seconded, Passed.

CORE Stationery:
"I move that the Executive Secretary be authorized to order stationery with the new officers and advisors on it. Seconded.
Discussion: It would be better to have the names of cities of affiliated groups rather than the cities of the Council members.
Amendment to motion: that the cities be omitted and affiliated organizations be listed. Accepted. Motion passed.

Discussion of series of action pamphlets which were assigned in the conference:
Motion made: that Executive Secretary send letters to the different groups and see that their material is sent into the national office in time for the next executive meeting. Seconded, passed.
Suggestion made by Rustin that it is better to have to local groups do the job, rather than having the executive secretary write the material because it gives the local groups a feeling of responsibility.
Motion made that Philadelphia do a pamphlet on department stores because of their excellent work there. Seconded and passed.
The preliminary draft by Miss Osbourne on the YMCA situation has been turned in to the executive secretary.

Letter from the American Council on Race Relations announcing their Public Relations Workshop which is being held September 27-29 in New York city, read. Program was sketchily outlined.

Motion made that the Executive Secretary be authorized to register if he wishes for the CORE representation at the work shop and get such representation as he thinks necessary. Seconded.
Amendment: that we pay part of the registration fee as the entire fee is not required. Seconded. Accepted. Discussion. Amendment lost 6 against, 5 for it.
Motion voted on and passed.

Discussion of need for full-time Executive Secretary:
1) there is $800 in the National Treasury.2)Mr. Hauser will not have time to continue because he is going to be more and more tied up with the work he is hired to be doing.3) Mr. Hauser and Mr.Rustin will both continue to work as contacts for CORE in cities and groups even though they are not in the official capacity of Ex. Sec. Discussion on salary--$800 is not sufficient to hardly began on because a large amount will be spent on printing in the near future. If the Ex. Sec. must concentrate on raising money enough for his or her salary, they will be unable to do the job they should be doing.
Shearer:
We do not have the authority (this body) to appoint an Executive Secretary, 2) assuming that we did, is the desire for full time secretary enough to liquidate the organization and 3) there must be an office with desks, etc.
Discussion: Constitution does not say anything about not hiring an Ex. Sec. If present Ex. Secretary resigns, new one will have to appointed to fulfill term.
Coleman:
Request present Ex. Sec. to do what he can along the lines of raising funds so that we can have some stability and a person can be employed to do something besides raising funds.
Suggestion that the corresponding secretary do the contacting by letters. Decided this was undesirable. Executive Secretary estimates that cost per month for Ex. Sec. would be $150 or $100 minimum.
Suggestion that a sub-committee be appointed to report back at next executive meeting on:
1) Plans for raising at least $1500
2) the names of two or three or so persons who would be likely prospects for the job.
3) Outlining in detail the expenses estimated based on past experiences.
Shearer:
I move that the chair be authorized to appoint a committee of at least three persons with purpose of investigating the hiring of full time executive secretary and all details entailed, and this committee to report back to next executive meeting.
[illegible]
Committee Members: Bullock, chairman, Mrs. Swann, Lynn Coleman, and Mr. Abbott. Mr. Rustin is to give financial estimate.

Transportation:
There is a need to study the transportation problem in the south, look for a better approach, a CORE approach. Letter read from Mr. Burgess; with suggestion for putting into effect the pamphlet put out by the Southern Churchmen. Suggestion that CORE put out a piece of literature to encourage Negroes to make use of the Supreme Court decision and encourage whites to ride in the Jim Crow section.
Motion made that we appeal to the YM and YW to present the issue at the NICC meeting at Christmas time in Champagne. Amendment: to empower the Ex. Sec. to make any other contacts necessary, making use of all of his own efforts and other CORE members. Accepted. Passed.
Proposal: that a trip be made from Baltimore to New Orleans; Negroes traveling for Core, actually testing the Supreme Court decisions and collaborating with other

groups; make full use of Negro newspapers as the trip goes on.
Shearer:

Move the adoption of the plan for test tours of Supreme Court decisions Passed. Suggestion that it (the plan) be sent to the members of the advisory committee. Bayard, chairman of this committee who will select two or three other CORE members in New York to work with him.

Discussion of department stores; decided that this is more local than a national matter.

Letter read from South Eastern Greyhound Lines in answer to Mr. Hauser's letter protesting treatment received by Mr. Head.

Bills for transportation must be presented in writing to the treasurer, Mr. Rustin.

Next executive committee meeting will be held in Yellow Springs, Ohio on January 4th and 5th. Suggestion made that the executive secretary make plans so the business will not have to be rushed through and better harmony can be achieved by the group.

Marie Klein

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MINUTES CORE EXECUTIVE MEETING

May 3, 1947

Present at the meeting: Juanita Morrow, Margery Swann, Alice Merritt, George Houser, Barbee Durham, Lynn Coleman, and Frank Shearer, and Marie Klein.
Barbee Durham [redacted]. Shearer [redacted]
Agenda: + Frank Alternated in presiding.

1) brief reports from groups represented.
2) Treasurer's report.
3) Applications for affiliation.
4) Form for reports from groups,
5) Full time secretary and finances.
6) Report on Southern Journey.
7) Discussion of Work-Shop.
8) Discussion of Conference.
9) B lank from United Nations Org. in regard to consultative relationship with them.
10) Letter from New York City Bank in regard to discrimination in issuing mortgages.
11) Miscellaneous.

Minutes were read from previous meeting. Correction made on page 8: There was no actual decision that the names of Bullock, Hefner, Murray and Jim Farmer were not to be considered for the Executive Secretary position.
By common consent the minutes stood approved as read and corrected.

Group Reports:
Alice Merritt reporting for Gerald Bullock from Chicago:

Chicago CORE has spread its activities: there are now 4 groups: Evanston, (Northwestern University students and friends. Willis Lewis first chairman, A.C. Thompson chairman now.. They are now working on restaurants in the area. 2) Growing out of the Touhy Park, a Westchester group was started because education was needed (under the leadership of Ruth Greenberg) They have been working in Roller Skating rinks. There have been a few reports of Violence at White City but things are working out o.k. There must be continued work on a case supposedly won. 3) University of Chicago group under leadership of Henry Lohman. The campus CORE has been coordinating campus groups--FOR, AVC, Coops, Calvert Club, Junior Hadassah Group, etc. They have been working on the Student Health Situation -- a students pay the same fee but colored students are segregated and put into prive rooms. An attempt is going to be made to get students in the comming quarters to protest this situation when they pay student health fees; and to commend Cogwell on the inter-racial student body and requesting no segregation. Work is also going on pretesting the policy of Lying-In-Hospital with the help of AVC. The University's housing policy is very bad; even though there are some Negro vets in the pre-fabricated houses. Hospital (Billings) discrimination against Negro interns and Medical Students also part of campaign. An intensive survey of restaurants is in process.

Chgo. Local Group: Wonder Bread fight has been won. The boycott covered 60% of Continental Company's receipts. On the last Thursday in February a mass meeting was scheduled and the Company gave in; hiring 5 Negro truck drivers. Very close contact being kept with situation.

Chicago group received Dennis [redacted]s report of Southern trip with great enthusiasm.

Campaign on discrimination in Loop Stores. Maria Kende in Charge. Frank Loescher gave a report of the Philadelphia work on this situation. Meeting of various liberal groups held on this subject. A conference is scheduled May 8, inviting representatives of the Urban League, Civil Liberties Union, NAACP, Negro Business Men's Association; Negro Labor Relations Board, etc. Core and the Urban League will spearhead the campaign. Discussion among groups as to which store to attack. Fair Store suggested because of large percentage of Negro trade.

Housing: Attempt being made to decide which way co-ordinated housing action should go--- whether Chicago CORE should work on organizing Tenants' Unions or actions such as the Hyde Park Better Community Pledge.

COLUMBUS:

Report not too optimistic. Since the last meeting the Vanguard League has had a falling off in membership They have had to change the meeting date because of office space. Activities have been in about the same fields as Chicago.
Employment: V.L. has been trying to democratize the hiring policy of the Southern Ohio & Electric Co. (light and transportation); have not cracked them. Are trying to break the training monopoly. A black out has been planned, but has not been worked out. Plan is to get in touchwith all the people in the community and get them to turn out their lights for several hours. Picketing was discussed but forces were not strong enough. Have been able to get one of the Baking companies to increase employment in Negro areas. Did have a conference with one of the compahies in conection with the Women Shopper's League. One girl was placed in a store then and others since.
Housing: Monroe (?) Avenue case is now being prepared for the Supreme Court. The Appelate Court has ruled that Negroes may own property but there are restrictions on its use. The Columbus Housing Authority has not made any change in its policies of allocation of temporary housing.

There has been a recurrence of discrimination in places previously o.k. Most publicity was given to the Neil House affair when the C.I.O. held a sit-down strike there with Helen Gahagan Douglas as part of the group. The Hilton chain has taken it over and they have had difficulty in cities as far north as Connecticut. The Vanguard League was represented in the conference held and the management has capitulated. The C.I.O. meetings have been moved to the Seneca Hotel.

Vanguard League membership drive is coming to a conclusion. There has been difficulty getting speakers. The lack of success in the drive is perhaps one of the reasons why the V.L. cannot give an estimate of its share toward the full time secretary. It was found necessary to disagree with the Council for Democracy on employment situation.

Question on Restrictive Covenant case, calling for clarity:

There are several cases but one that is out in front; and great attempt made to get something done. This is the Monroe Avenue Church of Christ case; where they are trying to get a piece of property which is located within 200 feet of Long St. (Dividing line). Another case arose about a week ago which involved an Old Folks Home. This case has lost on the point whether people can occupy it -- won on the right to own the property.

The Vanguard League has been represented on all the F.E.P.C. committees; member of State F.E.P.C.

Yellow Springs, Ohio.

There was an informal boycott b the Antioch students against the "Tavern" and formal boycott against the Glenn Cafe. Shortly after this gestures were made by the owner to the student government and he said he wouldn't discriminate because he has lost about 60% of his business through the boycott. The place was o.k. on retests. (TAVERN). At the Glenn Cafe it was impossible to get Negro plaintiffs...fear of reprisal, political reasons, etc. Had to get help from Negroes outside of Yellow Springs. Asked Columbus, they were busy; Cincinatti had same trouble. Last Tuesday three NAACP people from Dayton went to the cafe; they were refused service with "We do not mix". There are people coming from Zenia next week to make more test cases.

Public mass meeting for F.EP.C. was held. Arnold Walker head of the Cleveland Urban League was the speakers. The moderator's windows were broken and this made him (previously he had not been active) come out in public support. A committee went to the Mayor and he issued a strong statement against violence. Anonymous threatening letters were taken to the Post Office but case not strong enough to get action.

The first six cases against the Glenn Cafe come up in the middle of May. We feel they may be lost in the Zenia Court.

A lot of educational work is being done, speakers, etc. We are working on the local elections with other liberal groups. Have about 230 members.

Have been working with a fellow at Wilberforce and a meeting was held discussing race relations and CORE. It is hard to get whites. In Wilmington a member of the Friends meeting has the idea of buying a restaurant for Negroes. Institute for Race relations suggested to Wilberforce, no answer on it yet.

Work on F.E.P.C. being carried on. Negroes compose about 1/4 of the population; larger percentage of Negroes own their homes than whites.

CLEVELAND:

Euclid Beach has reopened; disputed concessions have been turned over to private clubs. The manager was interviewed by the Call-Post and was told that there were no restrictions.

Juanita Morrow's case against the Lt. on the Park force was lost. Lynn Coleman has been suspended and deprived of days off during the rest of the year (incident of gun in the hospital--contempt of superior officer and insubordination) despite contrary evidence of nurses.

Al Luster's case [illegible] appeal lost. Puritan Springs group skated one night and the next night were prevented from entering. No late reports. Club set up at rink.

Dependent Children Project: There has been a lot of material gathered but now the welfare group has started a study. It seems that it would be difficult to get groups working with us when Social work groups are working on the situation.

Cleveland CORE has representative on the F.E.P.C. committee. Tried hard to get Lillian Smith for public meeting but did not succeed. Dance will be given to raise funds. Membership campaign and election of officers coming up.

NEW YORK: Interracial picket lines have been going on every week at the banks affiliated with the of Greater N.Y. Picket lines have been changed from Saturday to Friday evening. Campaign has received a great deal of publicity. Are going to work on the Palisades Park as soon as it opens. Having been having anumber of successful socials.

CINCINNATI:

Working hard on state F.E.P.C. Three of their members participated in trip South.

No late report from Denver.

Detroit CORE virtually defunct; most of leaders have moved.

BARTLESVILLE, OKLAHOMA

Carrying on general campaign along lines mentioned in Corelater.

Peoria, working on restaurants.

Minneapolis, no details

Lincoln group has taken on new name. Letter to be written to remind them of the $100 promised for summer campaign.

No report from Los Angeles. Philadelphia is working mainly on the Y.M.C.A. situation.

Application for affiliation from the University of Kansas C.O.R.E. group. Group formed January 1947. Have about 65 members. It is a co-alition of several campus groups. Discrimination in campus cafes investigated. Educational program carried on. They agree to accept Core action disciplines, etc. George Houser read letter from Wesley Elliott, secretary-treasurer. Recommendation that policy on campus groups hold--renewal each year. Affiliation recommended. Houser will inform the group of their acceptance and conditions of their affiliation application.

Form of use of reports from groups...adopted from form used by Monthly Summary of Race Relations Projected form read. Motion made that this idea by adopted and that for this year, the reports be given at the convention if possible. Additional comments to be asked.

Treasurer's report read and adopted. (just this one)

Report on Finance drive. Two meetings of the committee held. Letters were sent out to individual groups asking for estimate of amount they could contribute; and various kinds of possibilities for raising money: banquet, direct mail appeal through the list of the organizations, pamphlet and letter to be signed by prominent individual--Randolph, Smith and Thurman suggested. Decidedt that one signature would be best and that the letter should be written on the personal stationery of the person signing.
Have tried to get Lillian Smith. Preliminary job being done by Bill Worthy.
The possibility of approaching important individuals for contributions, and appeals to churches. The convention will have to pass on action.
Suggestion also made that someone be hired to raise money, fulltime job; and that we give them a percentage of amount they raise. To be recommended to Convention,

May 25

Desirability of full time person for Executive Secretary agreed on; can we do it in terms of finances? Motion made that we recommend to the Convention the consideration of full time secretary. Seconded with the addition that we consider that means by which such a person could be paid. Motion could be made to hire a person if the feeling was in that direction. Motion carried. Suggestion made that someone present the matter at the conference. 1) Durham suggested; but will be impossible. 2) Bayard or alternate. Margery Swann volunteered as alternate.

WORKSHOP:
Nine applications have been received so far. Matter of residence has not been settled yet. International Students House in Washington cannot be used. Letter to be written to them, to see if there is a possibility of securing it for the workshop even though present Board turned it down.

Division of Workshop week: 1) certain period set aside for group strategy, discussion and action. 2) time for having outside persons in, speakers, etc. 3) group recreation period and 4) free-time period.

Scholarships for individuals who cannot pay expenses: ask each member of the group (executive committee) to send in two suggestions and follow up on them. Passed by common consent.

JOURNEY OF RECONCILIATION

Mimeographed copies of the report were read by the members of the executive committee.

Question: How far do you think you could get the NAACP to help in getting a case to the Supreme Court? A. What the NAACP is going to do, we do not know. They may not want to take any of these cases up or they may want to take some of them up. Our position has been that we shall leave the decisions in the hands of the lawyers--what they want to do. The NAACPwill go with the Asheville case all the way.

Finances: We spent between $1500 and $2000 on this trip. The does not include the bail. We took in about $800 in meetings along the way. We are about $200 (mimimum) in the hole. We also have the travel expenses of the fellows back to their trials. We need about $1000 to come out in the clear.

Possibility of speaking tours, discussing the trip, as a means of raising money: Itinerary suggested: Columbus, Cleveland, Yellow Springs, Zenia, Dayton, Youngstown, Toledo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Peoria, Washington, Baltimore, Rochester and Syracuse. Fellows in different localities will be contacted as to availability for speaking. Groups represented will send telegrams to Mr. Houser informing him of possible dates for speakers.

CONSULTATIVE STATUS WITH U.N.E.S.C.O.

By common consent this blank was tables because it applies to organizations international in scope.

Letter read from Manager of New York City Bank denying membership in Mortgage group (?). Mr. Houser recommended that we keep our eyes open and if we do find evidence of a bad policy; and other possible banks that do not have a bad policy, we shift the CORE account. Motion passed.

LITERATURE:

C.I.O. Pamphlet, "What is the Law", summary of F.E.P.C. statutes in different states recommended.

"Erasing the Color Line", reprinted, cost now 40¢.

Motion made and seconded that the National CORE Convention be held in Chicago.

Tenative Program:

Executive meeting, Friday evening at 5:00.
Open public meeting 8:00 Friday night, Dr. Ira Reid speaker.
Business Session at 10:30 Saturday morning.
Social affair, Saturday night.
Round Tables at 2:00 Saty Afternoon.
9:30 Sunday a.m. business meeting, if necessary.
Sunday afternoon mass meeting, with Rev. Carey and members of Journey of Reconciliation speaking.

Moved that National CORE will take care of all the expenses of the convention, all money taken in and will cover any deficit.

Moved that registration will be voluntary except for the delegates.

Discussion of titles for Dr. Reid's speeah and general topic of Conferance. General Subject suggested, "Social Action and Race Relations". Mr. Houser will make the final decision on the topic for Dr. Reid and communicate with him.

PROGRAM FOR MASS MEETING ON FRIDAY NIGHT.

Suggestion for music: Bayard Rustin, Great Lakes Double Quartette, Rosa Page Welch and group singing. Chicago group will take care of this detail.

There will be a word of welcome from the Chicago group.
BBief word from the Chairman of National Core, Mr. Shearer.
Dr.Reid's speech.
Question period after the speech.
Collection
Announcements.

Agenda for business meeting:
1) Constitution
2) CORE action discipline
3) Statement of purpose
4) Nominations committee appointed
5) Resolutions committee "
6) Summary of group activities--opportunity for revision of form.
7) Full time secretary.
8) Secretary-Treasurer's reports.
9) Report on work shop.
10) Resolutions and Action Proposals.

Suggestions for Round Tables:
Direct Action in:
1) Y.M.C.A.

2) Discrminations in public accomodations, restaurants, transporation, etc.

3) Schools, Hospitals and Institutions

4) Employment

5) Restrictive Covenants.

I Y.M.C.A. -- general outline
1) Group would first outline the problem, bringing in the data.
2) State what could be done on a national level.
3) If nothing can be done nationally, how can we co-ordinate our efforts on a local level.
4) This could result in a leaflet, dealing with techniques -- find out the no. of local groups investigating the Y's and National Y.M.C.A. offices could be approached.

II Theoretical discussion of Non-Violence and Allied Techniques:
What techniques can National CORE use to popularize N.V. for the groups and the general public. Margery Swann leader and Jim Robinson, resource leader.

III Interstate Travel Problems.

IV Employment
NVDA action in connection with FEPC; Department Store, Public Utilities.
Persons suggested: Fleming, F. Loescher, Bob Weaver and J. Gould.

V Public Places.

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May 28, 1947

Dear George:

I was holding the minutes, planning on sending the minutes and group reports. I was optimistic because I received a number of reports promptly --- they are coming in very slow now.

Have heard from: Lincoln, Cleveland, Bartlesville, Okla; Los Angeles, Denver -- Detroit report that there is no CORE group;

Marie.

P.S. Irene is going to help me work the material up and prepare it for mimeographing...

1947

CORE Executive Committee Minutes, September 13th and 14th, Cleveland, Ohio

PRESENT: (MEMBERS) Barbee Durham, George Houser, Alice Merritt, Bayard Rustin, Don DeVault, Gerald Bullock, Marjorie Swann, Catharine Raymond; (Council members) Mary Bullock, Ethel Weiss; (Visitors) Margaret Abbott, Lois Drushell, Wallace Nelson, Tad Tekla.

Reports from groups: The reports from the groups which were represented, and from those for which the Executive Secretary reported, will be given in the forthcoming CORElator.

Treasurers report:

On hand June 1, 1947				968.42
Income:	individual contributions		81.00	
	group contributions		79.00	
	Journey of Reconciliation			
	CORE groups	30.00		
	other	338.38	368.38	
	literature		38.17	
	Conference		90.97	657.52
				1625.94
Expenses:	travel		95.92	
	office		113.84	
	literature		11.75	
	Conference		95.00	
	Interracial Workshop		275.00	
	Journey of Reconciliation		20.00	
	loan to FOR		204.00	
	bank service charge		.25	815.76
On hand September 13, 1947				810.18
				1625.94

Vacancies on Executive Committee: One position on the Executive Committee was not filled at the time of the Conference. Since then Sarah Jo Springer has resigned because she has moved from Chicago and will not find it possible to be active. It was also reported that Juanita Morrow has moved from Cleveland to Chicago. In the case of Juanita Morrow it was suggested that the Executive Secretary write to her to find out if in the light of her new position, she would be able to maintain her active status on the Executive Committee for this year. It was moved and adopted that the two vacancies on the Executive Committee be filled by Lloyd C. Trotter, president of the West End Civic League in Cincinnati, a new group affiliating with national CORE, and by Bill Worthy of New York.

Advisory Committee: The explanation was made that according to previous action of our annual Convention, we are permitted to have fifteen members on our Advisory Committee, and we have only ten at present. It was moved that the present members of the Advisory Committee be asked to serve for another year, and that the following persons be invited to become part of the Advisory Committee: Charles H. Houston, Charles S. Johnson, Dorothy Maynor, Ira DeA. Reid, Goodwin Watson.

Literature report: It was reported that we have on hand the following CORE literature: Statement of Purpose, 100; Action Discipline, 150; What is CORE?, 500; The CORE Way, 36; Interracial Direct Action Can Challenge Jim Crow, 75. The Committee agreed to leave the ordering of the reprints of the present literature in the hands of the Executive Secretary. It was suggested that copies of the reprint from SURVEY GRAPHIC, "The CORE Way", be reprinted in a smaller pamphlet form.

Discussion of CORE Action Director: At the Conference of national CORE held in Chicago during June it was authorized that at its first meeting the new Executive Committee should discuss the question of hiring a person for a three-months' period, whose job it would be to help raise money so that CORE could hire a fulltime Executive Secretary. On the basis of this authorization the Executive Committee decided to approve the hiring of a fulltime person for three months (with the possibility of this continuing for a longer period if it should be financially possible to do so), to seek ways and means of raising a sum of money and to help direct the action program of CORE. The minimum budget agreed upon by the Executive Committee for the remainder of this fiscal year was as follows:

Action Director's salary for three months	585.00
part time office secretary's salary for three months	293.00
literature	150.00
office, postage	300.00
telephone, telegraph	50.00
travel	200.00
Journey of Reconciliation	150.00
miscellaneous	50.00
to be raised to start next year	3000.00
	4778.00

After a consideration of many persons who it was thought might take this job for three months, William Worthy of New York was decided upon. Wallace Nelson was approved as alternate. The title for this position will be "National Action Director". It was agreed that the new Action Director could start work as soon as he was available, or if he is not available in the next few weeks, we should wait until the first of the year.

Money-raising suggestions: The following suggestions were made as to ways local groups could help to raise money for the national office.

1. It was proposed that local groups be asked to send in the names of people in their cities who could be approached for contributions.

2. It was proposed that local groups could sponsor one or more special events such as parties or entertainment programs, the proceeds of which would go to the national office.

3. It was proposed that local groups could arrange for some possible speaking engagements for the Action Director or other officers of CORE, out of which some funds might be obtained.

4. It was proposed that members of the Advisory Committee be approached for money-raising suggestions.

5. It was suggested that a paid advertisement might be put into FELLOWSHIP magazine with an appeal signed by some leading members of the FOR, asking for support for CORE.

A committee appointed to work with Bill Worthy on money-raising schemes were George Houser, Bayard Rustin, A. J. Muste, Catharine Raymond.

Conference on Direct Action Techniques: At the June Conference of CORE there were discussion groups on techniques of direct action dealing with discrimination in public places and in employment, and with education in non-violence. This was felt to be such a valuable discussion, where

an important pooling of experience could be made, that it was suggested that a special conference lasting for two or three days should be arranged, which could explore more deeply into techniques of non-violent direct action in facing discrimination. It was moved and passed that a special conference of this type be planned and that it be held in connection with the annual Conference if possible. Suggested times for the Conference were: (1) during Christmas vacation; (2) during spring vacation; (3) some time during the summer. It was suggested that such a conference would have to be held in the middle West. It was moved and passed that a careful memo be outlined on the conference, and sent to the local groups for discussion before final decision was made on time and place.

Action program: Several areas in which CORE could carry on a significant major action project this year were outlined.

1. It was suggested that another Journey of Reconciliation, this time using women instead of men and perhaps going into the deeper South, could be tried.

2. A campaign directed nationally against the YMCA policy of segregation. This would consist of simultaneous local campaigns in many cities where we have CORE groups.

3. A campaign against segregation in the army and in the proposed universal military training program. A possible march on Washington, especially by Negro veterans, was suggested in this connection.

4. A campaign against segregation in Southern colleges and universities, and against the quota system in Northern schools. One possible demonstration that was suggested in this connection was to organize a student strike of one day's duration against segregation and the quota system.

5. A campaign against the segregated housing policy of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company housing projects. This whole matter has been brought to a head through the segregation of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company housing project in New York, where United Nations employees live. A one-day picketing of the Metropolitan Company's local offices was suggested. Also it was suggested that there be an exploration of getting Negro policy holders to take some organized action against the Metropolitan Life.

6. A one-day boycott against buses in the South, to be called a Stay-Off-The-Bus Day.

All of these areas are to be explored for a possible field of action by CORE nationally.

CORE national organization: It was approved by the Executive Committee that a memorandum be sent out to the local groups proposing that the members of each local group automatically become national members as well. This would change our present system of organization by which only groups are affiliated with national CORE, but no individuals. Furthermore, according to this new proposal, a certain percentage of the membership fee paid by each local member would go to the national office. Persons who might wish to join national CORE, who were not affiliated with a local group, could be only associate members. This memo is to be a basis of discussion. No decision can be made on this question before the next annual Conference of CORE.

Miscellaneous items: Barbee Durham reported that Frank Shearer's mother had died, and that he had written to Frank on behalf of CORE, expressing sympathy.

A new and longer form for prospective affiliates of CORE to fill in before being accepted as part of the organization, was approved.

There was a brief report of the July Workshop in Washington. It was reported that the activities and accomplishments of the Workshop were to be put into a printed pamphlet form soon.

Next meeting: November 15th and 16th or November 29th and 30th. Places suggested: Yellow Springs, Columbus, or Cleveland, Ohio.

Congress Of Racial Equality
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

oeiu 153

CORE Executive Committee meeting, Sunday, September 14th. 1947

Present: Barbee Durham, George Houser, Gerald Bullock, Ethel Weiss, Mary Bullock, Marj Swann, Bayard Rustin, Don DeVault, Catharine Raymond, Lois Drushell, Tad Tekla.

Time of hiring of Bill Worthy discussed. It is not certain when he would be available. Proposed that Bill Worthy be taken on by October 15th if he wants to get going immediately or that if he is willing to wait, by December 1st or January 1st./ Passed. Same for Wally Nelson except that if he is in school he be allowed to finish a semester. Moved that we dispose of the question of what local groups can do in a money-raising way. (Moved that Rustin put down his paper.) There is a question of how much the groups can help out. We could discuss this or possible projects. Rustin felt that we could not discuss how to raise money locally. Agreed. Proposed that groups be asked to send in names of local people who could be asked for money. Proposed that groups be asked to discuss ~~it~~ at their next meeting some project that could be worked up into a money-raising thing. Bullock said that in Chicago everything depends on the State Street campaign. Rustin felt that local groups must use all the money they raise locally; that the groups should be asked to help out on some national issue. Houser: local groups could sponsor one or more special events the proceeds of which would go to national CORE. Houser: groups line up one of two kinds of things: first some possible speaking engagements for the Secretary; second find key local contacts for Secretary to visit, who have a little money and should be seen personally. Rustin: something should be done toward covering the traveling expenses of the Secretary on such a visit to a local group. Bill Worthy should write up a memo on further ideas for fund-raising. Some Advisory Committee members might help, such as A. J., and perhaps others. Swann suggested that some Advisory Committee members might do some speaking in behalf of CORE, proceeds to be turned over to CORE. Committee appointed to work ~~with~~ with Bill Worthy: George Houser, Bayard Rustin, A. J. Muste, Catharine Raymond. Suggested that a paid advertisement be put into FELLOWSHIP magazine with a signed editorial by some leading pacifists. Budget: office secretary to be included at least part-time. Moved that the minimum budget be accepted, depending on how the situation goes. Passed. Suggestions for an office secretary: Someone from Antioch College might be available. Socialist Party uses part-time workers who might be available for the rest of their time.

Titles suggested as possibilities for Bill: Coordinator. Program Director. Executive Director. National Representative. Campaign Director. National Action Coordinator. Public Relations Director. National Action Secretary. National Action Director. Direct Action Coordinator. National Action Director. "National Action Director" voted for by a minority of four. Press release will have to be got out immediately.

Frank Shearer's mother died last Tuesday. Barbee Durham has written to him from CORE.

Conference on techniques of direct action. Suggested for some time this winter. Background: At June Conference there were three groups discussing techniques for action. Felt that there should some time be a conference for such techniques only. Bullock suggested that the conference be called Civil Rights Conference. Houser thought that this name would be confused with that of the Civil Rights Congress. Suggested that this winter conference be made part of the annual conference. Suggested that a conference be held for five days to combine both, perhaps a retreat. Moved and passed that any special conferences be in connection with annual conference. Time: moved that we consider some date during the Christmas holidays. Suggested that a careful memo be outlined on the conference to the groups suggesting alternative dates for the conference: Christmas week, some time around Easter, some time in the summer; for at least three full days. It was decided to do this. Felt that definite plans will depend at least somewhat on the degree of enthusiasm in the responses to this memo. Place: Chicago has invited us. Yellow Springs was suggested. We are to find out how many could come to a conference somewhere between Ohio and Illinois.

Letter-head: Moved and passed that format of letter-head be left as it is.

Action pfogram: In ragard to a J. of R. using girls, not much can be done beforehand on publicity; therefore it could not be used to raise money immediately. Moved that we have a female Journey of Reconciliation. YMCA campaign suggested. Back on J. of R.: impossible for Bill to organize; would be necessary for Racial-Industrial Department of FOR to do the work. Motion changed to read that we tentatively accept the idea of a J. of R. Passed.

Report on a campaign to fight UMT on the basis of segregation in the army. A. Philip Randolph interested in reviving March on Washington and thinks this is the right issue for it. March is proposed for Negro veterans only. Bill Worthy is very much interested in it. It was felt that he could not be a leader in this while working with CORE because of the time element. CORE objects to the lack of interraciality in this drive as far as its becoming a major CORE project is concerned. Moved and passed that CORE not make the UMT-antijimcrow drive one of our major concerns, but that we endorse it.

Other possible projects: YMCA; segregation in state universities in the South; Metropolitan housing projects; right of vote of Negroes in the South; discriminatory advertising; UN housing; passing out leaflets on interstate travel. One-day strike in Negro schools on the issue of segregation suggested by Houser. Suggested by Swann: one-day picketing of Metropolitan local offices. Going back to the school question. Sweatt case in Texas -- demonstration should be timed to go with something significant that is happening in this case. Suggested by Rustin: one-day boycott of buses, particularly in the South. Moved and passed that national CORE coordinate local groups' campaigns against Metropolitan housing policies. (Using the UN as a focal point.)

CORE organization: suggested that a memo be sent out proposing a national membership with a per capita tax and uniform membership requirements, with each member signing a statement of purpose. Proposed that two types of membership be set up, one with more active participation than the other. (Suggestion: a three-fold membership blank, one part for the applicant to retain, one for the local group, and one to be sent to the national office.) Anyone not connected with a local group to be an associate member. Memo will be sent out.

Moved that Action Director be on Executive Committee. If there are still vacancies, Betty Wenger or Ethel Weiss to be invited.

Affiliation blank: new form approved as long as it suits the national office. Felt that one month is not long enough for a group to have been in existence before being accepted as an affiliate, that six months would be better, but as this was a matter of changing the constitution the question was not further discussed or acted upon.

Report on Workshop: Report will be out soon in printed form. Rustin going to Washington soon to complete arrangements for a week-long Institute-Workshop this fall. Felt that CORE would be interested in a summer project next year.

Advisory committee: Suggested that persons already on committee not be invited again, but just held over. Some question raised as to whether such a procedure would be ethical. New persons named and agreed upon: Ira DeA. Reid; Charles Houston, or if he can not do it, Belford Lawson; Charles Johnson; Dorothy Maynor; Goodwin Watson.

Next meeting: November 29th and 30th, or November 15th and 16th. Places suggested: Yellow Springs, Columbus, Cleveland.

CORE Executive Committee meeting; November 15th and 16th, 1947; Yellow Springs, Ohio

Present: Members: Barbee Durham, George Houser, William Worthy, Marjorie Swann, Juanita Morrow, Catharine Raymond, A. C. Thompson, Gerald Bullock, Lloyd Trotter. Council: Mary Bullock, Maria Kende. Visitor: Wallace Nelson.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Brief reports from the groups were given.

Report on Advisory Committee and Executive Committee: New members on the Advisory Committee are Charles H. Houston, Washington attorney; Dorothy Maynor, concert artist; Ira DeA. Reid, sociologist of Atlanta University; Goodwin Watson of Columbia Teachers College. New Executive Committee members are Lloyd Trotter of Cincinnati and William Worthy of New York. Juanita Morrow, though she has moved to Chicago, will be able to continue as a member.

Literature: A report on literature was given. The CORE leaflets are being reprinted: 1500 each of the CORE Statement of Purpose and the Action Discipline, and 3000 of "What is CORE?". "The CORE Way", originally printed in the February, 1946, issue of SURVEY GRAPHIC, is being reprinted, with pictures and in eight-page pamphlet form; the number of copies is to be left to the discretion of the national office. In quantity it will sell for five cents.

Treasurer's report: The following report was accepted.

On hand September 13th, 1947			810.18
Income:	individual contributions	158.00	
	group contributions	20.00	
	Journey of Reconciliation	2.00	
	literature	26.50	
	return of loans	214.00	420.50
			1230.68
Expenses:	travel	25.16	
	office	77.78	
	literature	25.05	
	bank service charge	1.14	
	loan (to FOR)	55.00	
	William Worthy	270.00	
	Charlotte Johnson	270.00	724.13
On hand November 15th, 1947			506.55
			1230.68

Report on money-raising program: Bill Worthy reported that a number of mailing lists are to be circulated with an appeal, including the reprint of "The CORE Way". Additional lists were suggested by the Executive Committee

as possibilities, such as the [illegible] list, the American Sociological Society, the American Psycho-Analytic Institute, and others. It was suggested that the Rosenwald Fund might help out. The groups are to be asked to help in certain specific ways: to send in names to the national office of people in their own communities who could be solicited; to ask their own members for contributions; to put on some special social affair the proceeds of which would go to the national organization. Lloyd Trotter said he was sure that Cincinnati could do this last. Others indicated the possibility also.

Moved, seconded, and passed that if it is financially possible Bill Worthy should continue with this work beyond the three months' period (ending December 31st), through the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Discussion of memo on CORE organization: It was reported that a memo on CORE organization had been sent out to the groups. It was decided that before such a change as would be involved in the plan outlined could be discussed adequately, there should be more definite figures available on total membership, and an estimate of income which could be derived from this source.

CORE Action Conference and Convention: A memo has been sent to the groups suggesting that a special Action Conference be held, either separately or in connection with the annual Convention. From replies received and from group discussion, it was concluded that summer would be the best time for the Action Conference, and that it ought to be held in connection with the Convention. The Executive Secretary was asked to send a memo to the group suggesting a long weekend -- first choice, June 16th to 20th; second choice, June 11th or 12th to the 15th or 16th -- preferably at a camp near a large city in the Midwest. Several camps were suggested: Gerald Bullock will get in touch with Camp Farr, south of Chicago, and a YWCA camp north of Chicago; Barbee Durham with Camp Yo Hio, near Columbus; Lloyd Trotter with Camp Joy, near Cincinnati; George Houser with Camp Sharpe, near Cleveland. Yellow Springs was also suggested as a possibility. The business sessions of the Convention will be held over the weekend; action techniques will be considered during the other days. The alternative would be to have two sessions of the annual Convention, probably Saturday afternoon and evening, devoted to action techniques.

Summer Workshops: There will probably be two, one in Washington and one in Southern California, perhaps in Santa Monica. It is hoped eventually to have several Workshops across the country. The promotional material should be ready by the middle of March. Gerald Bullock agreed to ask a friend in Chicago for the use of a station wagon which he had offered previously, for the California Workshop.

Action program: Campaign against military jim crow. It was reported that a committee (The Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training) has been formed which may direct some demonstrations. The Executive Committee voted to endorse the work of this committee. It was also voted to recommend to the affiliated groups that they explore the possibilities for local action on an interracial basis against military jim crow, such as picketing army recruiting stations.

Campaign on housing. The Joint Committee for Equality in Housing has been organized to work against the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company policy of segregation in their housing projects, which has done some demonstrating, and plans further activity.

Campaign against school segregation. A memo has been sent out to a number of key campus contacts suggesting specific action against school segregation. The question will be brought up at several student conferences in the next few weeks and months.

Campaign against jim crow trains leaving Northern stations. It was reported that some preliminary thinking has gone into such a campaign, with the possibility that leaflets might be distributed to embarking passengers calling their attention to the segregated condition of the train.

Expenses for money-raising campaign: It was voted to allow a minimum of $90.00 a week for expenses in connection with our money-raising campaign.

Next meeting: The date will be in January. The place probably will be in Ohio.

CORE

CORE Executive Committee minutes, January 24th and 25th, 1948

Present: Members: Barbee Durham (Chairman), Gerald Bullock, A. C. Thompson, Don DeVault, Bayard Rustin, Harriett Lane, Juanita Morrow, George Houser, Frank Shearer, Marjorie Swann, William Worthy, Catharine Raymond, Wallace Nelson (substituting for Lloyd Trotter); Council member: Ethel Weiss; Visitors: Eugene Stanley, Aleck Stragefsky.

Literature: Since the last meeting reprints have been put out of our leaflets and of "The CORE Way". It was suggested that we consider publishing a song book with songs for group use, and that Lynn Rohrbough be asked about publishing it.

Treasurer's Report:

Summer Workshops: Two are planned for next summer, one in Washington and one in Los Angeles. A mimeographed announcement has been sent out, and it is expected that the printed announcement will be ready for distribution by the end of February. The Washington Workshop will run for a month; the Los Angeles Workshop may run for longer if the people there want it.

Action Conference: Camp Farr would be available from June 7th to 13th. The cost would be reasonable, but it was felt that the dates are too early. However, it was voted that our second choice of dates be the 9th to the 13th. Camp Joy would be available but nothing is known about costs. Camp Sharpe would be available for the dates wanted -- the 16th to the 20th; the cost would be $400 for 100 persons. This place is to be investigated further. A report was given also on Camp YoHio, but we did not have definite data on its availability.

Program of Conference: Most of the conference will be group discussions. It was suggested that action project pamphlets be written at the Conference. We would divide into groups that would at the beginning outline what they wanted to accomplish. Each group would explore thoroughly its own field and make reports to the Conference as a whole. Groups would deal with action in the areas of restaurants, housing, jobs, recreational places. It was felt that we could add a group on techniques. It was suggested that a letter or memo go out to the groups asking what areas they would want stressed; this would go to the active and unaffiliated groups as well as to the affiliated groups. Several persons were suggested as possible speakers, but the final choice was left up to the national office.

Finances and discussion of our three-months' program: We have not raise the five thousand dollars we hoped last fall we might raise through our three months' program. It was decided that three months was not long enough to make more than a start. It was moved, seconded, and passed that if the money we now have in the treasury is used for further appeals, it be spent on reaching individuals and groups instead of on concentrated mailings. The following motion was put and passed: that some arrangement be worked out between the Executive Secretary and Bill Worthy to retain Bill for an indefinite period of time, as along as the treasury does not fall below $100.

Volunteer worker from Antioch College: It was reported that Margot Dukler, a senior at Antioch College, whose home is in Queens, Long Island, New York, is interested in working with CORE on a volunteer basis during the Spring Division, from the end of March to early June. She is highly

recommended. It was moved and passed that we accept the offer.

Money-raising: Juanita Morrow mentioned the idea of selling greeting cards through our groups to make money. She will be working for a company putting out a new type, which will be out for Mother's Day. It was decided that we would obtain samples and send them out to the groups so that they can determine whether they want to sell them.

Launching of a student interracial direct action organization: It was mentioned that students on many campuses are interested and active in working against racial segregation and discrimination, but there is no organization among student doing an over-all job in the field of race. A number of organizations on campuses were mentioned; the Student Committee for Educational Democracy was organized last year, and is doing some of the things we would want to do, but so far is small. Groups affiliated with a new national organization could work on campuses for omitting questions on race and religion from application blanks; on off-campus places patronized by students such as restaurants, etc. This would not be an official part of CORE, since CORE is already established, and this should be student-controlled; otherwise it would not have such a chance to grow. Student conferences could be called by state or region to discuss the problem of campus discrimination and to consider setting up an organization to deal with it. The following statement was agreed to: There is a need for a student organization that would work along CORE lines across the country; regional organizations would be set up that would not necessarily take the name of CORE but would be set up along CORE lines under our leadership; it would be expected that the time would come when it would be possible to have a much more complete coordination of these groups on a national level; there might be a student section of CORE under that name or another name; this is the direction in which we ought to move.

Memo on warning groups about working with CP: It was suggested that this problem be discussed at the Action Conference. It was moved, seconded, and passed that a memo be drawn up, sent to the Executive Committee members for suggestions or rejections, and then sent to the contact persons of the local groups. This will be used as a basis for discussion at the Action Conference.

Action Program: (a) Further consideration of picketing of recruiting stations against army jim crow. A number of groups would not take part in this action, but it was thought that some others might. It was decided to work out a date on which action of these groups could be coordinated; a leaflet will also be prepared in the national office for use if the groups want it.

(b) Campaign against jim crow trains leaving Northern stations. A date is to be worked out for work on either trains or buses, depending on the local situation.

(c) Campaign agianst dining car jim crow in Southern states. We will get in touch with some attorneys to investigate further this matter.

Resolution: To thank the Vanguard League for their hospitality.

Next meeting: Tentative dates: April 17th, 18th; March 20th, 21st; April 3rd, 4th.
Place: some place in Ohio, probably Cincinnati.

CORE

CORE Executive Committee meeting; April 17 and 18, 1948; Cincinnati, Ohio

Present: Members: Barbee Durham, Marjorie Swann, Lloyd Trotter, Juanita Morrow, George Houser, Harriett Lane. Visitor: Wallace Nelson.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Brief reports from the groups were given. Barbee Durham reported that the Vanguard League is now almost defunct as a result of incidents due to red-baiting in that city. The Executive Committee expressed deep concern over the continued existence of the League, it's relationship to National CORE, and the possibilities of the possible establishment of a pure CORE in Columbus. In view of the facts presented a motion was made by George Houser and seconded by Lloyd Trotter to the effect that letters be written to the people who were members of the Executive Committee of the Vanguard League during the years 1945, '46, '47, plus the names of others that are suggested in order to secure their opinions of the reason for the present state of their organizations as well as any suggestions for future organization. ~~Barbee~~ Marge Swann was authorized by the Executive Committee to make a personal investiagtion of the situation in Columbus.

Executive Secretary's Report: George Houser called the attention of the committee to George Schuyler's article on CORE in the April 3rd issue of the Courier.

A pamphlet on "How to Organize CORE" has been prepared to send to interested individuals who have made inquiries.

A night letter was sent to the Lawrence, Kansas CORE inquiring about the recent incident in which that CORE group was bodily ejected from a cafeteria by a group of Kansas University students. There was noviolence in carrying out this project.

In reporting on the progress of the summer workshops, it was pointed out that each of the local groups will have to do a job of promotionto recruit people to attend the Washington and California projects. Special attention should be paid to recruiting Negroes for these projects. There will be scholarship help this year.

Greeting Cards: Juanita Morrow reported the availability of greeting cards for sale with proceeds going to the National CORE office. Cincinnati has purchased 200.

Song Books: Only 3 or 4 favorable replies have been returned to the National office regarding the desirability of compiling a CORE Songbook. It was suggested that George Houser clear the matter of copywright, etc. and present the matter to the National Conference in June.

Student Organization: In Oklahoma students from the University of Oklahoma, Langston and another small white college are planning a conference around the problem of "Segregation in Education." This conference, it was felt, grew out of the Ada Sipuel Fisher case repercussions.

Finances: The Treasurer's report was read and accepted. There is a balance of $540.00 on hand at the present time.

George Houser reported on several phases of the financial picture of the National office:

1. Journey of Reconciliation

   Cases pending in Virginia, Chapel Hill, N.C. and Ashville, N.C. All Virginia cases have been dropped, becuase disorderly conduct charges cannot be used to get around the Irene Morgan decision. In Chapel Hill the cases came up March 16, 1948 and each defendent, Negro and white, was given a 30 day sentence. These cases are now in a state of appeal. $50.00 from the National Treasury was given to this cause during the proceeding quarter. Cases in Ashville have not been heard as yet.

2. Chicago International Dinner
The Dinner netted $65.00 which was sent in during the preceeding quarter. It was suggested that other groups might use this idea for a money-raising venture.

Bill Worthy: George Houser reported that Bill Worthy worked for about six weeks, beginning Feb. 1, 1948, for National CORE. Individual contacts were made, amilings done, plans for a possible letter to ministers from another mailing list which is now available, and many other leads which will take considerable follow-up this spring were accomplished. Bill is no longer on the CORE payroll. The question of hiring a paid Action Director for National CORE will be referred to the next meeting.

Scholarships for Workshops: Juanita Morrow moved and Marge Swann seconded a motion that National CORE contribute up to $150.00 for scholarship purposes to the Summer Workshops.

Memo on Communism: This is a confidential memo and not for publication. Discussion surrounded the main idea of preparing such a statement which to make local groups aware of the dangers of infiltration. The following changes in the memo were suggested: _____(1st line on page 2) change from "critical of imperialism" to fundamentally opposed to imperialism". Add statement on totalitarian principles which are embraced by extremists both right and left. This memo will be sent to local groups for discussion before the National Conference.

National Conference and Convention: George Houser announced the preliminary details of the CORE conference and annual convention, per the announcement that had been sent out. After considerable discussion on the question of al speaker, it was agreed that all Advisory Committee members be sent personal invitations to be resource leaders for the discussion and work groups.

Topics suggested for the evening panel discussions during the conference were: "Why Non-Violence", an evaluation of CORE's basic use of the non violent direct action technique; "Whither CORE", an evaluation of CORE's organizational structure and program emphases, our place in the world today, etc.; and "Civil Disobedience Campaign", a discussion of the proposed "refusal-to-be-drafted" campaign in case Selective Service or UMT are passed without doing away with discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

A few suggestions were made for the panel members for the evening discussions, including Don DeVault and Wally Nelson on "Why Non-Violence?", and Bill Worthy on the "Civil Disobedience Campaign". Suggested leaders for the discussion and study groups were: Housing, Marj Swann; Recreation, Harriett Lane, Annabel Henry; Restaurants, Jimmy Robinson; Job, someone from Columbus or Chicago.

Recreation possibilities are tennis, ping-pong, baseball, swimming, boating, picnics, group singing, talent show, folk and squaredancing, social dancing, cards, indoor games. Wally Nelson was put in charge of securing the facilities necessary for various recreation activities, such as phonograph, etc. It was moved and seconded and passed that Wally Nelson's expenses to Cleveland be paid for the purpose of Wally's working out all details on food, a cook or group cooking, buying, and otherarrangements to be made with Dr. Sharpe.

Suggested rates for the conference are:

$1.00 per day for room and facilities per person
$1.50 per day for food for those who attend whole conference
$ .80
.60 b for those who attend only part-time
.35
$2.00 registration fee for everyone

Civil Disobedience Campaign: George Houser read clippings from Negro papers commenting on the proposed civil disobedience campaign in regard to a new draft of UMT. George reported that Bill Worthy had sent out a press notice to the effect that 5 members of the Journey of Reconciliation were already supporting the civil disobedience campaign by refusing to pay taxes. All the New York newspapers and the wire services sent reporters to Randolph's office, where a press conference was held by these five men. Because of incomplete planning and coordination, the conference soon got down to the point that these five men had been c.o.'s in the last war, and the story of course lost its news value because of that fact. However, it was significant that all of the newspapers were so interested in any item of news about civil disobedience.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that the Executive Commiteee of CORE issue a statement and a news release to the effedt that:

1. The Executive Committee supports the civil disobedience campaign against Jim Crow in the Armed forces;

2. The Executive Committee urges that such a civil disobedience program, on a strictly non violent basis, be extended to other phases of the fight against discrimination and segregation;

33. the Executive Committee strongly urges that these movements be inter-racial;

4. The ExecutiveCommittee urges that CORE local groups shall act as nuclei be the nuclei of such civil disobedience movements in the various localities.

Dining Car and Other Action Proposals: George read his proposal for a dining-car action program, in which inter-racial groups would test and refuse to obey discriminatory regulations on dining cars on trains running in the South. There was a discussion of the basic need for work on such an area, some members feeling that there are other more fundamental issues on which we should expend our time and money and energy. George said he felt that by attacking discrimination and segregation in any area, and by winning a victory in that area, we would be helping the whole fight in a positive way. The questions of publicity, public support, dramatic possibilities, effects on large numbers of people, etc. came up for discussion. Alternatives in the forms of another Journey of Reconciliation, consisting of women and covering different territory, and of tackling the housing problem were considered. Marj Swann presented briefly some of the difficuoties of securing inter-racial housing, and of the problem of dealing with FHA in particular. It was questioned whether there is some specific action that can be undertaken by CORE in the housing area. Marj Swann was appointed to secure further facts on housing, and to present suggested action projects at the national convention.

It was decided that George should make further investigation into the possibilities of the dining car project, and that all proposed action projects be investigated further so that they can be reconsidered at the convention.

Meeting adjourned.

CORE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Cincinnati, Ohio - Saturday, April 17, 1948

Present: Barbee Durham, Marjorie Swann, Lloyd Trotter, Juanita Morrow, George Hauser, Harriett Lane, and Wally Nelson, visitor.

Barbee Durham presided. George Hauser read the minutes of the last meeting which were approved as read. Agenda was reviewed before proceding with the meeting.

Reports from Groups:
Minneapolis - Harriett Lane reported on bowling alley projects and the progress made in work by the joint committees of that city who have been working on the upgrading of Negroes in Mpls. department stores. Four Negro girls have now been hired by two leading department stores in salesgirls capacity.

Yellow Springs - Marjorie Swann reported on the formation of an Interracial ball team at Yellow Springs, and of CORE'S efforts to encourage Negro participation this year. She also reported that a Civil Rights Ordinance for that town is in effect.

Cincinnati - Emphasis on getting Negro milk drivers with mention of possible use of the Taft-Hartley bill in the situation, because it forbids a closed shop. West End Civic League is trying to secure upgrading for Negroes in the public utilities - gas, light, and telephone. They are giving monthly benefits or social affairs for the purpose of getting an office and hiring a paid Executive Secretary. A Conference on Human Relations sponsored by 12 organizations of Cincinnati, was held during the past week and materialized into a permanent Committee on Human Relations. The first Interracial Childrens' Camp will be held in Cincinnati this year and will be sponsored by the st. Barnabas Church and Neighborhood House, which is an interracial organization.

New York - George Hauser reported that they will have a workshop in May with complete stress on action techniques. The official name of the project is "Workshop on Action Techniques." Further discussion centered around the Palisades Park Project and the possibilities of investigation of the YMCA there.

Colombus - Barbee Durham reported that the Vanguard League is now almost defunct as a result of incidents due to red-baiting in that city. He brought to the meeting a folder of clippings from newspapers bearing out some of his statements. The Exec. Committee expressed deep concern over the continued existence of the League, it's relationship to Ntl. CORE, and thepossibilities of the possible establishment of a pure CORE in Colombus. In view of the facts presented a motion was made by George Hauser and seconded by Lloyd Trotter to the effect that letters be written to the ~~names~~ people who were members of the exec. com. of the Vanguard League during the years of 1945, '46, '47 plus the names of others that are suggested in order to secure their opinions of the reason for the present state of their organization as well as any suggestions for future organization.

Furthermore, Marge Swann was authorized by the Exec. Com. to make a personal investigation of the situation in Colombus.

Chicago - Juanita Morrow reported on their campaign against the Goldblatt Department store to promote the upgrading of Negroes. CORE'S strategy in this project was discussed. CORE is assisting in trying to form organizations to counterbalance the influence of the property owners associations in mixed neighborhoods where tension has increased.

Executive Secretary's Report -

George Hauser called the attention of the committee to George Schuyler's article on CORE in the April3rd issue of the Courier.
It was reported that the second issue of the CORELATER has just been completed for mailing.
Pamphlet on "How To Organize CORE" has been prepared to send interested individuals who have made such inquiries.
A night letter was sent to the Lawrence, Kansas CORE inquiring about recent incidentwhere that CORE group was bodily ejected from a cafe by a group of KU university students. There was no violence in carrying out this project.
In reporting on the progress of the summer workshops, it was pointed out that each of the local groups will have to do a job of promotion to recruit people to atted the Washington and California projects. Special attention should be paid to recruiting Negroes for these projects. There will be scholarship help this year. Dates for the project remain the same - the month of July.

Greeting Cards -
Juanita Morrow reported the availability of greeting cards for sale with proceeds going to the Ntl. Core office. Cincinnati has already purchased 200.

Song Books -
Only 3 or 4 favorable replies have been returned to the NTL. office regarding the desirability of compiling a CORE Songbook. It was suggested that George Hauser clear the matter of copywrite, etc. and present the matter to the Ntl. Conference in June.

Student Organization -
In Oklahoma students from the "U"of Oklahoma, Langston and another small white college are planning a conference around the problem of "Segregation in Education" to be held in April. TThis conference, it was felt, grew out of the Ada Sipuel Fisher case repercussions.

Finances - Treasurer's report was read and accepted with a balance of $540.00 on hand at the present time.
George Hauser reported on several phases of the financial picture of the Ntl. office:
Journey of Reconciliation - had cases pending in Virginia, Chapel Hill, N.C. and Ashville, N.C. All Virginia cases have been

dropped, because disorderly conduct charges cannot be used to get around the Irene Morgan decision. In Chapel Hill the cases came up March 16, 1948 and each defendent, Negro and white, was given a 30 day sentence. These cases are now in a state ofappeal. $50.00 from the Ntl. treasury was given to this cause during the proceeding quarter. Cases in Ashville have not been heard as yet.
Chicago's International Dinner - to raise money for Ntl. CORE netted $65.00 which was sent in during the preceeding quarter. It was suggested that other groups might use this idea for a money-raising venture.

Bill Worthy - It was reported by George Hauser that Bill Worthy worked for about six weeks from Feb. 1, 1948 for Ntl. CORE. Individual contacts were made, mailings done, plans for a possible letter to ministers from anothher mailing list which is now available, and many other leads which will take considerable follow-up thisspring were accomplished. He is no longer on the CORE payroll. The question of hiring a paid Action Director for Ntl. CORE will be referred to the next meeting.

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Memo on Communism-

This is a confidential memo and not for publication. Discussion surrounded the main idea of preparing such a statement which is to make local groups aware of the dangers of infiltration.
Suggested changes - _____(1st line on page 2) change from "critical of imperialism" to "fundamentally opposed to imperialism". Add statement on totalitarian principles which are embraced by extremists both right and left.

This memo will be sent to local groups for discussion before the Ntl. Conference.

Suggested agenda for Sunday April 18, 1948
1. Conference planning
2. Civil Disobedience program
3. Dining Car Project
4. Disc. on seating in departing trains from Northern stations.

Meeting adjourned.

The meeting placeon Sat. was the St. Barnabas Church at 916 Poplar St.

Minutes of CORE Executive Committee meeting

Sunday, April 18, 1948

Harriet Lane and Marjorie Swann reported an incident of discrimination against them in a local restaurant where they had attempted to get breakfast. The case was referred to the West End Civic League for further handling.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND CONVENTION:

George Houser announced the preliminary details of the CORE conference and annual convention, per the announcement that had been sent out. After considerable discussion on the question of a speaker, it was agreed that all Advisory Committee members be sent personal invitations to be resource leaders for the discussion and work groups.

Topics suggested for the evening panel discussions during the conference were: "Why Non-Violence", an evaluation of CORE's basic use of the non-violent direct action technique; "Whither CORE?", an evaluation of CORE's organizational structure and program emphases, our place in the world today, etc.; and "Civil Disobedience Campaign", a discussion of the proposed "refusal-to-be-drafted" campaign in case Selective Service or UMT are passed without doing away with discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

Promotion methods for the conference suggested are the preliminary fliers, the CORElator, and printed or mimeographed final announcements.

A few suggestions were made for the panel members for the evening discussions, including Don DeVault and Wally Nelson on "Why Non-Violence?", and Bill Worthy on the "Civil Disobedience Campaign."

Suggested leaders for the discussion and study groups were: Housing, Marj Swann; Recreation, Harriet Lane, Annabel Henry; Restaurants, Jimmy Robinson; Job, someone from Columbus or Chicago.

Recreation possibilities are tennis, ping-pong, baseball, swimming, boating, picnics, group singing, talent show, folk and square dancing, social dancing, cards, indoor games. Wally Nelson was put in charge of securing the facilities necessary for various recreation activities, such as phonograph, etc.

It was moved by George Houser, seconded, and passed that Wally Nelson's expenses to Cleveland be paid for the purpose of Wally's working out all details on food, a cook or group cooking, buying, and other arrangements to be made with Dr. Sharpe.

Suggested rates for the conference are:

$1.00 per day for room and facilities per person

$1.50 per day for food for those who attend whole conference

$ .80 dinner
.60 lunch for those who attend only part-time
.35 breakfast
$2.00 registration fee for everyone

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN:

George Houser read clippings from Negro papers commenting on the proposed civil disobedience campaign in regard to a new draft or UMT. He reported on the speeches he and Bayard and others gave to the Jefferson Award dinner and said that the New York Post and the Afro-American gave most of their stories about the dinner over to a report of Bayard's speech. PM had an article on the dinner on the day before it took place which consisted mostly of an interview with Bayard. George reported that Bill Worthy had sent out a press notice to the effect that 5 members of the Journey of Reconciliation were already supporting the civil disobedience campaign by refusing to pay taxes. All the New York newspapers and the wire services sent reporters to Randolph's office, where a press conference was held by these five men. Because of incomplete planning and coordination, the press conference soon got down to the point that these five men had been c.o.'s in the last war, and the story of course lost its news value because of that fact. However, it was significant that all of the newspapers were so interested in any item of news about the civil disobedience campaign.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that the Executive Committee of CORE issue a statement and a news release to the effect that:

1) the Executive Committee supports the civil disobedience campaign against Jim Crow in the armed forces;

2) the Executive Committee urges that such a civil disobedience program, on a strictly non-violent basis, be extended to other phases of the fight against

discrimination and segregation;

3) the Executive Committee strongly urges that these movements be inter-racial

4) the Executive Committee urges that CORE local groups be the nuclei of such civil disobedience movements in the various localities.

DINING CAR AND OTHER ACTION PROPOSALS:

George read his proposal for a dining-car action program, in which inter-racial groups would test and refuse to obey discriminatory regulations on dining cars on trains running in the South.

There was a discussion of the basic need for work on such an area, some members feeling that there are other more fundamental issues on which we should expend our time and money and energy. George said he felt that by attacking discrimination and segregation in any area, and by winning a victory in that area, we would be helping the whole fight in a positive way. The questions of publicity, public support, dramatic possibilities, effects on large numbers of people, etc. came up for discussion. Alternatives in the forms of another Journey of Reconciliation, consisting of women and covering different territory, and of tackling the housing problem were considered. Marj Swann presented briefly some of the difficulties of securing inter-racial housing, and of the problem of dealing with FHA in particular. It was questioned whether there is some specific action that can be undertaken by CORE in the housing area. Marj Swann was appointed to secure further facts on present housing, and to suggested action projects at the national convention.

It was decided that George should make further investigation in to the the possibilities of the dining-car project, and that all proposed action projects be investigated further so that they can be reconsidered at the convention.

The meeting was adjourned.

Submitted by
Marjorie Swann, Acting Secretary
with applogies for her tardiness

April 20, 1948

Miss Harriett A. Lane
722 North Fremont
Minneapolis 11, Minnesota

Dear Harriett:

I just got your letter. Thanks for being so prompt with the minutes. I hope I do better on them than I did on the last set. No doubt George apologized properly for not having got them out, but I would like to add my own words of contrition for being so bogged down with so many other things.

I have heard from George, and he said also that you had a good meeting. I am glad for that, and especially glad that you are planning on coming to the Conference in June. I am rather looking forward to that.

Here is your check. I hope it hasn't inconvenienced you too much to have to wait for it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

oeiu 153

Catharine Raymond

13

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

2929 Broadway New York City 25

REPORT ON CORE CONVENTION AND CONFERENCE, June, 1948

The 1948 Conference and Convention was held at Camp Sharpe, Vermilion, Ohio, between June 16th and 20th. The Conference, beginning on Wednesday, lasted until Friday evening. The Convention business sessions took place over the weekend. Forty-seven persons registered for the period. Eight of the affiliated groups were represented: Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, and Philadelphia. Persons from unaffiliated groups working along CORE lines were also present from five places: Washington, D. C., St. Louis, Missouri; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Erie, Pennsylvania; Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Summary of CORE Conference

During the Conference, which preceded the Convention, three working committees were set up to discuss problems of racial tension in housing, employment, and public places. Information about discrimination in these three areas was presented by representatives from various communities, and there was a thorough discussion of how CORE techniques could be applied in working out solutions. The reports from these three groups will be put in finished form and made available for more general use in the near future. Evening discussions during the Conference considered such questions as "Should we support the civil disobedience movement against the jim crow army?"; "What is nonviolence?"; "In what direction should CORE go in the future?".

CORE Convention

Secretary's report: George Houser, the executive secretary, reported that an application for affiliation from the CORE group at the University of Chicago had been accepted by vote of the member groups. It was also reported that groups in the following places are interested in CORE and some of them may wish to affiliate within the next year: Washington, D. C.; Yellow Springs, Ohio; St. Louis, Missouri; Wichita, Kansas; Berkeley, California. It was reported that a group in San Francisco, California, had asked to affiliate with national CORE. Since very little is known about this group it was voted that Manuel Talley of Los Angeles and the executive secretary (while he is in California for the Interracial Workshop) should find out more about the San Francisco CORE before official action for affiliation is taken.

The secretary gave a report on a column about CORE which appeared in the May 29th issue of the PITTSBURGH COURIER, written by J. A. Rogers. More than thirty letters and cards of inquiry have come into the national office as a result of this column.

The secretary read a letter which came from the chairman of the Loyalty Board of the Post Office Department in Washington, apologizing because the CORE group in Los Angeles had mistakenly been listed as a subversive organization. Mr.

E. B. Jackson, the chairman of the Loyalty Board, stated in his letter: "The inclusion of the Congress Of Racial Equality in the original notice [a list of supposed subversive organizations] even though wholly inadvertent, was a most unfortunate error, and I apologize for this most regrettable mistake."

The secretary reported on the cases which arose during the Journey of Reconciliation in April, 1947. He said that the three cases in Virginia had been dropped as a result of a decision of the state Supreme Court. In March, 1948, four of the men who participated in the Journey received thirty-day sentences in the Superior Court of Orange County, North Carolina. This decision is being appealed to the state Supreme Court.

The secretary reported that twenty persons had already volunteered for the Los Angeles Workshop and about the same number for the Washington Workshop.

Treasurer's report:	On hand	June 1, 1947		968.42
	Income:	individual contributions	1041.19	
		group contributions	361.00	
		Journey of Reconciliation	370.38	
		Workshops	27.84	
		literature	145.27	
		Conference	90.97	
		miscellaneous:		
		March 19th variety program	45.72	
		return of loan	20.00	2102.37
				3070.79
	Expenses:	office	434.74	
		travel	331.70	
		literature	76.95	
		printing	263.09	
		Workshop	275.00	
		service charge	12.28	
		Journey of Reconciliation	70.00	
		Conferences	120.00	
		salaries	1020.00	2603.76
	On hand	June 1, 1948		467.03
				3070.79

Literature report: It was reported that the following literature was on hand: "The CORE Way", CORE Action Discipline, "What is CORE?", "Erasing the Color Line", "We Challenged Jim Crow". The Statement of Purpose was being reprinted. The Convention recommended that the report of the three working committees of the Conference be put in pamphlet form for wide-spread distribution. It was unanimously approved that the execution of this should be left up to a special committee of five persons chosen by the executive secretary.

Items of business: 1. There was lengthy discussion about copyrighting the name of CORE so that it could not be used by groups which are not in complete harmony with CORE principles. The motion was made and unanimously accepted that the principle of the CORE name being copyrighted be approved. It was left up to the Executive Committee to follow through on this motion after information on the cost of the procedure was obtained. Los Angeles representatives indicated that they felt their group would be responsible for any expenses up to $65.00. (It has since been discovered that the name of an organization can not be copyrighted, but the organization can only be incorporated under the laws of a state. This process in New York state costs $100.00.)

2. Project on dining car segregation in the South: It was proposed that CORE initiate an action campaign against the practice of using the green curtain in dining cars on railways south of the Mason and Dixon line, segregating white from Negro passengers. The proposal was that CORE would make test cases on dining cars similar to the test cases on buses and trains during the Journey of Reconciliation. After considerable discussion it was agreed that although this project was important it was not of first importance; that therefore the timing for it should be carefully planned so as not to interfere with other important projects and not to use up all reserve funds CORE might have available.

3. The Convention approved in principle the statement in regard to Communism that was presented by the executive secretary. (Statement attached.)

4. The Convention spent a considerable time discussing the current drive for civil disobedience against jim crow in the armed forces. The discussion was divided into four parts. First, by a large vote, the Convention supported the civil disobedience campaign. The statement of the Convention was: "We support the civil disobedience program while maintaining our stand against the peacetime draft." (In its 1947 Convention in Chicago, CORE went on record in opposition to a peacetime universal military training.) Second, the Convention recommended that the civil disobedience program be expanded to cover other phases of the fight against segregation and discrimination, besides just against jim crow in the armed forces. Third, the Convention commended the leaders of the civil disobedience campaign for the interracial character of the movement. Fourth, the Convention voted to "urge local CORE groups to encourage their personnel to help build this civil disobedience movement in their locality". This was passed by one vote after the chairman broke a tie. The Convention also by a narrow vote urged that all efforts be made to make this movement a genuine mass movement with support from labor and other groups.

5. It was recommended that the national office of CORE prepare national membership cards for use by those local groups which cared to use them. These cards would bring in fifty cents per member of a local group for the national office.

6. Communist control in groups: The Convention voted unanimously that no group should be accepted as an affiliate of the Congress Of Racial Equality if it was known to be Communist-controlled. It was further voted that if a member group became Communist-controlled during its period of affiliation such a group would be dropped from membership in the federation of CORE by a vote of two-thirds of the member groups.

7. The members of the Advisory Committee were approved unanimously for another year. The members of the Advisory Committee at present are: Roger N. Baldwin, Allan Knight Chalmers, John Dewey, Charles H. Houston, E. Stanley Jones, Dorothy Maynor, A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, Ira DeA. Reid, George S. Schuyler, Lillian Smith, Howard Thurman, Goodwin Watson.

8. The following officers were elected for a year's term: Chairman, Barbee William Durham; Vice-Chairman, Gerald Bullock; Secretary, Juanita Morrow; Treasurer, Catharine Raymond; Field Representatives, Bayard Rustin and Manuel D. Talley; Executive Secretary, George M. Houser. The chairman announced the following additional members of the Executive Committee for this year: Rayford Ellis, Bernice Fisher, J. Clayton Flowers, Joe Gutenkauf, Harriett A. Lane, Ruth Little, Wallace Nelson, Marjorie Swann, Lloyd C. Trotter, Betty Wenger. These persons were approved by the Convention.

Congress of Racial Equality
(CORE)

A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, non-violent methods.

2929 Broadway
at 114th Street
New York 25, New York
Telephone: UNiversity 4-2670

OFFICERS

Barbee W. Durham
Chairman
Gerald Bullock
Vice-Chairman
Alice Ruth Merritt
Secretary
Catharine Raymond
Treasurer
Bayard Rustin
Field Representative
George M. Houser
Executive Secretary
William Worthy, Jr.
Action Director

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Don DeVault
Shirley S. Kajikawa
Harriett A. Lane
Juanita Morrow
Frank C. Shearer
Thomas Sullivan
Marjorie Swann
A. C. Thompson
Lloyd C. Trotter

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Roger N. Baldwin
Allan Knight Chalmers
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A. J. Muste
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
George S. Schuyler
Lillian Smith
Howard Thurman
Willard S. Townsend
Goodwin Watson

AFFILIATED GROUPS

COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY
Chicago, Illinois
Cleveland, Ohio
Denver, Colorado
Evanston, Illinois
Lawrence, Kansas
Los Angeles, California
Minneapolis, Minnesota
New York, New York
Peoria, Illinois
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

VANGUARD LEAGUE
Columbus, Ohio

COMMITTEE ON THE PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY
Bartlesville, Oklahoma

WEST END CIVIC LEAGUE
Cincinnati, Ohio

October 18, 1948

Dear Friends:

I must apologize for getting out the report of our CORE Conference-Convention so late. I discovered that it was impossible to run a Workshop in California and to be on the go constantly during the summer months, and still put in logical form all of the notes taken at the Camp Sharpe Conference. I debated whether a complete report should still be put out, but concluded that it is important to do so, after going over the notes again.

There are a number of items here that our groups must follow up on, and I will be in touch with the groups about these matters soon.

Sincerely yours,

George M. Houser

George M. Houser

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concrete evidences of this campaign as seen in the Taft-Hartley Bill, with its provisions for loyalty signatures of union officials; the Hollywood hearing by the Un-American Activities Committee; the deportation proceedings being taken against alien Communists; and other occurrences.

2. Many of us who have been active workers in CORE campaigns have at one time or another been tagged as Communists. We are given the Red epithet simply because we are, in carrying out a resistance campaign to jim crowism, bucking the main currents in our culture. In many newspapers and editorials in the South the Journey of Reconciliation, which we sponsored last spring, was called Communist-inspired. On an interracial picket line it is not unusual for an occasional passerby to call a picketer a Communist. After a broadcast by a CORE official in Seattle, Washington, some months ago, a woman who had listened to an explanation of CORE principles called up directly after the program to ask if the speaker was a Communist. The uneasy temperament which thus easily suspects Communism is a sign of the times of tension in which we live.

3. In the light of the above two factors, however, our position in regard to Communism should be made clear. We are opposed to the undemocratic tactics which Communist and Communist-front groups use in order to attain their ends. The real aim of the Communist groups is to extol the Soviet Union and to have a like governmental system established in every country where they have the power to accomplish it. Ends justify the means, within the Communist ideology. Therefore any kind of tactics, including violence, trickery, political maneuvering without principle except the ultimate principle of the Soviet system, may be used.

The reason why there is confusion between Communist groups and non-Communist interracial groups is that Communists have used the race issue as a means of winning support from minority groups. However, the basic principle for Communists is not to establish interracial brotherhood per se. This is illustrated by the fact that during the recent war Communist groups were opposed to the campaign against jim crow in the army. They opposed the Lynn Committee, which was set up for the purpose of challenging army jim crow. Thus even the race problem is used as a tactic, not as an end principle. (This is not to say that Communists draw a color line).

Almost inevitably, when the issue of Communism or Communist control arises in any group it becomes a divisive factor. Many groups working in the race field as well as, of course, numerous labor unions, have discovered this to their dismay. The energies of a group split on this question, instead of being given to a campaign against jim crow, are dissipated in politicking either to gain or to maintain control within the group. Internal struggle militates against unified and effective action against the real problem of race segregation.

It should be made clear that we are fundamentally opposed to imperialism and to acts and policies of injustice, whether initiated by the Russians or by the goverment of the United States.

4. The positive principle upon which CORE is based finally differentiates our group from any Communist-controlled group, or any group organized along totalitarian lines. We are committed to the basic principle of nonviolence. This means that above all we believe that means and ends are a unity. We can not achieve the good end of racial brotherhood by a bad means of hatred, deceit, and violence. It would be destructive to our more central principles if there was any degree of Communist influence in our groups.

Although there is no fool-proof way of keeping Communists out of any group, the following suggestions if followed should be of real assistance.

1. Be sure that every person who joins the groups agreed to the CORE Statement of Purpose and Action Discipline, and will, in good faith, abide by them as long as membership is maintained.
2. Be sure that persons elected to office and to executive committee positions have proven themselves to be conscientious CORE members, committed to nonviolence.
3. When calling on non-members for support in specific campaigns, do not call upon known Communist-front organizations for help. Any non-member should agree to the CORE Discipline before participating in a project.
4. Avoid joining united fron activity unless it is fairly clear that non-Communists are in a position of leadership.
5. As CORE policy indicates, take an all-out position for complete racial equality, without allowing political issues to cloud our central principles.

1. At the present time in the United States one of the ominous signs that point toward a future war with Russia is the Red scare campaign. We are opposed to this campaign and to what it means in terms of a possible new war. We look with disfavor on the concrete evidences of this campaign as seen in the Taft-Hartley Bill, with its provisions for loyalty signatures of union officials; the Hollywood hearings by the Un-American Activities Committee; the deportation proceedings being taken against alien Communists; and other occurrences.

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4. Avoid joining united front activity unless it is fairly clear that non-Communists are in a position of leadership.

5. As CORE policy indicates, take an all-out position for complete racial equality, without allowing political issues to cloud our central principles.

m i n u t e s

1. National CORE Conference — June 16, 1948
Camp Sharpe, Vermilion, Ohio, Recreation Hall — 4:30 - 5:30
Chairman:

2. Hortense Davis reported she would cook Wednesday and Thursday, and Eula Morrow Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. She asked for helpers (one hour per day). Some people said they would have to leave by Sunday noon, so we planned only a small lunch for Sunday. 15 people who had arrived were divided into three Kitchen teams.

3. The daily schedule was organized as follows:
8:30: Breakfast
9:30: Panels
12:30: Lunch
2:00: Panels
3:30: Recreation
6:00: Dinner
8:00: Assembly

4. The mimeod program was discussed. CORE tactics in Jim Crow (Southern) towns was suggested in addition. Three people were assigned to lead Wednesday night discussion on Non-Violence. Decided to have local reports start this night session--then Non-Violence. A poll around the table showed preferences as follows in the way of panels:
1. Recreation and Public Places
2. Jobs
3. Housing.

June 16, 1948
8:40 - 10:20
Chairman:

5. LOCAL REPORTS

Minneapolis: Two bowling alleys opened up to Negroes. Reservations were made. When colored were refused, they were invited to use the "white" CORE alley, jointly...A united front has resulted in employment equality of opportunity in downtown stores. First a survey, then petitions to the Retail Merchants Board. Negotiations lasted a year and a half. Then negotiations with a home-owned store. No publicity, no picketing...CORE meets every two weeks. Usually discussions: civil disobedience, etc. Action projects by committees on weekends. Executive Committee is composed of officers and committee chairmen; meets monthly. About fifty paid up members at a dollar a year. Dues will be increased, and hat will be passed.

6. St. Louis: Segregation by law in schools, etc. CORE does not identify itself as such. Besides the CORE group, a "representative" group was set up. The latter is a luncheon club of about thirty prominent people. They aren't doing much...CORE is testing restaurants. Upon refusal of service, they ask for the manager and for a conference. Protest letters by influential people follow...working on individuals in the restaurant association...trying to get local civil rights law...Leaflets were given to people waiting to see the Freedom Train. 3,300 cards were sent in to aldermen in favor of Bill 62...Youth Organizations United (YOU) is a united front. Their picnic and encampment attracted about 60 people...Dr. John J. Kessler of Washington University takes surveys, and is opening up his school to Negroes...National Conference of Christians and Jews sponsors four interracial groups in art, etc...Active CORE membership of about 15, with dues of 50¢ per month. Weekly meetings. Action projects are planned. And there is monthly discussion of techniques.

7. New York City: At Palisades Park, CORE and Modern Trends Club "broke" the dance floor, but the pool still discriminates. Forty court cases pending...A second committee is attempting to "crack" YMCAs...About 20 attend semi-monthly meetings. Executive Committee meets irregularly. Membership committee interviews all applicants. There is $1 joining fee, and a monthly pledge--5¢ to $5.

8. Fort Wayne: Junior NAACP went into Walgreen's. Negroes were not served. Negotiations got them served. Hobby House asked Negroes not to return after serving them. One colored clerk hired.

9. Cleveland: Euclid Beach August, 1946 cases being settled out of court. Question of who gets the damages...Only case of restaurant discrimination is a colored restaurant that forbids Negroes...The monthly meetings of about 25 members (at a dollar a year) take up "taboo" topics:--mental hygiene, the Kinsey Report, etc...Cultural affairs--buying out the house for one night of a Christmas play netted $35 for national CORE...Passed the hat and donated $25 to the local anti-UMT committee after affirming the 1947 national resolution.

10. Chicago. Weekly meetings at CORE headquarters, 4643 Michigan Blvd. ($50 rental). Full-time Executive Secretary at about $60 a month. 200 members pledge from $1 to $10 a month, and two men were assigned to go out and collect the big money. In addition, the hat is passed every meeting. Collections averaged $65 the first five months of this year...The main project is at Goldblatt's (department store). 20 organizations were interested. Council for Job Equality on State Street and the Council for Fair Employment Practices on State Street are the result of a split over tactics.

11. Los Angeles. 15 members must be active. A mailing-list of about 150. New members are sponsored for six months...money raised via parties...Tea Room: placards were left on tables. Then four sitdowns...Bimini Baths: negotiations for six months. Offered free advertising to the management...Picketed Sears-Roebuck, with others. Letter carrier was fired from his job for transporting banners of the Communist Party. The Barnes case.

12. June 17, 1948
9:45 - 10:00

Chairman:

13. A brief assembly was held to organize the first panels. 3 people chose the Housing panel, 5 wanted Jobs, 8 chose Public Places. These latter were divided four apiece into Recreation and Restaurants. Then the four groups repaired to outdoor spots around the camp. Panels met Thursday morning and afternoon, and Friday morning and afternoon.

14. June 17, 1948
8:30 - 11:00

Chairman:

15. Miscellaneous items were cleared. Then partial reports were heard from the four panels.

16. Discussion of Non-Violence was led by Wallace Nelson, M. William Roberts, and Bernice Fisher. Definition: to conduct ourselves so as not to be antagonistic to another person, and so as not to use physical force. There are differences between non-violence, force, and coercion. Non-violence is different in principle and in practice. The former is an absolute.

17. As the evening wore on, most of the remarks reverted to the following propositions. Usually, courts commit violence. There is a distinction between going to court for personal protection and for gaining a right (to distribute leaflets, et al.). Mrs. Davis raised the point of accepting awards from a successful court case.--Question of objective in going into the project. L.A. group takes responsibility for families of their men during projects. The group was more or less against court cases, particularly if CORE action is stopped because of court cases. We must prove we are willing to sacrifice for our ideals; we are not out to prosecute discriminators.

18. CORE deals with "sick" members of our "sick" society...There are crimes of omission if discrimination is bypassed or overlooked... How far do we go? Do we just expose nasty situations and educate?

19. The New York FEPC has very few Hearings. Question of fear of governmental force...Started projects should be finished, so that the next opponent is impressed by the series of our victories. Fear factor again.

20. As the formal part of the evening ended, there was community singing at one of the three pianos, music on the radio-phonograph, and continuing discussion (on the lakefront, etc.) past midnight.

21. ((I went into Cleveland airport to pick up a delegate, so I missed about one hour of this evening session.)) 18 June 1948
9:30 - 11:00

Chairman:

22. Decided to have Publicity Committee tonight. Jean Hudson, not present, was nominated. To this nomination were added M. D. Talley, Bob Birchman, and Tad Tekla, on the basis of experience.

23. The discussion of Civil Disobedience was led by M.D. Talley and Bob Birchman. Randolph and Reynolds are asking that no person in uniform be subjected to discrimination. White units would not be sent to Southern training camps. 1. Is it right? 2. Is it practical? 3. Can you get support for it? Yes, yes, and yes.

24. This movement crystallizes resentment against the Jim Crow pattern--it has already exposed the crime of Jim Crow. We must have a protest movement if the two leaders are arrested. And a nation-wide terrorism against Negroes is expected if the plan is adopted.

25. First question was whether support for this R-R reform implies that elimination of Jim Crow would make the army acceptable to us. Bernice Fisher, who raised the question, thought breaking a bad precedent in the army might help break down other bad precedents. It was thought that perhaps the army would permit mixed units, in order to get a bigger budget. Ruth Little raised the point of timing: whether this is a strategic time. Tad Tekla spoke against the whole idea. Al Ettinger thought Communists would support this movement after the national elections.

Respectfully submitted,

Tad Tekla
Convention Secretary Tad Tekla

((convention minutes coming from me and panel reports from others))

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m i n u t e s

National CORE Convention — 19 June 1948
Camp Sharpe, Vermilion, Ohio — 10:00 - 12:45

Chairman: Gerald Bullock

27. The agenda was read. Tad Tekla volunteered to be convention secretary. Introductions were made around the room.

28. GROUP REPORTS.

Don DeVault for Chicago: Tuley Park was cracked for colored kids to play ball near their homes. The second CORE corps was attacked by a gang, couple of jaws broken and a black eye. The attack was withstood non-violently. Third and fourth visits without incident. Leaflets were also distributed in the neighborhood. A uniform was stolen by a colored kid, so CORE collected money to replace it.

29. Chicago CORE attempted at Goldblatt's to get colored clerks hired. Other organizations were not involved...Some work on restaurants...CORE is interested in West Woodlawn, where some 60 colored families have moved into a hitherto Caucasian neighborhood. The old neighborhood is organizing, and an attempt will be made to organize the new neighborhood for interracial harmony...Executive Secretary Joe Gutenkauf works full time since October, on 45% of the income.

30. Tad Tekla for Cleveland reported cleaning up all Euclid Beach cases...During the past year, mediocre meetings on such topics as the Kinsey Report have been held.

31. M. D. Talley reported on the Denver group: Last Winter and Spring they had a campaign against the Y--negotiations with executives, getting resolutions passed, etc.

32. Lawrence, Kansas, also by Mr. Talley: Student group. They went into a restaurant and were pushed out by some dumb football players, just before final exams. This is unfinished business.

33. Mr. Talley then reported for his Los Angeles group, concerned principally with Bimini Baths and restaurants. Swimming is allowed to Mexicans, Orientals, but not Negroes. Letters were sent from other organizations, saying they would patronize the pool if he allowed them in. The Manager said these organizations represented only a drop in the bucket. So CORE "waited for tickets". The Manager asked for health certificates. There was inconvenience getting them, but even then the CORE people were not admitted. Leaflets were distributed. Fire hose was used, and one demonstrator was pushed through some glass...There is an attempt to draw fair employment contracts with employers, such as Sears-Roebuck, with the threat of boycott behind them...Member Barnes was fired from P.O. job because he associated with CORE. NAACP has the case.

34. Ruth Little reported for Minneapolis: In cooperation with other groups, CORE has helped get colored salesgirls employed... Mainly worked bowling alleys. The feeling is that test groups are allowed to bowl, but that the managements have not changed their stand. Colored people were invited to join CORE bowlers who had obtained alleys; which they did.

35. Al Ettinger reported for NYC: CORE is divided into two projects: Palisades Park and YMCA. Convictions of CORE people for unbecoming conduct at the YP swimming pool were overruled. However, another judge absolved the park of charges of "radical discrimination". Rosenthal apartment on Fifth Avenue was picketed by 30 from various groups comprising the Interracial Workshop. Hillel Foundation at City College of NY will cooperate in trying to get 100 legal cases at the park...Picketing of Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. by 45 was a flop because the area was deserted...Counteractions to those of N.Y. Mortgage Conference and the National Guard are in the planning stage. (A court has ruled that this Conference must dissolve, thereby ending its discriminatory policies in granting mortgages.)... New York City demands monthly pledges in addition to dues.

36. Wallace Nelson of the Cincinnati West End Civic League: First on the program is to make this organization interracial. The League is working on the French Bar and Reuther dairies. French Bar has hired a colored salesman. Reuther serves most of Cincinnati s 70,000 Negroes. A campaign is on to make the Reuther Bros. hire Negroes--letters from present customers, etc. Future Outlook League and the NAACP responded to invitation to act concurrently on the Reuther dairy. On July 17 there will be a demonstration in the housing project--loud speakers, pickets... Negotiations have started with Ohio Bell Telephone Co. ..

37. Susie Schom reported for Philadelphia: Only two CORE people left...New FEPC ordinance...Philly worked on department stores, housing conditions, and restaurants...Two Jewish organizations (American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Community Council) are organizing bowling teams which will refuse to bowl on alleys where there is discrimination.

38. May Ellis came from Washington, D.C. to see if the Interracial Workshop there should affiliate. This organization started with the CORE Summer workshop of 1947. An institute-workshop was held in October. The project was to go into the Greyhound bus terminal. The YMCA coffee shop is a continuing project.

39. George Houser reported for Bartlesville, Oklahoma: Public picnics at white parks are being planned...City fathers did not approve an interracial story hour...Several carloads attended a May conference in Norman, Oklahoma on the Ida Supuel case.

40. He also reported for the Vanguard League at Columbus, Ohio; which has run into Communist infiltration and lack of interest.

41. The Secretary s report mentioned an applicant for affiliation which has been accepted. the University of Chicago group. Washington, D.C., Yellow Springs, Ohio, St. Louis, Missouri, Wichita, Kansas, Berkeley, Cal., and University of Pennsylvania CORE groups are aborning. In all these groups you've got to have at least one creative person to keep the ball rolling.

42. In San Francisco, Dickson Adams sent $5 for affiliation fee. They are carrying on a campaign against the Lucky stores. A letter from A. Lincoln Fletcher, organizer, was read. CORE has reorganized, and is now also asking for affiliation. Bob Birchman moved: to have Talley and Houser investigate the situation. There was a suggestion that this organizational problem be discussed at the Workshop. Carried.

43. George Houser reported 30 responses to a column by J. A. Rogers of the Pittsburgh Courier on the NYC workshop last May.

44. The Executive Secretary read a letter from the Post Office Dept. in Washington correcting the naming of CORE as a ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ subversive organization. Talley reported that the L.A. people were thinking of suing the government on that name-calling. There was much discussion on slapping down the red charge.

45. The chairman raised the point of copyrighting the initials, or otherwise protecting our good name. M.D. Talley moved: that the name Congress of Racial Equality be copyrighted. Motion amended by George Houser: that we have the executive committee look into the situation if the cost is over $15 and if there are other complications. Joe Gutenkauf suggested we copyright all three: Congress / Committee of Racial Equality, and the initials. Talley accepted the Gutenkauf amendment only, as the meeting ended.

46. At the table the water shortage problem was announced. It was decided that women would take their showers 5:15 to 6:00 (in the men's shower room)...A group picture was announced...Arrangements were made for preparing dinner.

47. 19 June 1948
2:15 - 5:15

Chairman: Gerald Bullock

48. Introductions of new people started the afternoon session. Then back to copyrighting. George Houser did not want the motion to be mandatory. Talley moved: to table until after the financial report. There was a question about voting, and it was discovered that 20 delegates were present. One of them voted against tabling.

49. Treasurer Catharine Raymond reported $2,107 income from dues, Journey of Reconciliation, workshop, and a variety program. Office expenses, travel to executive committee meetings, literature and printing, workshops, and personnel total $2,708.09. $467.03 on hand June first. Some of this is earmarked for workshops and the Journey of Reconciliation. Clayton Flowers moved: to accept the treasurer's report. Motion Carried.

50. George Houser substituted for the Talley motion: that we approve the principle of the three names being copyrighted. Motion Carried. Clayton Flowers moved: to accept Los Angeles responsibility for any copyright expenses between $15 and $65. Motion Carried.

51. The Publicity Committee of technically-trained people which was nominated last night was approved here. There was a show of hands in favor of getting out publicity on this conference.

52. Literature. It was announced that we have on hand quantities of the CORE Statement of Discipline, What Is CORE?, reprints from the Survey Graphic. "Erasing the Color Line" now costs 40¢. It is hoped to print some of the techniques developed at this conference. Talley moved: that we leave up to the executive committee the printing of necessary literature. Motion Carried.

53. The Correlator goes to people interested in CORE--advisory committee, NEC members, unaffiliated groups that we know about, the CORE contact list, and people who have written in for info. Bundles are not sent to affiliates. The advisability of sending The Correlator to outsiders was raised. It was felt that it would be more effective if it were directed to activists only; with printed material which explains things more fully for others. It was also pointed out that local bulletins could well be circulated for the information of affiliated groups.

54. Nominations Committee. Clayton Flowers moved: that this committee be composed of only delegates. A list of 14 delegates entitled to vote was read. It was decided that the chairman appoint the Nominations and the Resolutions Committees.

55. Journey of Reconciliation. The Executive Secretary reported on the Journey of Reconciliation in April, 1947. Three Virginia cases have been dropped. In March four fellows got 30-day sentences in Orange County, North Carolina.

56. A 20-minute intermission was held, until 4:10 p.m. Then the ExecSeck reported about 20 persons signed up for the Washington Workshop and 20 for the Los Angeles Workshop. $600 scholarship help has been requested for Los Angeles alone.

57. Penn Station. Three railroads segregate passengers going South, the way they would be segregated after Washington, D.C., on the basis of past experience; rather than on the basis of the Irene Morgan decision.

58. Conference panels. Talley moved: that 8 minutes be set aside to hear the reports. Not seconded. Mike Davis moved: that all conference material be handed to the Secretary for publication. Not voted upon. George Houser proposed that minutes of the panels be submitted to five people for determination of publication.

59. Dining Car Projects...The Green Curtain in the South. The ICC takes the position that it is the right of the railroads to segregate passengers in dining cars. The proposal was to have another Journey, breaking this ban. Executive committee minutes discussing this were read...Dining car waiters have gone on strike when colored men were not put first in line for seats behind the curtain if they were first in line...Federal cases can be tried anywhere in the country...Susi Schom moved: to put it down as a thing to be done, but the timing be determined by finances. 13 for the motion.

60. Ettinger moved: to table two items of Communism and Civil Disobedience until tonight. Motion carried.

61. The chairman appointed the Nominations Committee: Catharine Raymond, Ruth Little, Harriet Lane, William Roberts, Ace Thompson. And the Resolutions Committee: Manfred Hall, Clayton Flowers, Al Ettinger, Wallace Nelson, and M. D. Talley.

62. June 19, 1948
8:20 - 12:15

Chairman: W. Barbee Durham

63. Catharine Raymond gave the financial report for this confab. Income was from $14 registration fees and meals figured at $1.80 per diem: $398. $200 was paid for the camp. $25 expenses were incurred making the arrangements for the camp. So far $70 was spent for food. It is believed there will be a residue after all bills are paid.

64. Civil Disobedience. The executive committee had voted to support the movement of Randolph and Reynolds. George Houser moved: that the executive committee minute be the statement of our convention, and that the publicity committee put out a new release to that effect. Talley moved: to consider ad seriatum. Common Consent.

65. Dick Coler amended the first part to read: "We support the civil disobedience program, while maintaining our stand against the peacetime draft". This was accepted. Robin Roe thought the wording inferred that each CORE member had to show civil disobedience with regard to the draft. Amendment carried. Don DeVault thought the important thing was expressing solidarity with people who are taking a brave stand. Motion as amended carried, 15:4.

66. The second part of the minute--about extension of the civil disobedience--was adopted without debate. Third part: "We commend the interracial character of the movement". Carried.

67. "The convention urges local CORE groups encourage their personnel to help build this civil disobedience movement in their locality". Robin Roe of NYC introduced a short resolution which did not permit CORE members to take this action. Houser pointed out that most individuals want an organized movement back of them; that's why we must organize this movement. Dick Coler moved: to accept the minute as read. Carried: 9:8 when the chairman broke the tie.

68. Bob Birchman wanted to add: "The convention urges that all efforts be made to get maximum cooperation to build up a genuine mass movement. Carried 8:6. Birchman then moved: to get the labor movement and other groups to support it. Passed by 8:7.

69. Tad Tekla moved: to reject the resolution as a whole. The chairman ruled this motion out of order and was upheld. George Houser moved: to publicize the resolution. NYC CORE reported instruction not to vote for any motion which jeopardizes the entire CORE movement. George Houser could not see what action the FBI could take against CORE. His motion carried 10:8.

70. Discussion of CORE organization. Whither CORE? Catharine Raymond: We are loosely federated, with most of our 14 groups having an active membership of less than 25. The Correlator comes out semi-annually. National workers do not get their living out of the organization. Miss Raymond has a fondness for volunteer help.

71. Gerald Bullock: CORE is a group of mature people, with courage and inspiration. It should grow on the national level as well as on the local level. Rapid turn-over is a problem, but it keeps the organization from becoming professionalized. We need a full-time national worker, supported by a national membership fee. We should maintain good relations with organizations in the same race relations field.

72. An intermission for coffee took from 10:25 to 11:10...We then returned to the organizational theme...Ray Ellis of the interracial workshop asked why his group should join national CORE...Clayton Flowers wanted a financial committee...M.D. Talley suggested that those who wanted to found a new type of national organization go ahead and found one; but leave successful CORE continue in its old way. Motion to adjourn carried 13:8.

73. June 20, 1948
10:10 - 12:15
Chairman: Barbee W. Durham

74. The chairman opened the meeting with prayer. The Executive Secretary asked for opinions on the length and locale of this conference. Marjorie Swann moved: that the executive committee be authorized to arrange a similar conference next year. Carried.

75. It was the consensus of opinion that the Wenger radio-phonograph, broken here, be repaired at CORE expense. A plate was passed.

76. Harriet Lane moved: that discussion on the Houser statement (on Communism) be postponed until after the report of the Resolutions Committee. Motion Carried.

77. Tad Tekla reported for the Publicity Committee. 1. Membership should be fully informed and promptly of what happened in this convention. Motion to accept carried. 2. To give the members the story of what happened in the four panels. George Houser amended: to put this matter into the hands of the executive committee for final decision. This section was interpreted to include discussion reports--Whither CORE?, Civil Disobedience, Communism, etc. Amendment carried 6:1. 3. To have no publicity in the capitalist ~~xxxxxxx~~ papers. George Houser moved: that a press release be sent out primarily to the Negro press. Previous question carried. The substitute motion carried 15:6.

78. Nominations Committee reported thru Catharine Raymond. M.D. Talley would not accept as a Field Representative, so the slate was: Chairman: W. Barbee Durham; Vice-Chairman: Gerald Bullock; Exec Sec'k: George Houser; Secretary: Juanita Morrow; Treasurer: Catharine Raymond.

79. Lynn Coleman moved to accept the report. Chairman ruled that adoption of the report was tantamount to election of this slate. Carried 16:2. Catharine Raymond moved: If Talley changes his mind about this before the stationery is printed, he should be included. If the West Coast wants to appoint a Field Representative, his name will be included. Lynn Coleman moved: to table. Motion lost 5:10. The Raymond motion carried.

80. Nominations Committee brought in this slate for the national executive committee: Don DeVault, Lloyd Trotter, Harriet Lane, Ace Thompson, Marge Swann, Joe Gutenkauf, Ruth Little, Bernice Fisher, Clayton Flowers, Ray Ellis, Wallace Nelson. Manfred Hall nominated Tad Tekla from the floor. Hortense Davis nominated Betty Wenger of Cleveland when he declined the nomination. The question was raised whether people not affiliated can serve on the executive committee.

81. Resolutions Committee, Manfred Hall reporting. 1. To have a national membership card of 50¢. Adopted unanimously. 2. Local CORE committees to establish committees in other localities. Also adopted unanimously. 3. The convention urges that local groups devise machinery to eliminate inactive members from influencing local policy. The committee explained that inactive members would not be permitted to direct the organization. Motion Carried 15:1.

82. 4. That some type of machinery be set up to achieve financial independence for CORE. Carried 12:1. 5. That the national conference should endorse, "in principle," George Houser's statement in regard to communism. Motion Carried.

83. M. D. Talley moved: that the Executive Committee not accept any group for affiliation that it has reason to believe is communist controlled. It was pointed out that 2/3 of the vote of the member groups decides to accept an applying group. Lynn Coleman amended: to add "or has communist members". The amendment lost 3:12. The motion carried unanimously.

84. George Houser moved: If in the period of affiliation a member group becomes communist, it would automatically follow that they would be dropped, by a 2/3 vote of the groups. Carried 6:1.

85. Talley moved: that the list of names for the executive committee submitted by the Nominations Committee be adopted by the chairman. Ray Ellis was willing to withdraw his name, in favor of Cleveland representation. The chairman announced the following committee: Wallace Nelson, Lloyd Trotter, Harriet Lane, Betty Wenger, Marge Swann, Joe Gutenkauf, Ruth Little, Bernice Fisher, Clayton Flowers, Ray Ellis. Wallace Nelson "would be very happy" to withdraw. There was a motion to accept and it carried.

86. George Houser moved: that we reaccept the present Advisory Committee (and I believe we are permitted up to one more). Carried unanimously. Marjorie Swann moved: that the executive committee be empowered to fill the one vacancy. Motion passed. The advisors: Roger N. Baldwin, Allan Knight Chalmers, John Dewey, Charles H. Houston, E. Stanley Jones, Dorothy Maynor, A.J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, Ira DeA. Reid, George S. Schuyler, Lillian Smith, Howard Thurman, Willard S. Townsend, and Goodwin Watson.

87. It was brought out that pledges at the last national conference were not fulfilled. It was felt that no collection should be taken this year, and that the resolution on finances be implemented.

88. A vote of thanks was voted to Hortense Davis, Eula Morrow, Wallace Nelson, and Betty Wenger of Ohio for the arrangements--in the form of applause. There were volunteers to clean up the place. It all closed with the request that sheets and blankets be returned to Miss Wenger.

Respectfully submitted,

cc: JM, Seck

Tad Tekla, Convention Secretary

Tad Tekla

YRC

CORE Executive Committee minutes, October 23rd and 24th, 1948

Present: Barbee Durham (chairman), Gerald Bullock, Wallace and Juanita Nelson, George Houser, Clayton Flowers, Betty Wenger, Lloyd Trotter, Marjorie Swann, Catharine Raymond. Visitors: Mary Bullock, A. C. Thompson, Meyer Davis, Rose Irene Hamner, Gadsden, Caroline Urie.

Reports from groups: Reports were received from the following groups: Cincinnati, Chicago, Cleveland, New York. The executive secretary reported on Lawrence, Kansas; Bartlesville, Oklahoma; Los Angeles. Marj Swann reported on her interview with members of the Vanguard League in Columbus. The League has not been as active recently as it used to be, and she had been asked by the Executive Committee to try to discover what might be the trouble in Columbus and if national CORE could do anything about it. Her recommendation was that either the executive secretary or one or two members of the Executive Committee have a frank and open meeting with Vanguard League members and former members. A recommendation on what action should be taken by the national Executive Committee will be made at the next meeting.

Affiliation of San Francisco CORE: A filled-in affiliation blank was received from a CORE group in San Francisco last June. It was impossible to take any action on this request for affiliation during the summer months. By action of the CORE Convention the executive secretary was asked to visit the San Francisco CORE group and talk with some of its officers when he was in California for the July Workshop. He reported to the Executive Committee that the group was carrying on an action campaign against job discrimination in chain grocery stores. However, he also reported that the group had considerable leadership coming from members of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite group. He also reported that there was no conclusive evidence that the SWP was using CORE to further its own political ends. The question was raised with the Executive Committee as to whether the report to member CORE groups, at the time they were asked to vote on accepting the affiliation request from San Francisco, should include a report of the SWP influence in San Francisco CORE. The motion was made and seconded that the report to the groups should objectively state that there was some degree of Trotskyite influence in San Francisco CORE, this report to be approved by a committee of three before being sent to the member groups. There was considerable discussion of the motion, some feeling that since we didn't mention whether a group had many Republicans or Democrats, likewise we shouldn't mention the SWP. The motion was passed by one vote, the chairman making the deciding vote. The committee appointed to go over the report to the groups before it is sent out were Lloyd Trotter, Gerald Bullock, and Betty Wenger.

Report from the West Coast Field Representative: Manuel Talley reported by letter the progress he was making on the West Coast. A second CORE group has been started in Los Angeles, and at least one other group on a college campus in the Los Angeles area. Manuel requested one hundred dollars for expenses involved in organizing new CORE groups. Inasmuch as there was some question in the minds of those on the Executive Committee as to whether the organization of a second general CORE group in Los Angeles might not cause some conflict, the Executive Secretary was asked to investigate through further correspondence with Manuel and members of both Los Angeles CORE groups how the organizational drive was progressing. Further, because the national CORE treasury is low, it was recommended at the moment that the hundred dollars could not be sent to Manuel. It was voted to send Manuel expense money for his recent trip to the San Francisco area.

Report on the summer Workshop: The executive secretary reported that 22 persons, coming from nine states, had participated in the Los Angeles Workshop and that it had been successful. (Reports on the Workshop are available on request in the office.)

Treasurer's report:

On hand June 1, 1948			467.03
Income:	individual contributions	34.00	
	group contributions	83.50	
	literature	22.55	
	Conference	414.94	
	Workshop	162.15	
	miscellaneous -- return of loan	5.00	722.14
			1189.17
Expenses:	office	91.10	
	Workshop	241.01	
	Conference	350.74	
	labor	3.00	
	printing	32.64	
	service charge	13.19	731.68
On hand October 23, 1948			457.49
			1189.17

Report on the Journey of Reconciliation cases: The executive secretary reported that the four cases from Chapel Hill, North Carolina, are to come up before the state Supreme Court in its present term. A financial problem has arisen because the attorneys in Durham have presented a bill for eight hundred dollars, most of which is for fees. The Executive Committee voted that George Houser take a trip to Durham to iron out the financial difficulties we seem to be having with the attorneys.

It was reported that the three cases we had in Virginia had been dropped.

Civil disobedience campaign: A report was made by George Houser about the latest developments in the campaign for civil disobedience against the jim crow army. The League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation disbanded when A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds decided to call off the campaign as far as they were concerned on August 18th. The Campaign to Resist Military Segregation was set up in place of the League, to continue with the counseling that had been begun and to offer any legal assistance that might be necessary to any men of draft age who ran into difficulty for violating the Selective Service Act. There has been no new up-surge of activity since Randolph and Reynolds dropped out of the campaign.

The executive secretary reported that Willard Townsend, a long-time member of the CORE Advisory Committee, resigned from the Committee because of the stand CORE had taken at its June Convention on the campaign for civil disobedience. The resignation was accepted with regrets and with the hope that Mr. Townsend would again accept a position on the Committee in the future.

Literature: We have had printed 3000 copies of the Statement of Purpose; 2000 of the CORE Action Discipline; and 1500 of "What is CORE?". There is a supply of 2000 copies of "The CORE Way" in the office.

Movie on CORE: The executive secretary reported on the possibility of making a movie on CORE. A number of well-qualified photographers in Los Angeles were interested in the project during the July Workshop. The Committee voted enthusiastically for the project. It was reported that three to five hundred dollars would be needed for it. Eighty-two dollars was pledged immediately by members of the Executive Committee, and a suggestion made that there be a special appeal to groups.

CORE incorporation: In line with the action of the CORE Convention last June that CORE should be incorporated, it was reported that in New York state this would cost about one hundred dollars. Representatives on the Executive Committee from Ohio and Illinois suggested that it would probably be cheaper in one of these two states. It was agreed that before action was taken to incorporate the cost in Ohio and Illinois should be investigated, Barbee Durham to get the facts in Columbus, Lloyd Trotter in Cincinnati, and Gerald Bullock in Chicago.

Workshop plans for 1949: The Executive Committee voted that there should be a Workshop or more during the summer of 1949. The executive secretary was directed to send out questionnaires to a number of cities to find out if a Workshop would be welcomed there and if there would be some significant projects the volunteers could undertake. It was suggested that various members of the Executive Committee help with the securing of volunteers and the getting out of publicity for next summer.

Action emphases: There was a discussion of a possible project of challenging jim crow in dining cars in the South. It was decided, as had been done previously at the CORE Convention, that CORE should not undertake this project in the immediate future, at least until our trials in connection with the Journey were disposed of.

It was suggested that the national office do all it could to push the campaign against YMCA discrimination in various communities across the country.

Betty Wenger of Cleveland and Mike Davis of Chicago were appointed as a committee to investigate what could be done to tackle discrimination in nursing and hospitals, for a report at the next Executive Committee meeting.

Juanita Nelson, Marjorie Swann, and Mike Davis were appointed as a committee to investigate in what way CORE could make a contribution in the struggle against discrimination in jobs in certain nation-wide businesses and industries.

CORE membership card: George Houser reported that each of the local groups would be contacted, asking how many membership cards similar to the one now being used in Chicago they might possibly use. It was agreed that if there were enough requests for such cards the national office should undertake the printing of them. Otherwise it should be left up to the local groups.

Next meeting: The next meeting of the Executive Committee will take place in Cleveland, Ohio, in January, the exact date to be cleared by mail early in December.

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Send minutes out to Com. with apologies

Minutes of Executive Committee of Congress of Racial Equality: Oct 23, 24.

(As Marge Swann and Juanita Morrow-Nelson remember them)

CORE MOVIE:

It was decided to proceed with movie project as outlined by George. The idea was born this summer while George was in California. Three to five hundred dollars will be needed before the actual "shooting" begins, with camera work and acting to be done by volunteers. Various members of the executive committee made persnal pledges toward the movie project.

ACTION PROJECTS:

George reported that FOR had made no concrete plans for a dining-car project, so that CORE's decision on said project was postponed. Two projects were proposed to be worked at on a national scale, and committees were appointed to investigated the projects:

1. Nursing and hospital discrimination--Betty Wenger, Mike Davis
2. Employment in nation-wide industries and businesses--Juanita Nelson, Marj Swann, Mike Davis.

The YMCA was discussed as a possibile national project, but there was no decision.

JOURNEY OF RECONCILIATION:

(George has full details)

REQUEST FROM FIELD SECRETARY MANUEL TALLEY FOR $100:

Manuel requested via letter, which George read, $100 for expenses o involved in organizing new CORE groups . George reported that L.A. CORE No. 2 has been organized and was working on a survey of dairy employment policies. Manuel is organizing CORE groups on college campuses in the Los Angeles area. L.A. CORE No. 1 seems to be in some disagreement with Manuel's organizing and action program.

After long consideration and weighty deliberation, it was decided that George investigate further through correspondence with Manuel and members of CORE No. 1 and CORE No. 2, as wellas with Chicago CORE , should Manuel contact the latter group. It was voted that Manuel be reimbursed for his expenses to the Bay area.

COLUMBUS INTERVIEW:

Marj Swann reported on her interview with members and former members of the Vanguard League. She recommended that eit er George or one or two members of the executive committee have a frank and open meeting with Vanguard League members and former members. Emphasis , she felt, shwould be placed on the need in Coumbus for the CORE type of program, with some decisio made, if possibe, on the continuance or reorganization of the League. (Katie has minutes on rest of this discussion--we hope!) (Cuinty Shearer chart regenerating League with a membership.

TOWNSEND RESIGNATION:

George reported that Willard Townsend resigned from the advisory board after reading of the CORE conference's endorsement of natinal civil disobedience cambaign against Jim Crow in the armed forces. The resignatin was accepted with regret and appreciation for past service on the baord.

Express Concern on League's
Pact on Ex. Com.--discussed at.
Report on Chapel Hill development.

Minutes of Executive Committee, con't.

SAN FRANCISCO CORE:

1. There was a lengthy discussion on the application of San Francisco CORE. Katie has minutes on this.

WORKSHOP:

George reported on Los Angeles workshop, compared it with the Washington project. There was a discussion of future workshops: number, location, personnel, finances. (We think a committee was appointed to assist the executive secretary in securing personnel and getting out publicity. The executive secretary is to explore possible locations and report to next meeting. Suggested places for workshops were Chicago, St. Louis, Columbus, Cincinnati, Washington, D.C., West Coast, Kansas City. Emphasized was the necessity of being able to btain the backing of local groups whereever the workshop was held.

2.

TREASURER'S REPORT:

Katie?

LITERATURE REPORT:

8. There was a discussion on the method of issuing the conference panel reports, not yet in finished form. An investigation is to be made as to relative costs of printing and mimeographing.

NEXT MEETING:

14. Cleveland in January.

PRESENT:

(1) Executive Committee: George Houser, Katherine Raymond, Clayton Flowers, Gerald Bullock, Juanita Nelson, Mary Swann, Betty Wenger, Barbee Durham, Lloyd Trotter, Wally Nelson.

Visitors: Mary Bullock, Mike Davis, A. C. Thompson, Caroline Urie, Barney , Rose .

CORE Executive Committee, October 23-24, 1948, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Present: Durham, Bullock, Morrow (Nelson), Houser, Flowers, Wenger, Nelson, Trotter, Swann, Raymond. Visitors: M. Bullock, Thompson, Davis, Hamner, Gadsden, Urie.

Treasurer's report: accepted.

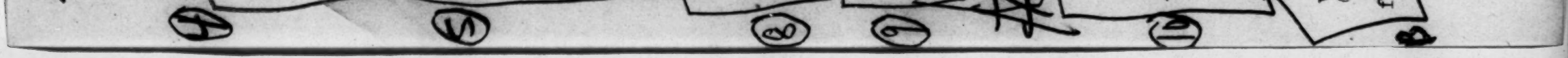
Workshop report:

Reports from groups: Columbus: . . . . . George Houser suggested that if no improvement by the time of the nest meeting we consider the Vanguard League out. Wally Nelson suggested that smeone else go to Columbus to investigate. George suggeste that we try to get additional information by the time of the next meeting so that we can make a definite decision. Barbee suggested a personal letter to some people in Columbus, expecially Frank Shearer. Wally suggested that someone go personally. Some personal letters will be written to officers of League, asking form information. If not much response from that, a personal visit indicated.

San Francisco CORE report: History of group given. Discussion of whether the group should be recommended for affiliation. Felt that we should have more information. Moved that George make a report to the groups about affiliation of SF CORE, which is to be as objective as possible, but include information that there is some degree of SWP influence in the group, and that a committee of three go over this report to check for objectivity. Seconded. Felt by some that if we object to members of the SWP in control we should object to other groups -- flat-footed, Methodists, blue-eyed, etc. Felt by others that to neglect to mention the political issue would be to decide the case ourselves, rather than letting the

groups make an intelligent judgment. Wally amended the motion to delete the part about including the political issue. Amendment not accepted. George said you can't liken ~~it~~ a loosely organized or unorganized group of any kind to a tightly knit group like the SWP. Flowers suggested that we send out minutes of this meeting, including this discussion, to groups so that they will have the discussion before voting on this question. Wally suggested that in a letter to San Francisco we state that we have doubts about it. Some still think that inclusion of the statement about political affiliation will prejudice the case. Mentioned that members of local groups that are working for the government might be put into an embarrassing position if a group with know SWP connections should become affiliated. George stated that the group may have made some errors in not keeping enough to the non-violent approach, but everyone agreed that such errors have been made by most groups. Motion passed after the chariman broke a tie vote. Committee appointed to go over letter to groups: Trotter, Bullock, Wenger.

Journey trials: Suggested that we consult Houston as a member of the Advisory Committee.



Minutes: Executive Committee, Congress of Racial Equality

Journey of Reconciliation:

George reported that the Chapel Hill cases are now up for the state Supreme Court. George rpeorted that the attorney at that point had sent a bill for $800, $600 for attorney's fees, which seemed inexcusable.

Clayton moved that the executive secretary be empowered to consult the executive committee and make a trip to Chapel Hill, and to take any other necessary steps to see the Chapel Hill attorney and clear up the matter of finances. cCARRIED.

Civil Disobedience Campaign:

Clayton read a resolution from New York CORE objecting to inclusion in conference minutes of the stand against UMT and peace-tiem draft, as outside the scope of CORE.

George brought us up-to-date on the major developments of the campaign: withdrawal of Randolph and Reynolds after the issuance of the president's executive order and after the disgeartening discovery that theirs was not a mass movement. League for Non-.....(?) went out of existence and was replaced by the Campaign to Resist Military Segregation, the latter group to follow through on cases which arise under the draft law of people refusing to register on racial grounds.

Literature:

Katie reported that 3,000 of the Statement of Purpose were reprinted this summer. What is CORE and Actin Dispipline now at printers. New stationery being ordered, with CORE as return address instead of Congress of Racial Equality. Purpose for change: to avoid embarrassment of southern correspondents, and others.

Movie Project (in addition to what Marge and I remembered):

Clayton moved that we send an appeal to local groups asking them to raise money for CORE move project, sending along suggestions made at executive meeting. CARRIED

The following pledges were made, to be sent in by the first of the year: Barney Gadsden, $5; Betty Wenger, $10; Juanita and Wally Nelson, $15; Mike Davis, $5; Barbee Durham, $10; Bob and Marj Swann, $15; J. Clayton Flowers, $12; Gerald Bullock, $10.

Incorporation:

George reported on communication with Atty. Conrad Lynn regarding incorporation. Found we could not copyright name of organization, could only incorporate in come one state. Cost would be about $100 in New York.

Barbee is to investigate cost in Columbus, Lloyd in Cincinnati, Gerald in Chicago. Also to be investigation in other places .

Membership Cards:

Chicago explained and exhibited copies of its new members hip cards, which include membership in both the local and national organizations. George said he's send a copy of same to each affiliated groups, each to take eaction individually on adopting a similar procedure. George will follow the directive in the conference minutes.

JAN 27 1949

Minutes Executive Committee of Congress of Racial Equality
Phillis Wheatley Association, Cleveland, O.--January 22 and 23

Chairman Barbee Durham called the meeting to order. In discussing the next meeting, the group agreed to suggest Chicago when the entire body had convened. The Negro College Fund drive was discussed briefly, dominant opinion being that such a drive was in the tradition of continuing segregation.

Minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. George raised several questions about the form in which the minutes are issued: Amount of discussion which should be included, importance of keeping accurate records and impossibility of writing them up fully to contain opposing ideas, methods of getting munutes out sooner, appraisal of use made of minutes in loal groups. The difficulty of getting the minutes out speedily from New York was outlined, and it was suggested that the secretary, Juanita Nelson, be asked to mimeograph and send them out. It was suggested that a carbon copy of the minutes be sent to George. If he does not send back a corrected copy in five or six days, the secretary would be free to go ahead. This method is to be dependent on the concurrence of the secretary.

LOCAL REPORTS

MINNEAPOLIS reported receiving some cooperation from ministers in the campaign against discrimination in bowling alleys.

CHICAGO reported that, as a result of a sit-down in Leon's Barber Shop in the Fine Arts Building in Chicago, Geoffrey Stewart has been committed to a veteran's psychiatric hospital. Geoffery and Jack Fooden, chairman of the University of Chicago CORE, were arrested on a charge of disorderly conduct after they decided on the sit-down in protest of the barber shop's discriminatory policy. Jack was acquitted, but Geoffery was held in the county psychiatric ward on the basis that he would not vacate the shop himself, but had to be forcibly carried out. Chicago is, of course, continuing to work on the case. Two test groups have been sent to the Trianon Ballroom, which excludes Negroes on the grounds that it is a member-ship organization. CORE is participating in the planning of an FEPC mass meeting to be held the week of Jan. 25, and is also working for passage of a municipal non-discriminatory housing ordinance.

check on Geoffrey

YELLOW SPRINGS' court cases against a discriminating eating place are at last coming up, after two years. The first is scheduled for Feb. 14. The group is also working on an FEPC bill for Ohio, and on the local employment situation.

CLEVELAND CORE has not been functining as a group.

NEW YORK is continuing work on Palisades Amusement Park. The court has reversed its decision not to take cases filed against Palisades. Also wrking on the YMCA and on employment.

CINCINNATI'S West End Civic League is wading deeper into the campaign to get Negroes into the telephone company. Also reported that a group working along CORE lines, the Cincinnati Committee of Human Relations, had been formed, and was working on the Sefferineo roller rink, restaurants, discrimnation in music schools, and on forming an

interracial high school group on the same lines as the CCHR. Two Cincinnati boomerangs reported: closing of Pressler's restaurant, which has long had a good policy toward both patrns and employees, allegedly partly because of lost business on account of such policy; (2) suit agains t NAACP by white waitress, claiming she was falsely accused of practicing discrimination.

ST. LOUIS is concentrating on opening the restaurant in the city's second largest department store. Succeeded in closing one counter with two Negroes seeking service, and Histributed leaflets by airplane. Cooperating in working for passage of municipal civil rights bill.

COLUMBUS' Vanguard League still has very low pulse; has not met with any frequency during past six months.

CORE INCORPORATION

Barbee reported that the Congress of Racial Equality has been duly incorporated under the laws of Ohio. with Frank Shearer volunteering his services as statutory agent. Cost was $25. Incorporators are Barbee, Isabel Myrick and T. D. Isbell.

It was moved that Katherine Raymond and George Hauser be authorized to sign checks for the Congress of Racial Equality. CARRIED.

NEW GROUPS

Applications for membership have been sent in from the City College of New York, Boston, College Council on Racial Equality of the Pennyslvania State College, and St. Louis. The matter of affiliation will be taken up in Washington, D.C., and developments of affiliation sentiment will be watched for in Yellow Springs. Steps to affiliate will probably be taken by the Berkeley, Calif., group. A new group has been formed at Columbia University, and Clayton Flowers plans to start organizing a Brooklyn group.

LITERATURE

Katy reported that large orders were coming in, enough to just about deplete the stock of 790 each of "Erasing the Color Line" and "We Challenge Jim-Crow." Said literature is going better than ever before. Thinks we'll need more leaflets. George is working on a history of CORE, which will probably be mimeographed. Minneapolis thinks it will soon get out the three conference reports for which it is held liable. George is working on his conference report. The reports will probably be mimeographed, and it was suggested that material might be sent for mimeographing to the Bromleys in Wilmington, Ohio. Gerald reported the possibility of the magazine "Seventeen" doing an article on the White City campaign.

MEMBERSHIP CARDS

Only three groups expressed definite interest in using national membership cards in answer to a query sent out by George. George, therefore, recommended that we not print the cards nationally, and that decisions about sending a certain amount of the membership fee be left to local groups, according to previous minutes. Moved that local groups be urged to turn over a part of their income to national CORE, and to have cards printed at their own discretion. CARRIED.

STUDENT GROUPS

George reported having sent out a memo to a few contacts connected with colleges suggesting organizing for action against discrimination

as it affects college groups. The memo pointed out that, with the stir aroused around fraternities and sororities, this is an appropriate time to consider joint action. George said he had found definite interest at E rlham, Muncie Ball State Teacher's College and Indiana University. Bernice suggested contacting Washington University in St. Louis. It was alos suggested that memos be sent to the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations (Wally) and other college groups in Ohio where student organizatons are formed, suggesting joining with existing groups.

SUMMER PROJECT (Workshop)

From answers received to a questionairre sentout by George inquring of local groups about the feasibility of holding workshops in their communities, George concluded that Washingtnn was the best possibility: a focal point with its civil rights program; groundwork laid with ~~xxxx xxxxxx~~ workshops having been held there previously.

Marj moved that we plan definitely to have a workshop in Washington this summer, and that further investigation be made of possibilities in Cincinnati, the final decision being left to Cincinnati and the executive secretary. CARRIED

Regarding promotion, Clayton suggested getting alist of Negro government employees in Washington, D.C., asking for contributions for workshop. He also suggested writing the National Intercollegiate Council, getting the address from Robert Johnson of Virginia Union. It was suggested that each group be urged to send at least one person to the workshop, and to sponsor at least one affair to raise finances. Further suggested that each group have someone visit at least one campus, and ~~xxx~~ also personnally contact other groups which might be interested. It was suggested that a workshop advisory committee be formed primarily for fund-raising; was thought the plan might at least be tried locally.

write groups

George is start immediately writing to names suggested for advisory committee, asking particularly about salary desired and needed, with a committee in New York to go over the list with him. Names suggested: Wally Nelson, Manuel Talley, Annabel Seidman, Wilson Head, DonDeVault, Bob and Lynn Kirk, Dean Yarbrough, Ralph Templin, Bill Sutherland, Lowell Cantress, Nathan Wright, Homer Jack, Bernice Fisher, Gerald Bullock, Lawrence Scott, Roger Axford, Ernie Bromley. Conrad Lynn, Robinson

write

George estimated that a director should expect to give one week before and ne week after workshop, and that he would not be expected to do promotional work. The F.O.R. is co-sponsoring the project, and it will no doubt be held during July.

CORE CONVENTION AND CONFERENCE

Bernice expressed desire of St. Louis to have 1949 cnvention, and felt that a camp could be secured for that purpose. Bernice is to get information on Y camp and Camp F.D.R. in Detroit; Wally, Camp Sharpe; Camp Farr in Chicago, Rose Irene Hamner; YWCA camp in Chicago, Bob Birchman; Antioch College, Marjorie Swann; Dates are to be June 15 to 19, though it is thought advisable to find out from camps if Sunday is a determining factor in getting the sites. Information on the camps is to be in the national office by February 11, from whence the information will be sent out to theexecutive committee.

A program committee was set up consisting of Wally Nelson, chairman, Marj Swann and Juanita Nelson, which is to report by February 15. Last year's participants thought it important to include the philosophy of non-violence; to try for better planning of business sessions; and to be certain of resource people.

NURSING

In a brief report, Bob Birchman reported that only three to five southern states exclude Negro nurses from professional associations. Said there was a very bad outlook as far as training facilities for Negroes.

Clayton moved that we drop the question of nursing discrimination as impossible for our group to deal with. CARRIED

Barbee is to write up significant material on techique devised in Columbus for surveying hospital discrimination, and send his findings to the contact list. It was mentioned that the American Jewish Congress is making a survey of nursing education.

JOURNEY OF RECONCILIATION

George reported having spent two days in Durham talking with attorneys and community peoplex in regard to journey cases, particularly the financial angle. Following a meeting with about fifteen "prominent" Negroes, a committee was organized as a defense group for the Joruney to negotiate with lawyers as to fees, other court costs, etc. Latest word indicated that two of three lawyers had been paid $200 each, over the threat of the third that he would sue the committee.

George reviewed the four North Carolina cases which went before the North Carolina Supreme Court on December 14. The four (Igal Roodenko, Bayard Rustin, Joe Felmut and Andrew Johnson) were found gguilty, that is, the decision of the lower court was upheld. (Violation of the state segregation law). It is felt that one reason for the negative decision was the failure of the lawyers to have introduced into the ~~xxxxxx~~ records testimony that the fellows were holding interstate tickets. Igal is the only one who got on thestand. As a result, the four are now liable to serving thirty days on the N.C. chan gang by Feb. 7.

George sent out letter with the above facts amplified to all Journey participants and a few others.

It was generally agreed that every effort should be made to get a retrial; to secure more legal competent help, such as Thurgood Marshall and Charles Houston; and to try for commutation of sentences to fines if that is what theffellows want.

Clayton moved that action be left to the discretaion of the executive secretary, in the light of the opinions expressed by the executive committee: 1. Try for retrial so that new evidence may be introduced 2. Try for cummutation according to wishes of those involved 3. Consult competent legal aid about supreme court possibilities3. Leave final decisions up to those involved 4. If time is served, do good publicity job. CARRIED

Several suggestions were offered re raising money for further costs: 1. Build speaking tour around fellows involved 2. Consult Dorothy Maynor about possibiliities of her giving a benefit recital 3. Start personal appeareances on one-state basis (Ohio) around Andy Johnson 4. Appeal to unions if one of fellows is a union man 5. Ask local groups to start Sunday, Jan. 30, yrying to get money from churches and other groups. In the last named connection, Barbee volunteered to write a letter for ministers to be used by all groups.

Suggested that we write Harold Gibbons, United Distribution Workers, St. Louis, Mo. (Local responsibility for financial campaigns to be taken by Wally, Juanita and Marj for Cincinnati, Xenia, Yellow Springs, and related territories; Chicago, A.C., Gerald, etc.; Minneapolis, Ruth Little; Columbus, Barbee; St. Louis, Bernice; Cleveland, Jessie Coleman, et. al (Cleveland was to cntact Rev. M.E. Nelson of Mt. Pleasant Methodist Church.)

ENVELOPE ADDRESSOR
Wally moved that Katie be authorized to purchase an envelope addressor advertised for $30 plus, if it provessatisfactory. CARRIED

NEXT MEETING
The executive secretary will sendout cards offering a multiplicity of dates.

LETTER TO MINISTERSZ
Barbee's letter to ministers was read and approved. It is to be mimeographed and sent out by Juanita, after she receiveds stationery from the national office. Requests for letter: Barbee, 40; Chicago, 50; Cleveland, 50; New York, 30; Marj, 10; Cincinnati, 50; St. Louis, 15. Barbee suggested adding personal notes, and sending the letters special delivery.

MASS MEETINGS
Wally proposed a series of mass meetings for Ohio on the Journey of Reconciliation. Sense of the meeting was that such a meeting could be tried in Cincinnati.

EMPLOYMENT PROJECT
Marj and Juanita reported on their efforts to select a national campaign on employment. Marj has sent out a questionaire to local groups. Juanita wrote seven national companies inquiring about their hiring policy, but had not received any replies. George suggested that the committee continue its research, and send a report to local groups.

COREMOVIE
Clayton moved that we discuss CORE move, money raising, recess for luch, reconvene after lu ch to discuss the West Coast situation. CARRIED

George reported having completed the first draft of the movie script, which, when finally ready, is to be sent to Glen Smiley for revision by experienced script writers. Script is of the narrative type, and the Stoner case in Chicago is being used to build the beginning of CORE around. Script contains descriptions of incidents in various communities, with a final statement about the importance of the CORE approach. The merits of color versus black and white will be investigated.

George feels that we will need about $500 to get going .
Tad suggested putting out one print of the film to a professional distributor, and distributing at least one ourselves. It was generally agreed that we will try to realize some funds from the movie, but that we recognize that the main purpose of the movie is educational.
It was moved that there will be a split between the local groups and national CORE on incme from the film, once proceeds have covered original expenditures. WITHDRAWN.
Wally moved that, as a last resort, we borrow money from individuals up to $1,000 to pay the cost of the movie; and that the first income be used to repay theloans. CARRIED.

SAN FRANCISCO CORE
George reviewed briefly talks he and Katy had with San Francisco group in August. At that time it was stated that (four of thirteen) members of the executive committee were Social Worker Party members, and that two of the party members were officers. George wrote Manuel asking him to visit San Francisco to try to get facts from just plain members. It was discovered that Manuel had proposed reorganization to the group.

Katy moved that we find out what the current San Francisco situation is; and that, if it is the same as it was when George prepared his letter for the local groups, that the letter be sent out as is; but that, if the situation is changed, a revised letter be sent out, stating the facts as they are. CARRIED

Clayton moved that we discuss the general policy of accepting groups, if there is time left following completinn of the present agenda. CARRIED.

WEST COAST EXPANSION PROGRAM

It was with great reluctance that the executive secretary began the long-delayed West Coast expansion program, seeing as how the long-delayed Manuel Talley had not arrived as yet.

George reported that Manuel has been traversing the coast in the interest of CORE. He has helped revitalize the Berkeley group, visited Oakland, San Francisco, started a group in Pasadena, primarily at the schoo, and started a second group in Lo Angeles.

There was a great deal of discussion about the ethics of organizing a second CORE group drawing from the same community as a first, particularly unless the second was an off-shoot of the first.

George proposed the following statement: That we look with favor on the organization of CORE groups in every possible community; that we favor the formation of small grlups following the disciplin and objectives of CORE; but that when the problem of two groups arises in a community, the second group be formed only with the approval of the first group, or on special action of the executive committee. CARRIED

George moved that ~~xxxxxxxx~~we adopt this statement: That any person taking action in behalf of national CORE act only under the direction of and in harmony with the policy decisions of the executive committee or convention, and in cooperation with whatever officer is responsible for organizational responsibility in the area in which action is being taken. MOTION WITHDRAWN

Recommendations:
That George send out carbon copies of communications concerning Manuel's territory and work to Manuel.
That Manuel be given to understand that he is expected to clear on matters of policy with the national office, and to keep the national office informed of his activities.

LETTER OF APPRECIATION

The secretary was instructed to send a letter of appreciation to the Phillis Wheatley Association.

MONEYRAISING

Katy stressed the need for funds for the CORE movie, Journey of Reconciliation cases and West Coast expansion program. She suggested that lists be sent in from local groups for mailing appeal, and that local groups be urged to put on money-raising projects for national CORE. It was also re-urged that Dorothy Manyor be approached.

Descriptions of money-raising projects given by local groups are to be sent to Chicago, from where the suggestinns are be be mailed to all groups. Mentioned were international dinner, move programs, plays.

ACCEPTING NEW GROUPS

Bernice and Gerald volunteered to draft statements of suggested policy.

ADJOURNED

CORE

CORE Executive Committee meeting, Columbus, Ohio -- ~~March~~ April 9 and 10, 1949

Present Marjorie Swann, George Houser, Barbee Durham, Catharine Raymond, Wally and Juanita Nelson, A.C.Thompson, Felicity and Harold Matschek, Oscar Isbell.

Road Gang George Houser reported that Bayard Rustin, Joe Felmet and Igal Roodenko seemed to be faring as well as could be expected, with the really hard work being the worst feature of the experience. George talked of the possibility of an article appearing in one of the national magazines through the good offices of an interested literary agent if the fellows have the time to write up a good story.

Sweatt Case It was moved that Core co-sign the amicus curaie brief in the Sweatt case at the invitation of the civil rights division of the American Jewish Committee. Marjorie Swann proposed that, as a matter of principle, we file briefs as friends of the court in civil rights cases provided such action does not take away needed funds from other projects.

CORE Movie A rough draft of a movie script has been completed and sent to Los Angeles. Accoording to Glenn Smiley of L.A., the matter was to be considered at a meeting on March 30, but the national office had not received word about it. The script has been turned over to Ed Kerr, a script-writer, for some preliminary work.

"Jim Crow Must Go" Ties Ties carrying out the theme, "Jim Crow Must Go", are being manufactured at the instigation of Jim and Paula Peck at a cost of one dollar each. Marjorie Swann suggested that they try selling some ties through the Antioch Book Store. The Executive Committee also suggested that sample ties be sent to each CORE group.

Non-Violence Pamphlet George Houser made the proposal that Core ask some qualified person to write a pamphlet on the role of non-violence in the Negro's struggle. He is to contact the following persons with a view to interesting someone in taking on such a project, perhaps as a Ph.D. thesis: Ira Reid, Rayford Logan, Howard Beal, Charles Lawrence, Charles Johnson, Jim Farmer.

New Literature The need for new literature was stressed, particularly for a history of Core. George Houser is in the process of compiling some columns he originally wrote for PULSE magazine into a mimeographed pamphlet on non-violence versus racism. Marjorie Swann asked about the possibility of Core's having a column in some newspaper. George Houser has completed the outline for a pamphlet dealing with restaurant discrimination, and hopes to get it completed before the convention. Sarah Drucker of New York has written an article on the "Journey of Reconciliation" for COLOR magazine. Juanita Nelson suggested that the Workshop idea could be written up attractively. Catharine Raymond reported the printing of 3,000 new "What is CORE" leaflets at a new high price of $76.00. Marjorie Swann suggested contacting Printer Farson in Mexico about printing some of Core's material.

Printing CORElator Marjorie Swann proposed that we act on the idea George Houser presented of printing the CORElator, using the FOR duplicator. It was decided that the matter be taken up at the national convention. An outline of the expenses would be as follows: typesetting and paste-up - $20; paper - $5.00 per thousand; plates - $2.75 per plate; labor - $5.00 per thousand. An estimate would be $35.50 for the first thousand, and $6 for each additional thousand. Some of the questions to be considered are whether there should be group subscriptions for Core local groups, whether subscriptions should be individual, and how to compile an adequate mailing list in order to pay for the printing. It was agreed that there should be a trial issue, probably in the fall.

Admission of New Groups Bernice Fisher and Gerald Bullock are to prepare their statements on receiving new groups in time for the convention.

Treasurer's report, April 9, 1949

On hand January , 1949			304.40
Income:	individual contributions	376.00	
	group contributions	109.56	
	literature	36.30	
	Journey	346.48	
	movie	10.00	
	Conference, 1948	1.80	880.14
			1184.54
Expenses:	office	144.06	
	travel	113.98	
	literature	4.00	
	Journey	152.45	
	printing	76.50	
	salary	112.00	
	West Coast office	30.00	
	Executive Committee meeting	10.00	
	service charge	9.00	651.99
			532.55
			1184.54

Group contributions:

City College	5.00
Boston	10.00
Cleveland	10.00
University of Chicago	18.56
Detroit	2.00
Bartlesville	50.00
New York	14.00
	109.56

Action Committee It was recommended that an action or working committee be set up in New York. The members would be appointed by the executive secretary and approved by the executive committee. It is felt that such a committee is needed to discuss and act on matter of a routine and immediate nature between meetings of the executive committee.

Employment Juanita Nelson reported on letters received from national concerns about their employment policies, and dwelt particularly on the visit made by an A and P representative. A more complete report will be made at the conference.

Conference Site There is no chance of holding the conference near St. Louis because of conflicting dates. Final word has not been received from Lake Geneva. Camp Joy, fifteen miles from Cincinnati has been offered by the Neighborhood Center of Cincinnati at no charge. It was moved that Camp Joy chosen unless a very good alternative comes up immediately. Juanita Nelson is to send in a complete report on the facilities of the camp within a week.

Fund Raising Two letters appealing for funds were considered, one of a general nature, and one for the Workshop specifically. The Chicago group asked for two hundred workshop letters to be sent out locally.

Workshop George Houser recommended that the Workshop be set up as a separate entity, with its own advisory board, bank account,etc. This would put the workshop on a permanent year-round basis, with a definite budget. An alternate suggestion was that the Workshop be set up as a separate department of the FOR and CORE. George Houser is to follow up on this suggestion with the FOR.

July Workshop Several thousand announcements have been sent out -- to each Core group, to colleges and other groups. Fifteen or twenty have asked for application blanks and four have been returned to date. Promotion depends largely on local groups. The only dwelling place now in sight is Inspiration House which is on the edge of the Negro section of Washington. Financial arrangements have not been definitely agreed upon, but the latest offer is $25 per person for room for the month, and two meals a day for $1.50. Nathan Wright is to be urged again to consider working as the Workshop director or co-director.

Conference Program There are to be three discussion groups, dealing with organizational and action problems. Evening meetings will include an informal report from the local groups and discussion on Wednesday; experimentation with the socio-drama on Thursday; the philosophy of non-violence in race relations on Friday. Resource people suggested for non-violence: Nathan Wright, Gerald Bullock, Al Cannon, Maurice McCrackin. Resource people for action problems: Jim Robinson. Bernice Fisher, Harriett Lane.

Convention Agenda Core will again consider at the convention possible changes in the discipline and constitution. Minneapolis Core is to go over the Constitution and make recommendations. New York Core will study the discipline. Local groups are to be reminded that advisory and executive committees are to be named at the convention. It was recommended that there be a careful and full report at that time from the executive secretary.

Copious Notes of CORE Convention
Camp Joy, near Cincinnati, Ohio

18 June 1949, 9:30 EST
The Ark (Recreation Hall)

Chairman: Gerald Bullock

Convention opened when the Chairman announced that each affiliated group was entitled to 5 delegates plus any members of the National Executive Committee. 27 delegates and a few Executives were on hand. New York City had 4 present, City College, NYC had 3. Chicago had 5 delegates and as many visitors. Bartlesville, Oklahoma had 1. St. Louis had 4 delegates. Cincinnati had 2. Cleveland had 2. Chairman next gave the various items on the agenda priority. The convention committees were elected.

Billie Ames volunteered for the Publicity Com. Nominated were Wally and Juanita Nelson.

Resolutions Committee: Walter Hayes and Marvin Rich, then Marge Swann, then two others. Nominating Committee: Marjorie Tolliver, Marvin Rich, Jim Robinson, A. C. Thompson, and Katherine Raymond. (Harriet Lane and Marge Swann declined.)

The question of what kind of convention report should be prepared was discussed. I spoke for minutes to be sent to the local groups. The motion was to write up a summary, including votes on motions. Motion Carried.

Executive Secretary Houser summarized his mimeod report. Al Ettinger wrote a paper on "Social Engineering in Race Relations" for the Journal of the Intercollegiate Psychological Society. CORE is incorporated under the laws of Ohio. Prof. Gelhorn of NYC volunteered his law students to do research on our legal problems. The civil disobedience campaign was split on the basis of a strong legislative campaign versus an organized CD campaign (no legislation). Brooklyn College CORE has been accepted by the school administration. The Secretary's report was accepted by voice vote.

Relations with Field Representatives agenda item. Correspondence between Houser and Talley to be digested by a committee of 5.

Treasury report: $434 on hand. Bank charges $32.

Journey of Reconciliation: Rustin's confidential report issued by the F.O.R. Flowers moved: to empower Houser to get into the Rustin case. George feels that the North Carolina people should decide the procedure of exposing chain gang conditions. Motion: to give Rustin a vote of confidence, to ask for mention of CORE in the report, and that Rustin be urged to confer with CORE on future action. Motion Carried 12:4.

Movie: NO will get its money back by rentals.

Literature: 3 mimeod pamphlets were put out recently--History of CORE, socio drama, and non-violence versus racism. A half-hour dramatization of the Journey of Reconciliation (from NYC radio station WMCA). I spoke for listing two new items on the old literature list, so that radio record may be used for meetings.

 18 June 1949 2:40-5:30 p.m.

Chairman: Gerald Bullock

Houser reported on the Washington interracial workshop: about 17 are signed up. Physical facilities are very good. A Washington consultative committee is organized. $250 is needed on a budget of $1,500.

A question was raised anent setting up a separate organization to run the workshop. Houser felt this sponsorship would not change the nature of the workshop. There was a Chicago suggestion to raise funds for the workshop. Houser asked if it would be OK to contact some outside individuals, with a view to a separate set-up. Ettinger, Flowers, and Rich spoke against the idea of giving up control of the CORE workshop. Swann moved: that CORE retain control of the Summer workshop in its own name and, if possible, obtain a list of sponsors who could help us.

Farmer pointed out that the F.O.R. co-sponsors it. Ettinger amended: that any contacting of any individuals for financial sponsorship of the workshop be done in the name of CORE and F.O.R. for a CORE-F.O.R. workshop. Carried. There was a motion to table. Was lost 9:12. Motion as amended Carried Unanimously. Meyers moved: to empower Houser to investigate an independent workshop. Declared out of order. Bartlesville reported sending all but $2 in their treasury ($33) to support the workshop. St. Louis pledged $35. for 1950 Bullock pledged a personal $10.

CORE Action Discipline: Ettinger reported on changes in the discipline. In the second introductory paragraph, he wanted "simply" changed to "probably". George brought out that this discipline is for intra-organization use only--not for propaganda. ((A separate Action Discipline, as revised, was compiled by me, as Secretary Pro Tempore, so the following notes will not attempt to fit all revisions into the overall picture.))

Points 2 and 3 were changed. Point 8 was amalgamated at this point. "A CORE member will make a sincere effort to avoid malice and hatred towards any individual or group, nor will he ever use malicious slogans or labels..." ((See last session of convention for third and final action on point 4.)) 5 and 6 were changed. 11. Omit the world "selfishly".

12. (Addition:) "except that when a participant feels unable to maintain CORE discipline under pressure he shall withdraw from the project, leaving the scene immediately after notifying the leader of the project." 13 and 14 changed. Wally Nelson moved: we keep this piece of literature intact but write a piece of literature that would serve the purpose that the New York group is after, and indidate that this piece of literature need not be used. Kennedy, Farmer, Lane, and Houser spoke before Nelson withdrew his motion. Flowers moved: to take up the points ad seriatum. Motion Carried.

Change in second paragraph of preamble Carried. Point 2 change Carried. Points 3 and 8 amalgamation: Farmer prefaced: "While struggling relentlessly against practices of discrimination," Houser amended to make this addition at the end of the amalgamated point. Houser amendment carried. Point 8 was kept intact but moved to position 4.

Saturday afternoon (continued)

There was a lot of discussion on the meaning of the "humility" mentioned here. Houser suggested a sub-committee. He also proposed that a CORE member not set himself up as a judge of somebody's morals. There was a test vote, and 11 opposed the use of the word, and 7 were in favor. Raymond, Matschek, and Ettinger were appointed a sub-committee.

Old points 5 and 6 were revised. "Selfishly" was deleted from point 11. Point 12 changes were accepted. On point 14, I spoke against permitting non-committed people to participate in group projects. Motion Carried. One word of 15 was changed.

18 June 1949 8:15 p.m.-4:00 a.m.
Chairman: Barbee Durham

Raymond raised the question of a travel pool. People who wanted travel funds were asked to write down what they wanted. (There were 4 requests.) There was a request for setting up, in advance, a travel pool for next year's conference.

Committee on Field Representatives. A memo from Austin was read. April report from Talley and a couple of paragraphs from a recent letter were read. Houser then read his two memos on relationship of the national office to organizers.

Swann reported for the committee: The correspondence was reviewed. In general, approve of the Houser proposals. Want to add that field representatives should forego some of their privileges as members of local groups. Would change Houser's title to Executive Director. Duties to include supervision of Field Representatives. Opposed to regional federations. Discussion.

Swann moved: that the convention accept the memos prepared by the Executive Secretary, and the recommendations of the Committee on Field Representatives. Motion to call the Previous Question failed to get a 2/3 vote. Bullock moved to table the motion until after the next order of business. Motion Carried. Kendall asked that documents like this be submitted for pre-convention discussion next year. Idea carried.

Constitution Committee reported thru Harriet Lane. She moved: That her report be adopted section by section. Carried.

Robinson wanted Field Reps to be paid traveling expenses. I spoke against domination of conventions by Field Reps. Lane motion "expects" Field Reps to attend conventions, and submit annual reports. Motion Carried.

Committee on Field Reps wanted ExecSecy changed to Executive Director, and give him supervision over field organizers. Robinson wanted a paid Executive Director. I spoke for first deciding on whether we want a new office; and later deciding how much to pay him. I wanted to pay all 7 officials, if possible. This long discussion was tabled by consent.

Lane proposed a National Committee of 8 elected at convention; the rest representing three regions. Flowers substituted: Two

delegates from each group, to serve one year; alternate delegate can be chosen by locals when official representatives cannot attend Council meetings; participation is to be by mail, telephone, or telegram; the Council to approve applications by mail; semi-annual sessions; locals can recall representatives; railroad expenses shall be pro-rated. Smith wanted to table this matter and take a vote of groups through the mail. His motion to table was lost. Lane withdrew her motion--she was allowed to do so by the chair. Rich wanted to strike out the section about instructed delegates, and deletion was accepted by Flowers. Kennedy won quarterly meetings (instead of semi-annual) by a vote of 10:9. The balance of the Flowers motion was then accepted.

Recess at 12:15 to 12:40 a.m. There was a barbecue and playing of the Journey of Reconciliation radio records, but not at this recess.

First business after the intermission was a report from a Constitution subcommittee appointed by the chairman to work out debatable points. 2 Meetings of National Council per year. 1 representative from each group to the Council. Travel costs figured out on a pro-rata basis. Referenda would go thru the representative to the group. No regional committees. All Carried.

Points 6 and 7 of the NYC mimeod constitution draft (on convention and Corelator) were accepted. On their point 9, re Affiliation, I moved to delete a clause about a political line. Clause was deleted. Swann moved: to delete clause about taking a position on matters not pertaining to ethnic relations. Clause stayed in 9:11. No. 9, as deleted, adopted.

There was an intermission for the barbecue and a 30-minute transcript of a radio broadcast. Meeting reconvened at 2:10.

Point 9, Affiliation, as passed reads as follows:

New groups can affiliate on recommendation of the Executive Secretary, and by a two-thirds vote of the Council. In order to affiliate, a group must have had at least a month of existence, and at least ten members. It is understood that each group affiliating accepts the Discipline and Statement of Purpose of the Congress. The Executive Secretary shall not act on any application for affiliation until a $5 affiliating fee is paid by the applicant.

Whenever it appears upon investigation that an affiliated group has fallen in numerical strength below ten members; fails to file reports with National CORE; is guilty of taking action not in accordance with CORE discipline; fails to support National CORE by remitting monies due for support of the National office; or consistently takes a position on matters not directly pertaining to ~~ethnic~~ relations--such group may be suspended from the Congress of Racial Equality on recommendation of the National Council and a 2/3 vote of the groups replying.

Constitution Point 10, Finances. Lane moved her article...$5 affiliation fee, $5 annual fee, 10% of income, etc. There were expressions of support for the article proposed by NYC. $5 annual fee was adopted. The vote was too close on 10% of net income, so Houser suggested that we have a special drive for $1,500 this year. Flowers moved for $25 fee and 20%. Kennedy substituted: 1%. Fuller amended: to allow national office to levy assessments. Kennedy substitute was carried. Main motion lost 7:14. Dropped--no new section on finances.

 Saturday evening session continued

Subcommittee on Discipline Article 5 reported back. Their report was rejected, and a new subcommittee was appointed to bring in a new phraseology.

Corelator printing: 2,000 copies 6 pages printed, $67. Davidson Duplicator job, $42. Motion to print the paper, only as a last priority on national funds. Carried.

Employment Committee: Juanita Nelson reported nothing we can do on employment practices of national chains.

Finances: Several suggestions and an appeal letter were read by Houser. More larger gifts needed. A larger mailing-list needed. More money from groups. Raymond wanted coordination between national and local appeals. Carried.

Assignments were made for Sunday by Ames. No planned breakfast. Meet at 9:30. Adjournment came at 4:00 a.m.

19 June 1949 10:00-11:30 a.m.

Chairman: Barbee Durham

Swann reported for the Organization section of the conference which preceded by 3 days this convention: publish a list of restaurants which do not discriminate. There were suggestions of "CORE on Wheels" to test restaurants throughout the country. Motion Carried.

Organization section suggested that the Bartlesville experiments be written up. Swann moved: to also refer to the National Council. Also referred. Also, exchange of mailing-lists with other organizations was referred.

A temporary budget of $7,300 was drawn up. Last year we raised $350 from the local groups. A motion to request local groups to donate 20% of their net income was carried (after the train passed) by a vote of 13:5. Mr. Nelson asked for a collection here. Suggestion not well taken.

Raymond reported that people who came to the conference paid $4 each to the travel pool. Total of $87 received in this fund. Requests from 4 people were estimated at $75. Robinson moved: to recommend that people over the weekend pay $2 to the travel pool, and to leave travel pool balance in the national treasury. I spoke out strongly against making "profit" on conventions, or charging delegates any more than actual convention expenses. Motion carried.

Next proposition was that a new officer (paid) be referred to the National Council. Flowers substituted: That we place the office in the constitution and have implementation later. Substitute lost. Original motion carried. Robinson moved to adopt the constitution as a whole, and it carried.

Swann motion on relations with field organizers was taken off the table. Houser read his recommendations (in two memos). Silence denoted consent, ad seriatum. The sum to be given field organizers was left to the National Council. There was approval that the organizer should decide on division of cells, and recommend division to

Sunday morning session continued

the National Council. Raymond related that new groups were formed in NYC without conflict with the old CORE. The question was whether new groups (in an organized city) were covered by the affiliation section of the constitution. Tabled motion carried. ((see second last paragraph on page 3, "Committee on Field Reps," etc.)) Robinson raised the question of informing the Field Reps of convention actions, particularly on the Talley letter. OK.

Houser moved: that local groups be autonomous from organizers, as they are from the national office. Carried.

Houser moved: to appoint a Working Committee to advise the Executive Secretary. Motion Carried.

Elections: (Chair assumed by Sam Smith of Cincinnati). The nominations committee nominated Bullock and Lane for Chairman. Ettinger and Durham were nominated from the floor. Recess for lunch.

19 June 1949 1:40 - 2:45 p.m.
Chairman: Sam Smith

Only 16 present, so we took resolutions first.

1. Commending FSA on new policy in giving loans to anyone, to build anywhere. Accepted without vote.

2. National CORE to organize student conferences to help democratic practices in schools. Accepted.

3. Locals to fill out questionnaire prepared by the national organizational conference. Carried.

4. Sticks, Baer, & Fuller store in St. Louis discrimination flayed. Accepted.

5. Endorsing Bartlesville non-violent direct action. Carried.

6. To congratulate NAACP for work in Tolliver case. Carried.

7. Urging American Bowling Congress to eliminate Jim Crow bowling. Accepted.

8. Support SB-852 for free interstate travel. Carried.

9. Support SR-1725 for National Commission on Civil Rights. OK.

10. Expressing our concern about Bunche refusal to serve as Asst. Secy. of State because of Jim Crow in Washington. Carried.

11. Urging frats to eliminate discriminatory clauses in their chapters. Carried.

12. Congratulating Duke and Arkansas for admitting Negroes into divinity schools. Carried.

13. Supporting "Trenton Six"--the Cooper case in New Jersey. Carried.

Sunday afternoon session continued

14. Favoring setting up Southern CORE groups. Carried.

15. To thank Wally and Juanita Nelson for their work on this conference. Applause. Amended to include the camp. Houser suggested that we include $50 with the resolution. I said it was too much, and Wally Nelson answered that we paid $200 rental last year. No other discussion and no vote, but $50 item included.

Announced that Harriet Lane had been elected Chairman. Vice-chairman nominations were Marvin Rich and Nathan Wright. From the floor, Gerald Bullock and Marge Swann. Swann declined. For Secretary: Ruth Brown. Unanimous motion was lost. From the floor were then nominated Maria Kennedy (declined), Marge Swann (declined), Mary Bullock (declined), Juanita Nelson, and Billie Ames. Ames was elected by hand vote. Marvin Rich was elected Vice-Chairman by ballot. Catharine Raymond was nominated and elected Treasurer. George M. Houser was reelected National Executive Director. Field Representatives nominated were Jim Farmer, Bayard Rustin, Wally Nelson, Manuel Talley, and Nathan Wright. Tad Tekla (declined) and A.C. Thompson (not present) were added from the floor. These half-dozen were declared elected. Durham moved: to refer Advisory Council election to the National Council. Carried. (Harriet Lane assumed the chair at this point.)

Motion to have next year's convention and conference about the same time of the year Carried. Flowers suggested that the convention begin Friday evening. This move was referred to the National Council by unanimous consent, about 30 present. On location, the motion was to have the conference and convention in the Kansas-Missouri territory. Carried.

Action Discipline: The latest sub-committee volunteered this section: " A CORE member realizes his own inadequacies, he realizes that he often accepts discrimination and thus helps to perpetuate the basic patterns which he opposes. He, therefore will not judge the individual who discriminates, but rather his actions. " Then I moved to delete the humility discipline section entirely. Later I withdrew the motion. Flowers substituted: "Maintain an understanding attitude." Substitute carried 11:8. Some objections after the vote.

Treasury report: $291 taken in. $61 balance. Motion was to donate $50 of the balance to the Neighborhood Center running Camp Joy. Motion Carried. (See resolution 15)

Niilo Koponen announced that President Wesley of Wilberforce State University is anxious to make the school a good interracial school. A new school and a new school atmosphere is being created by the present student body at the College of Education and Industrial Arts.

Thanks were expressed to Mr. McCrackin of the camp and McCrackin responded. There were 26 people present at this juncture.

Ettinger moved on the last item: "Principles of the Communist Party are incompatible with the purposes of CORE...No communist or fascist fronts shall be invited, nor upon application be accepted as members of CORE, nor as participants in CORE projects." Motion to reject carried 8:6. Motion to adjourn Carried.

Respectfully submitted, Tad Tekla

3403 Rex Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri
June 21, 1949

Mr. George M. Houser
2929 Broadway at 114th St.
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear George:

I hope these notes get to you in time. Also, I hope they make sense. If you find any discrepancies, feel free to make changes--particularly in the section about the Executive Committee.

We are having a great deal of excitement here in St. Louis. The mayor, right out of the blue sky without any warning, opened all the St. Louis parks and swimming pools to all races. The first afternoon (yesterday) about 200 negro boys and 250 white boys got into a fight at one of the parks after swimming together all afternoon. One white boy, unfortunately, was badly hurt. The police found several knives in the bunch. So the mayor reversed his decision and went back to the system of segregation. Last night from 6,000 to 8,000 people made up a mob that started a roit at one of the parks. Fifteen people are known to have been hurt in that mess. CORE has sent a telegram to the mayor asking him to reinstate his original order to open the pools and parks. Feeling is running pretty high, and next Saturday is when we are to have our big sit-in at Stix. We are expecting trouble.

It is possible that the reason the mayor did this is that he made wonderful promises to the negroes before last election about a Civil Right Ordinance. Now he will have a good excuse for not signing such a bill.

We sure live an exciting life, don't we. I hope the workshop is successful.

Sincerely,

Billie Ames

Field Representatives' Reports:

Bayard Rustin has been in India where he was received by Gandhi's sons. Rustin attributes his good reception in India to his association with CORE in this country. He was impressed by the fact that everyone in India is not a pacifist, and he hoped that a difference in opinion on this point would not split up CORE.

Rustin hoped we would take definite steps to get CORE groups organized in the South.

He would like to have the relationship of the Field Representatives to National CORE clarified.

REMARKS: George Houser expressed a desire to establish CORE groups in the South--particularly in Oklahoma and Texas. He feels that the people there are ready and want CORE groups organized.

Parts of a letter from The Netherlands were read. The writer expressed an interest in CORE activities. He felt that our ultimate goal was intermarriage; because until we reach the point where intermarriage is an accepted thing, there will be discrimination.

Manuel Talley has been concentrating on organizing CORE groups in the West. He feels that the emotional climate in this country now is right for organizing CORE groups, because there is no war planned for the near future. Talley feels that the first CORE groups in the West will help finance efforts to get other groups organized. He believes that it is best to organize small cell-like groups on the theory that they will grow and train leaders. Among the groups he has organized are ones in San Pedro, Long Beach, San Joaquin Valley, and efforts are being made to organize other places such as Sacramento, Oakland, and San Francisco.

The importance of CORE in California is illustrated in the fact that the Carnation Milk Company has agreed to negotiate on a statewide basis.

Because of inadequate finances, Talley may quit when his term expires.

Talley reported that the West feels that if they support CORE's organizing efforts in the West, they should control their own policies. George Houser reminded us that the Executive Committee must not force policies on the local groups. The duty of the Executive Committee is to carry out the decisions of the National Convention.

George Houser made the following list of suggestions about the relationship between Field Representatives and the National Office.

A committee was appointed to consider what action should be taken to clarify the responsibilities of Field Representatives to the National Office and of the National Office to the Field Representatives. The cmmiee read the correspondence which had passed between Manual Talley and George Houser to determine what sort of clarifications are needed. The committee recommended that George Houser's suggestions be accepted. A motion was made providing for this recommendation. There was an addition made to this motion which provided that Field Representatives would not be allowed to participate in the activities and policy making of the local groups. This motion was tabled until later on in the convention.

A motion was made and seconded that the title Executive Secretary be changed to Executive Director. This motion was passed.

A motion was made to make an addition to the duties of the Executive Director as defined in the constitution and to make these duties read as follows:

Executive Director -- to be responsible for office correspondence; to act as editor of the Congress news-bulletin, the CORElator; to care for the affiliating of new groups with the Congress; to integrate the member groups into a working whole; and to supervise and coordinate the work of the Field Representatives.

This motion was passed.

It was agreed by common consent to change the title Field Representative as listed in the Constitution to the plural form, Field Representatives.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that any major proposition should be presented by mail to all local CORE organizations a month before the final decision is made when possible.

The Constitution:

Suggested amendments proposed by Minneapolis:

Part 3 of the Constitution: THE OFFICERS

(5) Change the wording to " to handle fund raising and bookkeeping."

(6) Pluralize Field Representatives. Core policy on field representatives be defined. Require Field Representatives to attend National Conventions.

Part 9. Change to read: New groups can affiliate on the recommendation of the executive committee, and by a two-thirds vote of the local groups.

Part 10 Change to read: Each local group in addition shall be required to submit at least ten percent of their total income to the central office, and such amount shall be payable annually within thirty days after the end of the local organization's fiscal year.

Part 5 Abolish this part because the Council never functioned.

Part 4 The following plan is designed to get all local groups represented on the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee would consist of the four elected officers, four members from each of three regional sections of the country. (East, Midwestern, and West)

This Committee would meet twice a year and more often when necessary.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that the report be adopted or rejected item by item.

Part 2 It was suggested that a phrase specifically referring to human relations be included in this section. However, no change was made.

Part 3

(5) A motion to change the wording from "take care of" to "handle" was passed.

(6) A motion was made to state that all Field Representatives are expected to attend annual conventions. This passed.

An amendment to the motion was made and later withdrawn to have the travel expenses of the Field Representatives paid by the National Convention.

(7) Suggestion that a new paid officer to raise funds, organize, and intergrate groups was postponed until finances are taken up.

Part 4 The Minneapolis plan for representation in the Executive Committee was withdrawn.

It was moved that the New York plan be substituted for the Minneapolis plan:

The Executive Committee shall consist of two representatives from each of the affiliated groups who shall be chosen by each group annually. Substitute representatives shall be chosen by the locals when the official representatives can not attend meetings. An affiliated group which can not send its representatives to Committee meetings shall participate by mail, or if necessary, by telephone and telegraph. The Committee is required to approve by mail new applicants for affiliation with the Congress. The Committee, in semi-annual sessions, shall make decisions relative to the Convention, and relative to national policy and action.

Local affiliated groups shall control the vote of their Committee representatives on all issues unless the local instructs its representatives to vote at their own discretion. Any local may at any time recall its representatives and elect new ones. No persons not a member or previously a member of a local affiliated group may serve on any National CORE body except the National Advisory Committee. National CORE transportation expenses to Committee members shall be pro-rated according to mileage.

Between Council meetings all important decisions shall be submitted to it for vote by mail. Mail ballots shall be counted one month from the date the ballots are mailed from the national office, and all ballots returned shall decide the questions regardless of the number returned.

The marjority of the above motion was voted down. A few items such as paying transportation expenses to Committee members pro-rated according to mileage and the semi-annual sessions were retained.

The final proposal which was moved, seconded, and passed is as follows:

The Executive Committee shall be constituted of the officers (Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Executive Director, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer) and one representative from each affiliated Core group. Alternate representatives

will be chosen by the local groups to take the place of the other representative if he can not attend. This Committee will handle applications for affiliation (by mail when necessary), all matters of national policy and action. The Executive ~~Committee~~ shall meet at least twice a year, and more often at the call of the chairman. Transportation expenses for Committee members shall be pro-rated according to mileage.

A motion was made and seconded that the Executive Committee shall meet every three months. Ten people voted for it, nine against. The majority was not sufficient to bring about the change.

Part 5 A motion was made, seconded, and passes to eliminate this whole section because of the non-existence.

Parts 6, 7, & 8 remain the same.

Part 9 The wording in the first sentence was changed by the passing of a motion. New groups can affiliate on recommendation of the executive committee and by a two-thirds vote of local CORE groups.

[redacted] A motion was made and seconded to make "allows itself to be identified with any particular political line" a provision under which a CORE group could be suspended. This voted down 11 to 9.

Part 10 The provision for a $5 annual membership fee for each affiliated group was unanimously accepted.

A motion was made and seconded to require each affiliated group to give 10% of their income to National CORE. This was voted down 10 to 11.

It was suggested that each group pay 20% of their income, though there would be no punishment if a group did not pay. Though this is a large percentage, it was believed by some to be possible. The paid worker could inspect and improve money raising methods. Representatives from each group were asked if they though their groups could pay 20%. Very few thought they could.

The idea that we pay 10% was reopened. It was suggested that this be of the net income.

A motion was made to have a fund raising drive with our goal being $1500 so we can have a paid worker. The constitution would remain the same. The marjority of the members felt we could not raise enough money this way.

A motion was made to require each group to pay $25 annual membership fee and 20% of their net income, and that they present a financial statement at the end of each fiscal year. This motion lost 7 to 14.

Another motion was made to have the National Office make special assessments of each affiliated CORE group according to the estimated ability of each group to pay. This motion lost.

A motion was then made, seconded, and passed to leave Part 10 of the constitution as it is.

It was suggested that a person in each CORE group be delegated to work on the workshop as his sole duty. It was decided that this was unconstitutional.

Corelator

It was suggested that we not get the Corelator printed unless we have money to back it up. It was felt that we could get good circulation of the magazine among non CORE members as well as CORE members because of the unique experiences that would be related. The COREIator would summarize our activities and, in each issue the experiences of one group in a particular campaign would be reported in detail.

Approximate cost of printing:

1,000 copies on cheap paper	52.80
better paper	54.30
2,000 copies on cheap paper	64.20
better paper	67.20
1,000 copies on Davidson Duplicator	35.50
Each additional 1,000	6.00

A motion was made to make printing the COREIator have last priority on the National funds. This motion was seconded and passed.

~~Fund Raising:~~

~~Everyone agreed.~~

Report on Employment Project:

We have looked into the possibilities of negotiating with some companies on a national scale. Letters have written to Carnation Milk, A & P, Kroger, Sears & Roebuck, and several dime store chains. They were asked if they discriminated and if they were trying to do anything to change this policy. A letter was received from A & P saying they were extremely interested. We have had an interview with the manager and the local A & P manager. He didn't feel anything could be done since it had not been satisfactory in the past. He expressed sympathy with our viewpoint, but said we were too impatient.

Fund Raising:

Everyone agrees CORE needs more money.
A motion was made that we make greater efforts to

a. Get larger gifts from individuals
b. Encourage local groups to contribute more
c. Send local groups the COREIator with an informal letter making an appeal for money. It was felt that if local groups were brought closer to what is going on nationally in CORE, they would be more willing to contribute.

This motion was seconded and passed.
It was suggested that we check with local groups to be sure that local appeals for money weren't being made at the same time.

It was suggested that local groups be asked to let the national

CORE use their mailing lists. Then we could trade these names to other organizations to get an even larger mailing list with which to appeal for money.

It was suggested that a directory of restaurants that don't discriminate be published and sold to make money.

a. would include anidotes of restaurant experiences
b. instructions on how to proceed when confronted with discrimination
c. we must finance a journey to test restaurants. We could get a a lot of publicity in connection with this journey.
d. name suggested for booklet, "Core on Wheels."
e. Booklet also would describe how CORE has succeeded in some restaurant fights.
f. On the reaction one should have when confronted with discrimination, we could give two sets of rules--one for Civil Rights states and one for states without such a law.

Someone informed the group that a similar book had been put out by NAACP. There was some fear that it would cost most that it would bring in. This plan for raising money was referred to the Executive Committee. A motion to this effect was passed.

It was suggested that we have the Bartlesville fight written up for presentation to the south to encourage organizing.

A motion was made that we stitulate contributions from local groups.by

a. setting a goal (1500 dollars)
b. sending communications to local groups explaining need.
c. set an amount that we expect each group to contribute. If this amount is not agreeable to them, let them set their own amount.

This motion passed.

A motion was made that we get additional mailing lists from local groups and appeal for funds through these lists. The National office is to investigate the possibility of trading lists with other organizations. This motion was seconded and passed.

It was suggested that we sponser a lottery. This met with little approval since it is illegal in some states.

The suggestion came up again to ask local groups to donate 20% of their income. It could be done month by month. Most people still felt the percentage wastoo high. It was felt that we would get better cooperation from local groups if the percentage was lower.

George Houser gave the following budget as an example of what would be needed if we get a paid worker:

office expenses	$500
workshop	3,000
special fund for paid worker	1,500
travel	600
money for Field Representatives	150
labor	300
misc.	300
	$7,350

A major part of this must be raised from the local groups. $352 was all the national office received from local groups last year.

To send appeals to a large mailing list, we would have to hire a lot of office help. It was suggested that a personal contact would be more effective.

A motion was made and seconded that we request local groups to donate 20% of gross income to the national office.
An amendment which would earmark this amount for a paid worker was refused 13 voted for the motion. 5 opposed it.

Other suggestions for raising money:

1. That we have a contest among the groups to see which can raise the most.
2. Try to get our members to make individual contributions--even amounts as small as $2.00. Get more personal and group contributions.

Report of convention finances:

We $87 in travel fund. Four people wanted from $1 to $4 refunded. Some people spent as much as $50 dollars for expenses.
It was suggested that everything we had left in travel fund be turned over to the national office. The idea was expressed that the convention and conference was a very bad place to raise money for the national office because the people attending had already spent money time to get there and some had forfeited pay by taking off from work. There was a motion made that we recommend that those who arrived just for the week-end pay $2 to the travel fund. This carried 12 to 1. There was a suggestion that money left in the travel fund by applied to next year's conference.

Discussion on paid worker

Suggested that a strong recommendation be made to ~~Executive Committee~~ Council that a paid worker be obtained.

Suggested that the office be placed in the constitution and that implimentation of this plan depend on national CORE's financial status.

Suggested that paid person work in a secondary position to Executive Director until the worker becomes qualified. The duties of the paid worker should be worked out by the present Executive Director and the Executive Committee.

A motion was made to have the duties of the paid worker consist of raising funds, organize and integrating groups, ans assisting the Executive Director. The motion lost. It was felt that listing the duties would be like puting a straignt jacket on the worker.

A motion was made and seconded that we recommend that a full time worker be employed. The Executive Committee would be responsible for carrying through on this plan. This motion passed.

A motion was made and seconded that we adopt the constitution as a whole. This passed.

A motion was made that we adopt George Houser's suggestion on the relationship of the Field Representatives to the national office. 8 voted for the motion, 5 against.

Committee's recommendation:

1. That Field Representatives not take part in local groups.
2. That Field Representatives stimulate new organizations

but not participate in local activities, though they might help make policies.

A motion was made to make local groups as autonomous of control of the Field Representatives as they are of control by the national office. Within the group of which he is a member, he would be as any other member of that group. This motion passed with three votes against.

A motion was made that we appoint a committee to write a letter to all Field Representative to explain the position of the national convention. This motion passed. It was suggested that this committee all the correspondence that has passed between the Field Representatie and the national office, that the letter be cleared by the national office, and that the letter be signed by the chairman of the committee

Discussion on having a committee in the area of the national office to ast as advisory committee to Executive Director, though the Executive Director would make the final decisions.

a. This is not very democratic.
b. Such a committee should take action only on very urgent matters. If possible consult with the Executive Committee by mail.

Report of Nominating Committee and Election:

Chairman:
Gerald Bullock (Chicago)
Harriet Lane (Minneapolis) Elected

Vice Chairman:
Marvin Rich (St. Louis) Elected
Gerald Bullock (Chicago)

Secretary:
Ruth Brown (Bartlesville)
Billie Ames (St. Louis) Elected

Executive Director:
George M. Houser Unopposed

Treasurer:
Catherine Raymond Unopposed

Field Representatives:
Nathan Write
Ace Thompson
Manuel Talley
Walley Nelson
Jim Farmer
BAYARD RUSTIN

Advisory Committee: The question of the members in this committee will be left up to the Executive Committee.

Place of next Conference and Convention:

We decided to have it approximately the same time as this year.
A motion was made, seconded, and passed that we start the next convention on Friday evening instead of Saturday morning

Amotion was made, seconded, and passed that we have the next convention in either Missouri or Kansas, if possible.

CORE Dicipline (Con't)

There was a suggestion that we leave part 5 out altogether. There was a motion made that we substitute the word understanding for the word "humility" in section 5. 11 voted for the motion, 7 against.

Financial Report for Conv.

Amt. taken in	$200	(approx.)
food	131	
balance	69	after distributing financial travel help.

A motion was made, seconded, and ~~passed~~ that we give $50 to the camp. It had been donated.. The camp is an interracial one for underprivileged children.

The motion was clarified to read: CORE donates $50 to Neighborhood House for Camp Joy in appreciation for inviting us here this year. This passed.

Niilo Koponen of Yellow Springs, Ohio announced that Wilberforce College in Wilberforce, Ohio is now open to all races and they would like to have more white students enroll. Antioch College, about eight miles from Wilberforce is also trying to become interracial, but they need more Negro students.

A committee was appointed to compose a statement on CORE's relationship to Communism. The statement read as follows:

Whereas: the success of many CORE projects would be jepordized by the alienation of public opinion. Association or participation with renown Communist Party members or organizations would immediately alienate public opinion.
And the Whreras: The principles and practices of facist groups and the Communist Part are incompatable with the statement of purpose of CORE action dicipline of the Congress of Racial Equality
And Whereas: Members of the C.P. Have previously demonstrated contempt for our Statement of Purpose, our control of action and our dicipline;
Be it therefore resolved: That any Fascist group or individual, and the C.P. as an organization, its adherents, or groups so publicly identified with its policies as to bear the name of fronts, shall be neither invited, or uponapplication be accepted, as members of any affiliated group of the Congress of Racial Equality, nor will they be accepted as participants in CORE sponsored action projects.

This resolution shall not be construed to mean that CORE is joining in that popular hue and cry which today is accompanying the witch hunts being conducted by the Thomas Committee or by several committees established in various state legislatures whose unspoken but obvious purpose is the strangulation of freedom of thought and academic and political liberty. We abhor and reject the motives of these as we abhor and reject the racial patterns of the Deep South for they spring from the same source, use the same methods with like purpose.

Dear George,

JUN 27 1949

Just this evening sent off a copy of the minutes I took--to Billie so's she could compile the stuff. But I assume that shexxmay have already sent hers in--so I'll send my carbon to you. Hadn't quite realized how much need there was for speed.

I have recuperated from Camp Joy. We had a wonderful time Sunday in the pool--I almost learned to swim. Really, it was fun doing the whole business, though I did have a few bad moments. Have a successful workshop, and hi to Katy and Jean.

Juanita

MINUTES OF CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION 1949

Gerald Bullock, vice chairman, opened the convention at 10 a.m. by explaining voting procedure. Each affiliated group may have upt to five votes (no absentee or proxy voting) and each executive committee member gets one vote, provided he is not also a delegate.

Eligible voters:

New York--James Robinson, Bob Anderson, Bob Auerbach, Clayton Flowers

City College--Al Ettinger, Frank Heymann, Dick Buegler

Minnesota(Minneapolis)--Betty Farley, Harriet Lane

Chicago --Maria Kendp (Kende), Ace Thompson, Geoggrey Stuart, Mary Bullock, Harold Matschek

St. Louis--Marjorie Tolliver, Billie Ames, Marv Rich, Walt Hayes

Bartlesville--Ruth Brown

Cleveland--Eula Morrow, Tad Tekla

Executive Committee--Gerald Bullock, George Houser, Wally Nelson, Juanita Nelson, Katherine Raymond, Marj Swann, Barbee Durham

The following agenda was outlined:

1. Appointment of committees: publicity, resolutions, nominating
2. Nature of report of conference (?) (Marj too these notes)
3. Executive secretary's report
4. Committee to be appointed on field representatives report
5. Treasurer's report
6. Final report on Journey
7. CORE movie
8. Literature program
9. Summer workshop
10. Employment project
11. Report of field representative committee
12. Constitution
    Policy on admitting new groups
13. Raising money for national CORE projects
14. Printing CORElator
15. CORE action discipline
16. Report of resolutions committee
    Conference action proposals
17. Election of officers, appointment of national executive committee
18. Advisory committee
19. Next year's convention

Committees Appointed:

Publicity: Billie Ames, Wally Nelson

Resolutions: Walter Hays, Tad Tekla, Marj Swann

Nominating: Marjorie Tolliver, Marv Rich, Jimmy Robinson, Ace Thompson, Catherine Raymond

Questions: Do we want summaries or detailed reports? Some New York members asked for details on resolutions, those passed, those defeated , votes. Tad described last year's plan of immediate publicity report to all CORE members. It was prepared but not sent out because of Los Angeles Workshop-- reports on conference sessions were never written up, but they are still pending.

It was moved that we write a summary of the conference, including resolutions proposed, and indicating the vote. Added to the motion was the suggestion of the executive secretary that such a summary be sent only to officers. CARRIED.

III. Executive Secretary's Report

In addition to the mimeographed report, George added an item that Professor Gelhorn of Columbia University has indicated that his law students are willing to do research work for CORE on legal problems. He also (George) reported that the American Jewish Congress seems desirous of collaborating with CORE on some points. Response to the national membership cards was lukewarm; it was therefore decided to drop the matter. Dining car project was postponed. The civil disobedience campaign spearheaded by A. Phillip Randolph, which CORE voted to support, was abandoned because of a split in the leadership.

It was moved that we accept the report of the executive secretary. CARRIED

IV. A committee was appointed to study the relationship between the national office and field representatives: Marj Swann, Gerald Bullock, Juanita Nelson, Clayton Flowers, Harriet Lane.

V. It was moved that the treasurer's report be approved as read. CARRIED

VI. Journey of Reconciliation
George reported that at last the journey has ended. The Virginia cases were dropped. Only cases lost were the four in Chapel Hill. Bayard's report has been mimeographed, but not for publicity. A shorter report on the experiences of the two in the "white" chain gang is forthcoming.

It was moved that it be made a certainty that CORE is mentioned as co-sponsor of the Journey in the printed report of Bayard's experiences, and that further Bayard be urged to work more closely with CORE in matters in which the group is concerned. CARRIED (10-14)

VII. MOVIE
Outline of the movie scenario is now in the hands of the motion picture department of UCLA

VIII. Literature
George reported that the literature now on hand is not adequate, that we need new material and more of what we have. New literature: mimeographed pieces on "Non-Violence vs. Racism", Brief History of Core, "The Socio-Drama" George expressed a need for a piece on restaurant techniques, which is now in the thorough outline stage . A conference committee is at work on CORE's unique contribution in the field of human relations.
George reported that a letter had been written to several historians on doing a study of non-violence in the Negro's struggle for freedom. Jim Robinson suggested literature concerning background and history of techniques: Al Bolinger's article, Shridharani's "War Without Violence", or excerpts.

MINUTES OF CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Gerald Bullock, vice chairman, opened the convention at 10 a.m. by explaining voting procedure. Each affiliated group may have upt to five votes (no absentee or proxy voting) and each executive committee member gets one vote, provided he is not also a delegate.

Eligible voters:

New York--James Robinson, Bob Anderson, Bob Auerbach, Clayton Flowers

City College--Al Ettinger, Frank Heymann, Dick Buegler

Minnesota(Minneapolis)--Betty Farley, Harriet Lane

Chicago --Maria Kendp (Kende), Ace Thompson, Geoggrey Stuart, Mary Bullock, Harold Matschek

St. Louis--Marjorie Tolliver, Billie Ames, Marv Rich, Walt Hayes, Vernell Fuller.

Bartlesville--Ruth Brown

Cleveland--Eula Morrow, Tad Tekla

Executive Committee--Gerald Bullock, George Houser, Wally Nelson, Juanita Nelson, Katherine Raymond, Marj Swann, Barbee Durham

The following agenda was outlined:

1. Appointment of committees: publicity, resolutions, nominating
2. Nature of report of conference (?) (Marj too these notes)
3. Executive secretary's report
4. Committee to be appointed on field representatives report
5. Treasurer's report
6. Final report on Journey
7. CORE movie
8. Literature program
9. Summer workshop
10. Employment project
11. Report of field representative committee
12. Constitution
    Policy on admitting new groups
13. Rasing money for national CORE projects
14. Printing COREIator
15. CORE action discipline
16. Report of resolutions committee
    Conference action proposals
17. Election of officers, appointment of national executive committee
18. Advisory committee
19. Next year's convention

Committees Appointed:

Publicity: Billie Ames, Wally Nelson

Resolutions: Walter Hays, Tad Tekla, Marj Swann

Nominating: Marjorie Tolliver, Marv Rich, Jimmy Robinson, Ace Thompson, Catherine Raymond

Question: Do we want summaries or detailed reports? Some New York members asked for details on resolutions, those passed, those defeated , votes. Tad described last year's plan of immediate publicity report to all CORE members. It was prepared but not sent out because of Los Angeles Workshop--reports on conference sessions were never written up, but they are still pending.

It was moved that we write a summary of the conference, including resolutions proposed, and indicating the vote. Added to the motion was the suggestion of the executive secretary that such a summary be sent only to officers. CARRIED.

III. Executive Secretary's Report

In addition to the mimeographed report, George added an item that Professor Gelhorn of Columbia University has indicated that his law students are willing to do research work for CORE on legal problems. He also (George) reported that the American Jewish Congress seems desirous of collaborating with CORE on some points. Response to the national membership cards was lukewarm; it was therefore decided to drop the matter. Dining car project was postponed. The civil disobedience campaign spearheaded by A. Phillip Randolph, which CORE voted to support, was abandoned because of a split in the leadership.

It was moved that we accept the report of the executive secretary. CARRIED

IV. A committee was appointed to study the relationship between the national office and field representatives: Marj Swann, Gerald Bullock, Juanita Nelson, Clayton Flowers, Harriet Lane.

V. It was moved that the treasurer's report be approved as read. CARRIED

VI. Journey of Reconciliation
George reported that at last the journey has ended. The Virginia cases were dropped. Only cases lost were the four in Chapel Hill. Bayard's report has been mimeographed, but not for publicity. A shorter report on the experiences of the two in the "white" chain gang is forthcoming.

It was moved that it be made a certainty that CORE is mentioned as co-sponsor of the Journey in the printed report of Bayard's experiences, and that further Bayard be urged to work more closely with CORE in matters in which the group is concerned. CARRIED (10-14)

VII. MOVIE
Outline of the movie scenario is now in the hands of the motion picture department of UCLA

VIII. Literature

George reported that the literature now on hand is not adequate, that we need new material and more of what we have. New literature: mimeographed pieces on "Non-Violence vs. Racism", Brief History of Core, "The Socio-Drama" George expressed a need for a piece on restaurant techniques, which is now in the thorough outline stage . A conference committee is at work on CORE's unique contribution in the field of human relations.
George reported that a letter had been written to several historians on doing a study of non-violence in the Negro's struggle for freedom. Jim Robinson suggested literature concerning background and history of techniques: Al Ettinger's article, Shridharani's "War Without Violence", or excerpts.

[1949].

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . ANNA HOLDEN . . . .

Wed. Aug. 17th

Re minutes:

(1) I did not get copies of the resolutions passed at the luncheon session Sat. Left blanks in minutes to be filled in.

(2) I included some discussion on deceased Holt's reputation, but maybe this should be left out of copy to be circulated among membership.

(3) notes taken after I left were pretty scrappy but I did the best I could with them. not at all sure of content of section I have called "Recommendations for future Action"

(4) I did not make a typed tally of attendance - the rough

tally is ~~II~~ enclosed - Not complete for Sunday, I see.

(5) Name of Fidelity Bank ~~should be~~ completed

Sorry so late - We are getting ready for litigation with beach.

Sincerely,
Anna H.

(6) Note question marks throughout

JUN 23 1949

George and Katie:

Just so you're reassured that I'm on the ball, I'm sending the resolutions which I've gotten typed up. I'll send tomorrow or the next day the report of the organizations problems section of the Conference, and the report of the Committee on the field representatives. Do you want what notes I got on Friday evening's panel? I got all the three presentations, and some of the discussion, but got lost somewhere in one of Ettinger's pronouncements and never picked it up again. Let me know about this.

It was wonderful to see you both for such a long period of time (comparatively speaking) and to see and meet everyone else. I'll never miss another conference or convention—they're such fun!

Love,

Mary

George - How many people did you count at the meeting Sun. night?

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT NATIONAL CORE CONVENTION - JUNE 18-19, 1949

1.

RESOLVED

that this Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality urge the American Bowling Congress to change its rules which restrict participation to male members of the Caucasian race so that the rules and practices of the American Bowling Congress conform to American democratic concepts.

2.

RESOLVED

that the Congress of Racial Equality strongly supports Senate Bill S852 on Interstate Travel, and that Senator Warren Magnuson, who introduced the bill, and the proper Senate committee benotified of CORE's support of this bill.

3.

RESOLVED

that the Congress of Racial Equality strongly supports Senate Bill 1725 and House Bill 4682, providing for the setting up of a national Commission on Civil Rights, and that the proper committees in the Senate and the House of Representatives be informed of CORE's support.

4.

RESOLVED

that this Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality communicate to the United States Department of State its concern about Mr. Ralph Bunche's refusal to serve as Assistant Secretary of State because of discrimination and segregation in the city of Washington, D.C., the nation's capital.

5.

RESOLVED

that letters be sent to the students and faculty of the Duke University Divinity School, to the University of Arkansas [and to others] commending these institutions for their steps toward removing discrimination in admittance and integration of Negroes to said institutions.

6.

RESOLVED

that the Congress of Racial Equality urge all fraternities and sororities to remove discriminatory clauses from their constitutions and eliminate discriminatory practices in their admission of members; and

CORE Resolutions (continued)

that chapters and/or national organizations of fraternities and sororities which have already taken such steps be commended for their action.

7.

RESOLVED

that the Congress of Racial Equality congratulates and encourages the Bartlesville, Oklahoma CORE group for its pioneer work in the use of non-violent direct action in eliminating discrimination and segregation in the South.

8.

RESOLVED

that the national office of the Federal Housing Authority be commended on its recent action taking steps to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race in the insuring of loans for building and purchasing homes.

9.

RESOLVED

that [redacted] the Congress of Racial Equality do everything possible to help organize student conferences for the purpose of promoting democratic practices in institutions of higher learning.

10.

RESOLVED

that local CORE groups, for the purposes of surveying the effectiveness of their local organizational structures and of providing information to the national office, be requested to fill out the questionnaire prepared by the organization problems section of the National Conference.

11.

RESOLVED

that this Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality commends the St. Louis Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on its vigorous support of the case of Marjorie Toliver to end segregation in the St. Louis school system.

12.

It has been the policy of CORE to fight by means of non-violent direct action the vicious and undemocratic practice of segregation wherever it appears.

CORE Resolutions (continued)

The St. Louis CORE has been carrying on a campaign to open the dining facilities of the Stix, Baer & Fuller department store to all. This store, at present, accepts the money of Negroes in most departments of the store; it does not allow Negroes to use its restaurant. The efforts of the St. Louis CORE to change this inconsistent and harmful situation have been constructive and imaginative. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED

that the Congress of Racial Equality commends and encourages the St. Louis CORE on its campaign to eliminate discrimination in the Stix, Baer, & Fuller department store restaurant in St. Louis.

13.

WHEREAS

The Congress of Racial Equality, a national organization, is unequivocally opposed to racial segregation and discrimination;

WHEREAS

We (CORE) have committed ourselves to act towards the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination wherever found in the United States;

WHEREAS

The institution of segregation and discrimination in the Southern states is beginning to crumble under the attack of various liberal groups exclusive of CORE;

WHEREAS

We (CORE) believe that the time is ripe for the penetration of the South by CORE groups, and inasmuch as the above situation is a distinct challenge to CORE; therefore be it

RESOLVED

That immediate action be taken towards the setting up of CORE groups in key locations in the South. Be it also

RESOLVED

That the national office of CORE be invested, by this Convention, with the power to enact, or take such steps as the national office deems feasible, towards the carrying out of this resolution.

14.

WHEREAS

it seems apparent that the civil liberties of the six men convicted in the case of New Jersey vs. Cooper et al (otherwise known as the Case of the Trenton Six) have been violated in the arrest, questioning, indictment, and conviction of these men; and

WHEREAS

the press and radio in the United States appear to have neglected to inform the public about all the aspects of this newsworthy case; therefore be it

CORE Resolutions (continued)

RESOLVED

that the Congress of Racial Equality supports the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the American Civil Liberties Union in their part in the defense of the "Trenton Six", and that the newspapers and the governor of the state of New Jersey be notified of CORE's said support (with copies to the two above-named organizations); and

RESOLVED

that this Convention urges all CORE members to call the attention of their local newspapers and radio stations to the "Case of the Trenton Six."

15.

RESOLVED

that this Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality convey its thanks and appreciation to the management of Camp Joy for allowing us to use all of the facilities of Camp Joy for the National Conference and Convention; and that ~~xx~~ this Convention contribute the sum of $ 50 to Camp Joy, to be used in whatever manner the management of the Camp wishes.

16.

RESOLVED

that this Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality convey its thanks and appreciation to Wallace and Juanita Nelson for their excellent work in ~~xxxxxxxx~~ making and carrying through arrangements for the National Conference and Convention.

Treas Rep. 1944.

on hand J. 1 1948 467.03.

Income

Ind.	~~35~~ 501.25
group	352.86
h.t.	100.20
Conf. 1948	426.74
Wkshp. 48	162.15
Wkshp 49	156.00
movie	40.00
Journey	346.48
miscellaneous	5.00.
	2,090.68.

Expenses

office	452.10
Wkshp. 1948	241.08
Conference 48	350.74
help office	289.00
(160.00-h.t.) printing	186.24
travel	526.18
Journey	144.73
h.t.	35.00
incorporation	25.00
W/coast off	30.00.
Exec. Comm. mtng	
plate	10.00
service	32.97
	2,122.97.

groups:

Bartlesville	70.00
Boston	80.00
city College	5.00
Cleveland	12.50
Columbia	5.00
L.A. -	50.00
N.Y.	14.00
St. Louis.	5.00
U of C -	24.56
-Wisch.	10.25
	276.31

Groups not cents:
Chicago
Cincinnati
Denver
Lawrence
Minn.

Other:
S.F - 5.00
Peoria 21.00
Detroit 50.55

CORE meeting September 20th 1949

Present: Jim Robinson, Jim Peck, Jim Farmer, George Houser, Catharine Raymond

Manuel Talley: Background of his relationship to national office presented. Question raised of dropping him. Farmer asked how much influence he carries. Peck thought not much as his groups are very small. Farmer suggested I write to him and ask him whether he accepts position of field representative. George thought Harriett ought to write. Question discussed of what it would mean if he should be dropped. Would he pull out? What would he take with him? Would he continue to work in the name of CORE? He does not have much following in the other groups outside of California. George thinks he should be dropped if he does not specifically say he accepts the position and the conditions laid down at the convention. Harriett to be asked to write. Will suggest what to write.

Name of this committee: Called advisory action committee in the convention minutes. To be called action committee. Minutes to go to Council members.

Finances: We have now 481.64 in the bank. Jimmie suggested that in the summer we could possibly get printing done cheaper. Council meeting expenses will be heavier. Write to groups asking what they would do (suggestion by Peck). Give background on reason for change in organizational structure; present financial problem; say important to have a good representation. We don't want to put out more than 150. for the meeting from national treasury. Suggest dates in the letter: November 5th and 6th.

CORElator: Have enough material in office for an issue. Have written to groups aksing for list of their members. Maybe the first issue printed. In

a shop it would cost at least 55. On the Davidson (no union label except perhaps mine) it would be 35. Could have it photo-offset, with pictures. Write to COURIER in Washington for picture of stand-up, or cut.

Parttime office help: Need help but will wait a couple of weeks.

Fulltime worker: We have no money now. Jimmie thinks that some time we must make an attempt even at the risk of losing all our money. At the beginning a worker would have to spend most of his time raising money. Might get lists and financial suggestions (people to contribute) from Advisory Committee members.

Field representatives: Have written to A. C. Thompson about getting in touch with some people in Decatur -- names from Billie Ames. Letter from Louisville saying interested in affiliating — Wally Nelson could possibly go there. Wrote to Nathan Wright asking about towns or cities in New England where CORE groups could get started.

Advisory Committee: Do nothing until Council meets.

Workshops: Had an excellent Workshop this year. Feel that should have one in Washington every summer. George may not be able to take it on next year. In that case we would have to find a director. Should we have another place, such as St. Louis, in addition to Washington? Yes, if possible. For director: Bernice, Homer, Al Ettinger, Nathan Wright.

Action projects: Discussion of George's plan for a year-round project. Not received with unmitigated enthusiasm, though agreed that theoretically it sounded nice.

Minutes of CORE Action Committee. September 20, 1949.

Present: Jim Farmer, Jim Peck, Jim Robinson, George Houser, Catharine Raymond.
Unable to be present: Al Ettinger, Clayton Flowers, Tom Sullivan, Bayard Rustin.

Name and purpose of the Committee: George Houser gave a brief statement on the purpose of this Committee. According to the decision of the June, 1949, convention, the executive director was given the right of choosing a committee to work in an advisory capacity with him, to discuss matters that demanded immediate attention of a non-policy character. The Committee in effect will be advisory to the executive director, but since we already have an Advisory Committee it was decided to call this committee an Action Committee.

West Coast field representative: George Houser reported that no word has yet come from Manuel Talley as to whether he has accepted the position of field representative. Inasmuch as new stationery must be printed immediately with the names of officers included, the question was raised as to what we should do about hearing from Manuel. The Committee asked that Harriett Lane write to Manuel asking him if he accepted the position of field representative.

Finances: Catharine Raymond reported that we now have $481.64 in the bank. This is about the same amount that we had on hand at the time of the convention, but of course there was some expenditure in connection with the summer Workshop. We took in enough through the Workshop and other sources to make up what was spent. The drain upon our resources will be considerable the next few weeks since we have to order some additional leaflets and stationery. Also travel expenses will be much greater this year than last in all likelihood. The Committee spent some time discussing the problem of how we could have good representation from our affiliated groups at the Council meeting, probably to be held early in November, when the travel expense item will be so great. Our constitution does not state how the expenses of Council members will be covered except that the money that is available will be disbursed on a prorata basis, depending on the travel distance a member must cover. With potentially five representatives coming from the West Coast, for instance, we are faced with a serious problem, since round trip coach fare will be over ninety dollars each from there.

It was suggested that since our financial balance is as low as it is, no more than $150 be spent for travel to the first Council meeting. It was further suggested that George write to the groups putting the problem before them so that they would have the facts and perhaps could find ways and means of helping their own Council members to get to the meeting. This letter to the groups should also remind them that a motion passed at our convention suggested that our groups give twenty percent of their income to the national office.

CORElator: Copy for the first fall issue of the CORElator is practically ready for final write-up. Quite a few of the groups have not responded with any news. Jim Peck has prepared the copy. The Committee agreed that if possible the CORElator should be printed. There would be an added incentive for groups to send in news if they knew it would appear in printed form, and also individuals might write articles. A printed CORElator would include pictures of CORE activities.

Workshop: George reported that the Workshop in Washington this year had been quite successful. Next year if possible it was thought it would be good to have another one in Washington and perhaps one in St. Louis. The problem again will be

who will be the director. The search for possible directors should begin immediately and the St. Louis group should be approached to see if they think a Workshop would be beneficial to them.

Miscellaneous: It was reported that part time office help is needed for the national office, but that nothing would be done about this for the next few weeks until we see how the present load can be carried by George and Catharine.

There was a brief discussion of the convention agreement that a full time employee was needed as soon as he or she could be financially carried. Obviously nothing can be done toward getting a full time employee now. We will have to raise considerable money. It is hoped that the affiliated groups will send in their membership lists to receive the CORElator and that later this expanded list might be tapped for contributions after consultation with local groups.

George reported that he has been in touch with the field representatives about various groups they might visit — A. C. Thompson about a group in Decatur, Illinois, Wally Nelson about visiting a group in Louisville, Kentucky, that wants to affiliate with national CORE, Nathan Wright about visiting some communities in New England.

It was decided to do nothing about asking new persons to join our Advisory Committee until the Council meeting.

There was brief discussion of a plan for a full year-round Workshop. It will be impossible to act further on this plan until it is drawn up in detailed form and a scheme for financing it is worked out.

KRC

CORE Action Committee. November 16, 1949.

Present: Jim Farmer, Jim Robinson, Jim Peck, Clayton Flowers, Tom Sullivan, George Houser, Catharine Raymond. Visitor: Paula Peck.

Summary of minutes of last meeting. (Send affiliation blank to Flowers)

CORElator: Suggested that New York CORE people be asked to supply lists of names. Reaction to CORElator good. Jimmie will ask at his place about cost of getting CORElator printed there. Reported that one person had written in suggesting a brief discussion of nonviolence in each issue. Most people at committee meeting thought this not necessary, but that a brief statement could sometimes be made if there was room.

New campaign described. Jim Peck thought there was not enough emphasis on the fact that this is a new and effective approach; also that there should be more of an emphasis on organization of groups to carry it out. Bayard had suggested that areas be filled in by the person signing in which he would take action, and that most of the last points be put in only as suggestions. Flowers thought policies in the South would not be changed by this campaign and therefore it was a waste of time to try to push it. George said this was one way of reaching white students, who have a bad conscience about segregation, and that Negroes would feel they now have some allies. CR said that it was a way to bring the problem before white ~~students~~ people, who too often have no realization of it because it is too easy to forget. Clayton suggested Intercollegiate Council. Jimmie thought some other groups besides CORE should sponsor it but that the action was not strong enough for CORE, or rather that individuals can not do what a group can do; he thought that CORE's emphasis should be on changing policies. Peck mentioned the national publicity that can come from it. Somewhat extraneous discussion of difficulties of work in the South. Question raised about reaction of Conference of Christians and Jews, Race Relations Department of the

Federal Council, Charles S. Johnson, and the American Missionary Association. Farmer suggested Clarence A. Peters at the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Mrs. M. E. Tilley. Dan Beittel. George said he would have to take it up with the FOR staff. Need big names to push it. C. E. Boulware (I have addressed an envelope to him.). Thought that it was too late this year to do as much as we hope to do next. Still, have many contacts around the country, can get good people to sign, can get some publicity in newspapers and magazines. George would like to get a committee to sponsor it in its own name (did I interpret you correctly?). Flowers still worried about no results in terms of change of policy.

Peck's new article on swimming pools. To be in the next CRISIS. Should be reprinted? Jimmie suggested photo-offset. Business Letters did his other article.

Announced that Don Coan is coming up Friday to see Elson in regard to the policy of the Trans Lux in Washington. George is going to accompany him, and Jim Farmer said he also could go. Action at theater in Washington described. Announced that Washington Interracial Workshop has voted to affiliate.

Status of movie described.

Advisory Committee: Bucklin Moon suggested by Farmer. Jimmie suggested Bishop Shiel. MacIver. Don Harrington. New York CORE is sending a list of three suggestions to the Council meeting.

Announcment (sans name or place) of play in which Ida Fox is currently interested.

GRC

CORE Action Committee. January 11 1950

Present: Houser, Peck, Farmer, Robinson, Raymond

Reported that Harriett had written to Manuel about as the Action Committee had recommended. Also that we had heard from Manuel in a different tone than formerly.

On disaffiliation, reported that Columbus and Denver protested being dropped. Agreed that they should be retained at least until Council or convention meeting.

George has written to a number of attorneys on the Valle case. Some are looking up material.

Write to groups immediately and ask if they have any objections to the names they sent us receiving a finance appeal letter within the next three weeks. Finance letter discussed. Brotherhood Month stuff to go out in next day or so. Who should sign the finance letter? Peck and Jimmie thought A. Philip Randolph. Dewey also suggested. Will be Randolph. Jimmie suggested first mailing to go out on January 28th. Jimmie will try to get some people from the New York CORE to come in that day; George will try to get a couple more. Discussion of Tad's letter. Decided we can not make policy decision on this. Jimmie suggests trading names. Thinks we can get part if not all of WRL list, depending on who attends their next executive committee meeting. Agreed that on giving out names to other organizations we need a policy.

GRC

Action Committee, March 5 1950

Present: Houser, Farmer, Robinson, Flowers, Raymond

Discussion of sending out minutes of Action Committee meetins to the Council members. Agreed that they should go out if at all possible.

Advisory Committee: George Weaver can not accept. Suggested that we wait until the Council meeting to ask Johnson.

Brotherhood Pledge Campaing: Responses extremely good. Some thought one month not enough. One person in Baltimore wrote a screwy letter. Action of Mabel Downs in Portland described. Felt that next year much could be done with this idea. George would like to have a Southern address, such as a college group.

Workshops: George visited St. Louis and thinks the possibilities are good there. Ho Hotel for living OK. Problem of director: Joe Ames can give three weeks to help. Suggested that the Nelsons could do it if a financial arrangement could be make. Also Ab Watson of the Midwest FOR could do it. Jimmie feels that Wally is not a good organizer. Flowers feels that Ab is not a CORE member and does not know about Workshops. Ettinger mentioned. I object to him because he does not believe in non-violen e as a principle. Discussion of what makes a good director. Organizational picture in St. Louis. CORE group very good, others not doing much. Homer Jack mentioned for Washington, may be interested. Problems in conn ction with Work-shops: raising money, recruiting, directors. Agreed that Homer would be good. Nelsons might work out, although some question. Some question about Ab, might work out with the help of the St. Louis group. Ask Council for suggestions for directors.

Convention: St. Louis camp not avaialble for interracial group. One place available but not good. Felt that Camp Joy would do. One letter has already gone out on it.

Flowers suggests Minneapolis; George agrees to write to Harriett. Lake Geneva suggested. Will write to Chicago for suggest ions. St. Louis group considering ideas for what we ought to discuss. Has been thought that work should be planned for the South, with maybe some people from the South. This would ~~work~~ of course be for the Conference. George would like to see an analysis made of the strengths and weaknesses of CORE as an organization. Jimmie feels that the locals are a great deal more important than the national, and that such projcts as the J of R do not build up locals. Question discussed as to why we do not get more members and money. Brought up that we don't have very stable membership, that our people do not have much prestige, that we demand a great dea of people. Our program at present can not meet the situation in the South. Farmer thinks that we need a mass movement to get anywehre in the South. George thinks that foting is the issue to start with in the South. George mentioned also field of segregation in higeher education. Possibly something in the church.

Groups: Mentioned that a number of groups are having trouble.

Finances: Next CORElator should be ready later this month. Mailing lists discussed. Everybody satisfied that we don't discard names that come into the office. We have a few more lists to use. What enclosure to use for the next mailing discussed. Could be George's FELLOWSHI article. Could be the new CORElator. Main appeal in the letter will be WSs. Jimmie will word the letter

JRe

Action Committee, March 31, 1950

Present: Peck, Farmer, Robinson, Flowers, Houser, Raymond.

Place of convention: Three places available — Chicago, Cincinnati, Minneapolis. Vote of groups favors Chicago slightly. Agreed to take Chicago unless a late vote by Monday should change this.

Conference called by American Jewish Congress, NAACP, etc., on civil rights laws in the north. Decided to do nothing about this.

Talley: His report discussed. George mentioned that some Western groups are supporting him financially rather than the national office.

Conference: Bartlesville situation discussed. GMH mentioned that Judge Waring is willing to help in the South. Tentative program for the conference discussed. Flowers mentioned the following as being from the South, sympathetic, and possibly willing to attend: Rev Grodon B Hancock, Virginia Union; Prof John M Moore, Virginia State; Robt Johnson, Virginia Union. GMH mentioned having started to make a list of Southerners. Will ~~will~~ write to Frank McAllister. Ben Segal and Dave Burgess metnioned. Gene Stanley. Possible leaders for discussion of first day — get representatives of the more active groups. Nonviolence could be discussed on Friday.

1954 CONVENTION--CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Delegates BALTIMORE: Herb Kellman CHICAGO:(opening sessions: Gerald Bullock, Mary Bullock, delegates; Joffre Stewart, alternate; Hugh Campbell, observer) Redesignation, Saturday evening and Sunday morning sessions: Fred Fields, Kay Myers, Jerry Richards, Joffre Stewart, Marjorie Swann, delegates; Gerald Bullock, Mary Bullock, alternates; Hugh Campbell, observer. CINCINNATI: Juanita Nelson EVANSTON: Virginia Nolan, James Stewart NEW YORK: Lionel Callender, Raymond Johnson, Willis Jones, James Robinson and Ina Sugihara ST. LOUIS: Billie Ames, Clothilde Burns, Elnora Davis, Charles Oldham and Marion Oldham WASHINGTON, D.C.: Robert Auerbach, Neil Hayworth, Lynn Kirk and Robert Kirk FIELD REPRESENTATIVES: James Farmer, Walter Hayes, Wallace Nelson.

The convention was called to order by Lillian Palenius, Chairman. Delegates, national officers and field representatives were recognized as above. Minutes of the spring Council meeting were adopted without reading. Committees were appointed by the chairman as follows: NOMINATING COMMITTEE: Neil Hayworth, James Stewart and Clothilde Burns FIELD REPRESENTATIVES: Bob Kirk, Herb Hellman and Billie Ames RESOLUTIONS: Lynn Kirk, Walter Hayes and Lula Farmer FINANCE AND TRAVEL POOL: Charles Oldham, Alethea Weathers, James Robinson and Catharine Raymond PUBLICITY: Ina Sugihara, Virginia Nolan, Bob Auerbach and Juanita Nelson.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: In the absence of George Houser, the report of the executive director was presented by Catharine Raymond (A copy of ehich has been made part of these minutes).

COMMUNICATIONS RECEIVED: Announcement that the Yale Law Journal for July would contain an article on anti-trust legislation and its effect on racial segregation in housing. Raymond Johnson moved, James Farmer seconded that two copies be purchased for use of the national office. Passed.

Release from NAACP from Walter White citing Ralph Bunche as symbol of Americanism and condemning recent attack upon him.

Invitation to participate in a Young Adult Study Symposium on Segregation and Discrimination, especially in relation to Supreme Court decision on education, under auspices of the Natl. Social Welfare Assembly, New York City, Nov. 6 and 7. Herb Kellman moved, Clothilde Burns seconded: that New York CORE cover meeting on behalf of national CORE. Passed by voice vote.

Brief of particulars from a Dan J. Byrd, charging discrimination as grounds for separation from the armed forces. Byrd is to be referred to the ACLU and/or the NAACP by the chairman.

TREASURER'S REPORT Catharine Raymond presented the treasurer's report, and noted several corrections to be made on the distributed copies. Raymond Johnson moved, Bob Kirk seconded: that the treasurer 's report be accepted as corrected. (A corrected copy has been made part of these minutes.)

PRESENTATION OF THE BUDGET FOR 1954-55: Catharine Raymond presented the proposed budget for 1954-55. It was corrected as follows:

James Farmer moved, Walter Hayes seconded: that the reserve fund be reduced by $200 and that $200 be allocated for field work. Herb Kellman amended, mover and seconder accepting: that the item for office expenses be reduced by $100, and that this amount be added to the field work allocation. Passed by voice vote.

Catharine Raymond moved, Neil Hayworth seconded: that the expense item for the 1954 Workshop be increased from $700 to $1,200 and that the corresponding income item be increased from $500 to $1,000. Passed by voice vote. It is understood that all income received by the Workshop is to be accounted for in the national financial records.

Lula Farmer moved, Clothilde Burns seconded: that the financial secretary be imbursed at the rate of $1.35 per hour and the group coordinator at the rate of $1.25 per hour. Passed by voice vote.

Lula Farmer moved, Herb Kellman seconded: that adoption of the budget be tabled. Passed by voice vote.

Lula Farmer moved, Bob Auerbach seconded: that the item designated as "Salaries" be changed to "Fees for Services." Passed by voice vote.

Catharine Raymond recommended that Walter Hayes and James Farmer participate in the discussion of the Committee on Field Reps.

REPORTS FROM THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEES:

WORKSHOP COMMITTEE: James Robinson moved adoption of the following Conference resolution on Workshops: that CORE sponsor future Workshops and that other organizations be invited to cooperate; that the FOR be one of the cooperating organizations. Passed.

Bill Jones moved acceptance of the resolution: that, although 10 be the desired minimum of particpants in a Workshop, that eight be an absolute minimum.

Neil Hayworth amended to read:...subject to revision by the director with consultation of the national office.

James Robinson amended the amendment, Lule Farmer seconded: that final decision rest with the group coordinator. NOT ACCEPTED.

It was moved and seconded to withdraw the original motion: In favor 10; opposed, 10. Chair cast deciding vote against.

Catharine Raymond moved substitute motion: that 8 be recommended and not a binding minimal number, and that the decision to cancel a Workshop be subject to joint consultation of the director and the national office. Passed: In favor, 16; opposed, 4.

Clothilde Burns moved adoption of the Conference resolution: that a special piece of literature be prepared as a promotional and educational item to use in connection with the Workshop. Passed by voice vote.

Responsibility of preparing piece left to discussion on literature.

James Robinson moved adoption of the Conference resolution: that Kansas City be considered as first choice for the 1955 Workshop, Baltimore second.

Joffre Stewart amended, Bob Auerbach seconded: that the following be added in order of pereference--Wilmington, Trumbull Park in Chicago, Cicero (Ill.) and Washington, D.C. Amendment defeated.

Original motion passed by voice vote.

Catharine Raymond moved, James Farmer seconded: that the committee on the 1955 Workshop be empowered to select another place if neither of the two recommended places are feasible. Passed.

Wally Nelson urged that some other person be urged to take over the directorship of the Workshop in view of the valuable experience such responsibility offers.

LITERATURE COMMITTEE: New promotional flyer: Ina Sugihara moved adoption of the Conference resolution: that a new promotional leaflet be prepared; that the word "discipline" be deleted therefrom ; and that the phrases "no religious or political connections" and "supported by voluntary contributions" be included. Motion passed by voice vote.

The Conference also recommended that the use of cartoons be considered. James Robinson accepted responsibility for the initial draft to be approved by Billie Ames.

CORE WAY; Conference discussion had indicated that a new job, not a revision was needed. Catharine Raymond suggested that CORE WAY be rewritten as an article for a magazine since in this way reprints would be available. The chairman appointed Catharine Raymond and Clothilde Burns as a subcommittee to investigate available writers; final decision to be left to Lynn Kirk and the group coordinator. Ina Sugihara was recommended to the subcommittee. Juanita Nelson also recommended Ann Morrissett.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE: Some discussion was held on the advisibility of continuing this flyer. James Robinson indicated that it served an important function for some groups; e.g., in New York CORE it is a part of the Constitution.

James Robinson moved, Gerry Bullock seconded: that the new proposed THIS IS CORE (Replacing WHAT IS CORE?) be combined with the STATEMENT OF PURPOSE and should include a blank for signature.

Lionel Callender submitted substitute motion, Catharine Raymond seconded: that the STATEMENT OF PURPOSE be maintained in its present form but mimeographed. After discussion the motion was withdrawn.

The original motion was passed by voice vote.

THIS IS CORE: Bob Kirk moved acdeptance of the Conference resolution that the name WHAT IS CORE? be changed to THIS IS CORE; that it be rewritten, not as to general content, but that it be shortened,

brought up-to-date; that references, e.g., to the Detroit race riot and associate members be deleted; and that no reference be made to politcal action on the part of national CORE. The resolution was amended: that the names of the advisory committee only be listed, not the officers or groups. Resolution as amended passed by voice vote.

Iula Farmer moved, Clothilde Burns seconded: that THIS IS CORE (with the STATEMENT OF PURPOSE enclosed as moved previously) be rewritten by Lynn Kirk, forwarded to Charles Oldham for his review and then sent to Billie Ames for final approval. Passed by voice vote.

SUMMER WORKSHOPS: (Motion authorizing literature promotional piece on Workshops approved previously. See Workshop discussion.)

The possibility of planting a Workshop article in a magazine was discussed; Jim Farmer suggested that THE REPORTER might be interested in an article of this type.

Bob Kirk moved, Jim Farmer seconded: that Wally and Juanita Nelson be responsible for the preparation, utilizing other assistance as needed, final approval of article, flyer etc. in joint agreement with the group coordinator. Passed by voice vote.

Alethea Weathers took over chairing of the meeting.

FINANCE COMMITTEE'S REPORT: The committee recommended that the use of appeal letters to our own group and to other organizations be continued. No "Sponsor CORE" campaign is planned for the coming year.

The committee presented the following resolution: that the fall Council be authorized to change the constitution to conform with the requirements of tax exemption, and that all national material be turned over to Charles Oldham for his review in connection with his efforts to secure such status.

The committee recommended 1. that all CORE groups establish accounting systems, indicating the receipt and disbursal of funds; 2. that the fiscal years of the local groups coincide with the fiscal year of national CORE; 3. that all CORE groups be referred to the Organizational Manual for assistance with financing; 4. that an exchange of ideas re fund-raising be established.

Charles Oldham moved, Lillian Palenius seconded: that Charles Oldham submit recommendations for constitutional changes as needed to conform with tax exemption requirements to the fall Council for its consideration; if passed by the Council, such changes to be sent to the local groups for their approval in accordance with the constitution. Passed by voice vote.

Lynn Kirk recommended that such recommended constitutional changes be submitted to the groups prior to the fall Council meeting. Charles Oldham agreed to do so.

Charles Oldham moved, Clothilde Burns seconded: that the financial secretary and the treasurer prepare forms to be sent to all groups

as the basis for the recommended uniform accounting system. Passed by voice vote.

Clothilde Burns moved acceptance of the resolution of the Finance Committee: that groups should utilize the suggestions regarding financing in the Organizational Manual, and that other ideas on financing should be forwarded to other groups. Passed by voice vote,

St. Louis reported a system of honorary memberships: persons contributing a certain amount receive cards indicating honorary membership.

It was recommended that if groups could mimeograph their experience with financing, such reports should be sent to other locals. The group coordinator could do so only if several reports were available.

Clothilde Burns moved, Lynn Kirk seconded: that all groups be urged to send in their 10% annual tax. Passed by voice vote.

SECOND JOURNEY OF RECONCILIATION: Wally Nelson reported on the first Journey of Reconciliation as background.

Proposal for the Second Journey: 1. that the Journey take place instead of the usual Pledge Brotherhood Campaign; that, preferably, it be held in the month of February; that both rail and bus transportation be utilized; that the same route be used as previously only extended further southward. 2. that preliminary negotiations be held with heads of companies, particularly the railroads; that such negotiations be coordinated by the group coordinator, recommended cities for such negotiation being Kansas City, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Washington, D.C.

Discussion was held on whether the Journey should include members of both sexes, and if so, whether mixed groups should be used. James Farmer recommended that both sexes be included, but strongly urged that they not be used in mexed sexual groups.

James Farmer also recommended that plans be reviewed with natl. NAACP.

Bob Kirk moved, Virginia Nolan seconded: that the general plan for the second Journey be approved, and that those interested in participating should present recommendations for implementation to the fall Council meeting.

Charles Oldham proposed a substitute motion, Ina Sugihara seconded: that a committee of three consisting of James Farmer, Wally Nelson and Billie Ames meet with possible participants and prepare a proposal to be sent to groups for their discussion and for recommendation to the fall Council. Original motion was withdrawn. Substitute passed by voice vote.

Bob Kirk moved adoption of second resolution re Second Journey (Preliminary negotiations with railroad officials). Passed. In favor 13; opposed 0.

Billie Ames moved, James Robinson seconded: that each group which could possibly do so, obtain the cooperation of the Brotherhood of

Sleeping Car Porters and similar groups in carrying out the Irene Morgan decision. Passed.

Lillian Palenius resumed the chair.

PLEDGE BROTHERHOOD: Report of the conference committee thereon.

Resolved, that Pledge Brotherhood be dropped for 1955, and that efforts be made instead to promote the Second Journey of Reconciliation Ina Sugihara moved for adotion. Passed by voice vote.

Resolved that suggestions for improving the campaign be tabled for future use. Joffre Stewart moved that PLEDGE BROTHERHOOD be printed in various languages. Bob Kirk moved, James Farmer seconded adoption of the committee resolution including Stewart's language recommendation. Passed by voice vote.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE : The conference committee resolved: that the following be invited to be national advisers: Charles S. Zimmerman, Mrs. Ralph Bunche, Walter or Victor Reuther, Judge Waties Waring. Zimmerman has already indicated his willingness to be a national adviser. Clothilde Burns moved adoption of the resolution: Passed by voice vote.

NATIONAL OFFICE WORK: Bob Kirk moved, Lynn Kirk seconded: that the recommendation of the spring Council regarding the deposition of national office work be adopted without reference to names of individual persons. The question was raised whether a constitutional change was required; a constitutional amendment would be required for the group coordinator to have a vote.

James Robinson moved a substitute motion, Lionel Callender seconded: that section III C of the constitution be revised as follows:

> Group-Coordinator--to be responsible for office correspondence except routine matters; to care for the affiliation of new groups with the Congress; to integrate the member groups into a working whole; and to supervise and coordinate the work of field reps. (N.B. This would require a corresponding change of Section IV to read: The Council shall be constituted of the officers (chairman, vice-chairman, group coordinator, recording secretary, Etc. L. Farmer).

Billie Ames moved a second substitute motion, Clothilde Burns seconded: that the responsibilities of the executive director be divided between the group coordinator and the office secretary with the duties of the group coordinator defined in the substitute motion, the group coordinator having a vote.

It was understood that this motion was an amendment to the constitution. The amendment was passed: In favor 19; opposed 3.

James Robinson moved, Ina Sugihara seconded; that material for the CORElator be sent to Billie Ames who would forward it to Jim Peck. After discussion the motion was withdrawn.

Ina Sugihara moved adoption of the conference resolution on the

SNCC. Bus Boycott effect 18
bus. rides — dimly remembered but
inoperative

national office work: that the address of the group coordinator be included on the letterhead. Passed by voice vote.

REPORTS OF FIELD REPRESENTATIVES: Wilmington, Del: Wally Nelson reviewed the situation at Wilmington.
James Farmer reported on his vist to Wilmington.

Walter Hayes reported on discussions held with people in East St. Louis where a few persons seem willing to work with a group. A weekend Workshop had also been held in Kansas City the first weekend of May. Four potential leaders exist with a contact list of fifty. Walter Hayes believes that affiliation may be forthcoming. The group will be urged to hold regular meetings, elect officers and start an action program, and then, apply for affiliation.

Wally Nelson reported on his field work during the past year. In commenting on his report, Wally stressed the need for concentrated efforts, that the growth of CORE is dependent on the organization of more groups.

Some discussion was had on work in the south and the fact that work in this area always brings to the foreground the question of arrest and reaction to such arrest. Wally expressed his hope that CORE organize a conference of key people from various areas and economic-social groups to consider the entire problem of the south in terms of CORE techniques.

Charles Oldham reported that Maggie Dagen had been working on the Louisville situation, that the Dagens were moving to Louisville as of July 1 and that they believe a CORE group there is possible, since significant contacts have been established. Another former St. Louis CORE member has moved to Nashville, and may be able to begin a group there.

Bob Kirk moved, Alethea Weathers seconded the adoption of the reports, with recommendations as to concentration of field work, and the proposal of a southern conference. Passed by voice vote.

CORE ACTION DISCIP INE: (N.B. At the 1953 annual conference point 7 of the CORE discipline was revised to read: If a CORE member faces arrest, he will submit to such arrest by a legally constituted official, except on occasion when the group has decided to refuse cooperation with the police. This change was to take effect after the 1954 convention, unless that convention decided otherwise.)

Lillian Palenius interpreted the revision to mean that a group could decide to leave to the individual member of the group whether or not he would cooperate with arrest. Lule Farmer challenged the interpretation of the chair.

James Robinson moved, Billie Ames seconded: that point 7 be stricken from the discipline, and that paragraph #3 of the introduction be revised so that the concluding sentence would read: "CORE eill cooperate with official and semi-official law enforcement

agencies in advancing of justice in certain projects."

(N.B. Previous wording: On Occasion CORE will cooperate...to end)

Lula Farmer withdrew her challenge in order to permit voting on mtn.

Lynn Kirk moved a substitute motion, Joffre Stewart seconded: that point 7 be deleted, and that no change be made in paragraph 3.

James Robinson moved a second substitute motion, Clothilde Burns seconded: that point 7 be deleted. Motion passed: 21 for, 0 opposed. (Abstentions were not requested).

There was further discussion on rewording of paragraph 3. Herb Kellman moved to table to a committee for rewording (Charles Oldham seconded) In favor 14, opposed 11. The matter was referred to a committee consisting of Bob Kirk, Wally Nelson and Gerald Bullock.

Alethea Weathers takes over chair

Bob Kirk reported on the rewording of paragraph 3 in the introduction to the discipline. The following wording was proposed: "Whenever possible CORE will cooperate with law enforcement agencies and responsible community groups in its efforts to better human relations." Walter Hayes moved adoption: In favor, 18; opposed 2.

ELECTIONS: The following officials were elected: George Houser, chairman; Lula Farmer, vice-chairman; Juanita Nelson, secretary; Catharine Raymond, treasurer; Billie Ames, group coordinator.

FIELD REPRESENTATIVES Bob Kirk reporting: Two matters were discussed by the committee 1. nominations and 2. method of electing field representatives. In regard to the latter the committee had discussed whether or not the constitution has been changed by the decision of the 1953 convention that field representatives need a 2/3 vote for election. The committee recommended, however, that 1. at the direction of this convention, this be made a constitutional change after announcement of the proposed change has been sent to all groups and 2. for the present convention adopt a 2/3 vote for field representatives.

James Robinson stated that according to the constitutional procedure for amendment, whenever anything is done by a 2/3 vote which is in contradiction to the constitution, the constitution is thereby changed. (N.B. Change in voting had been accepted by the 1953 convention by a vote of 17 for, 0 opposed.)

Walter Hayes moved adoption of the report of the committee on field representatives. Passed by voice vote.

The following were proposed, including nominations from the floor, as field representatives: Walter Hayes, Lillian Palenius, James Farmer, Wallace Nelson, Herb Kellman, Margaret Dagen and Ina Sugihara.

The following were elected: Walter Hayes, Lillian Palenius, James Farmer, Berb Kellman and Margaret Dagen.

ANNUAL PROJECTS REPORT: Lillian Palenius again volunteered to take responsibility. Ina Sugihara moved, Neil Hayworth seconded: that the offer of Lillian Palenius be accepted. Passed by voice vote.

FALL COUNCIL MEETING: James Robinson recommended that the spring Council meeting should be held in Baltimore, if the group is willing. Herb Kellman stated that the group had already expressed an interest in having a national meeting in Baltimore.

Virginia Nolan invited CORE to Evanston for the fall Council.

James Robinson moved, Marion Oldham seconded: that the fall Council meeting be held in Evanston and the spring Council meeting in Baltimore.

Wally Nelson proposed that Baltimore be cited at the spring Council. Billie Ames moved that an award be made to Baltimore for eliminating dimestore discrimination. Passed by voice vote.

1955 ANNUAL CONVENTION: James Robinson suggested that the decision be made by the fall Council. Lula Farmer recommended that subsequent places be chosen that were convenient to central points of travel.

James Robinson moved, Bob Auerbach seconded: that the 1955 convention be held the third week in June or later, even if this means off-season rates cannot be obtained. Passed by voice vote.

BUDGET: Bob Kirm moved, Clothilde Burns seconded: that the proposed budget for 1954-55 be accepted as adjusted previously with deletion of the items for Pledge Brotherhood. Passed by voice vote.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES: Catharine Raymond recommended that it be specifically stated in the constitution that constitutional amendments be discussed by the groups before they become part of the constitution.

Bob Kirk moved, Lynn Kirk seconded: that the recommendation offered by Catharine Raymond be sent to groups for discussion prior to next year's convention; that future proposed amendments submitted by groups be sent to the national office in reasonable time prior to the convention for distribution to the groups. Passed by voice vote.

Catharine Raymond reported that a CORE member not present had recommended changing the number of delegates per group to less than five. After discussion, the consensus was that the number of delegates to conventions be kept at five, and that all groups should be urged to send a full delegation.

FIELD WORK IN THE SOUTH: The following pertinent points were made in discussion particularly by St. Louis and Baltimore delegates which were accepted by mutual consent to guide plans for future work in the south: that cautious prior planning is demanded particularly in regard to relation of work to existing laws; that contacts must be established with sufficient time to become acquainted with communities; that it is necessary to think of bringing about pattern changes with mimimum of friction.

RESIGNATIONS: Juanita Nelson submitted her resignation as secretary. Lillian Palenius submitted her resignation as field representative. James Robinson moved, Bob Kirk seconded: that both withdraw their resignations at this time; if they still believe resignations are in order at the time of the fall Council, they should act then.

Bob Kirk recommended that time be spent at the next two Council meetings and the 1955 convention discussing freedom for individual philosophies within the organizational framework of CORE.

Bob Kirk moved, Bob Auerbach seconded: that the wishes of the individual be respected in regard to the listing of names on letterhead.

Alethea Weathers moved a substitute motion, Lionel Callender seconded: that the matter of names on letterhead be left to the discretion of the group coordinator. Motion passed: In favor 13; opposed 5; abstaining 7.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE: The resolutions committee presented the following resolutions:

Be it resolved that the 1954 CORE convention commends and congratulates the Baltimore Committee of Racial Equality for receiving the Sidney Hollander Fund award for achievement in the field of race relations "for service they have rendered in helping to make the lunch counters in the Five and Dime stores in downtown Baltimore available for use by Negroes as well as whites." Ina Sugihara moved adoption. Passed by voice vote.

Be it resolved that the Congress of Racial Equality commends the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and the many individuals for their persistence in securing the Supreme Court decision in the cases involving racial segregation in the public schools which declared the "separate but equal doctrine" unconstitutional. Raymond Johnson moved adoption. Passed by voice vote. Joffre Stewart asked to be recorded as abstaining.

Be it resolved that the 1954 CORE convention expresses its thanks and appreciation to Circle Pines Center, Jane Reid, its staff and the campers for their generous and friendly hospitality. Bob Kirk moved that the convention cast a unanimous ballot. No objections.

The chair authorized Ina Sugihara to release the resolutions passed to the Negro press.

TRAVEL POOL: Raymond Johnson reported that sufficient funds had been received to cover all claims.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON 2nd JOURNEY OF RECONCILIATION: Billie Ames reported that she had met with Jim Farmer and Wally Nelson. It was their recommendation that unless the Journey could be carried out in a well-organized manner, it would not be advisable to attempt such. George Houser and Jim Peck are to be consulted and more definite plans are to be presented to the fall Council. One recommendation was that the rest room facilities be tested. Bob Kirk moved adoption of report. Passed by voice vote. Bob Auerbach recommended that the FOR should be consulted. The chair declared the meeting adjourned.
RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED: Lula Farmer, Sec. MIMEOD BY Jim Peck

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR TO THE CORE CONVENTION

June, 1954

The first national Convention of CORE was held in Chicago in 1943. This was the founding meeting of our organization. The 1954 Convention is the third one that I have missed attending since CORE was organized. I regret that I have to miss this year's Convention because there are many important issues which must be discussed and I am sorry that I can not participate in the deliberations. I have not usually prepared a written report because I have not deemed it necessary. Most of the items on which I would report come up for consideration on the regular agenda of the Convention. In my report this year I will try not only to indicate very briefly what the status of CORE at the moment seems to be, but also will make comment on a few of the controversial issues which will inevitably come up for debate.

The most important thing that this report can do is to attempt an appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of national CORE at this moment. To be perfectly realistic about it, I must say that it seems to me CORE is in a weaker position than it has been since it was organized. As I have reported at previous Conventions, since CORE was founded some eleven years ago we have had about 35 groups affiliated with us in virtually all parts of the country. A few groups such as Chicago have remained as one of the affiliates ever since the beginning. Most groups come and go. The genius of CORE, in addition to its interracial character, is its dynamic action program. It is not possible for a CORE group to maintain itself on just an interracial social or educational level. There are other groups which attempt to develop a program along these lines. CORE is uniquely the group that appeals to individuals who wish to participate in an active community program of nonviolent direct action. I have never felt that it was a weakness in national CORE that groups have disintegrated when they lacked an action program, because we have always had new groups to take their places, and national CORE has maintained its dynamic. Our difficulty at the present moment is that some of our older groups have not been as active as they once were, two groups have been dropped this year, and combined with this we have had no new affiliations. At the moment there are ten groups affiliated with national CORE. The groups which have been dropped this year are Minneapolis and Pittsburgh. It is not unusual for us to have a couple of groups drop out. However, it is unusual for us not to have new groups. There is a possibility of a new affiliate in Kansas City. Wally Nelson, Walter Hayes, and I have all visited this group. This report is being written several weeks before the Convention, and I can not speak with any assurance at this moment on what the status of the group will be in June. My impression is that it has a real chance of getting itself on a sound footing and may be one of our affiliates in due time.

It probably would be worthwhile for the Convention to spend a little time analyzing our difficulty. Are the older members in some of our groups growing tired? Has so much progress been made in the field of race relations that it is more difficult to find projects? Are we depending

more on legal action, letter-writing, legislative action, and the intervention of official city and state organizations for doing the job? As we have, I believe, agreed in past years, the frontier for new CORE groups now lies in the border areas between the North and the South and in the Upper South. I would hope that we could push our organizing efforts in those areas. I am sure that no one person or no one group can be blamed for the general situation which confronts national CORE. It is the responsibility of all of us.

I don't mean to give a too completely pessimistic picture of where we are. Some of our groups have been doing a splendid job. I hope that their example will be infectious.

When looking at the status of national CORE, obviously the most important weather vane is our affiliated groups. However, there are other factors that are important to consider. I should like briefly to indicate what some of these other factors are. I think they will reveal that CORE is in a fairly sound position as a national organization. Our national mailing list now numbers 1800. Last year at the time of the Convention we had approximately 1650 on our active mailing list. The reports of both the treasurer and the finance secretary will indicate that we have not done quite as well this year as we did last. And yet for an organization our size we have made out pretty well. For one thing, our spring appeal to our own list went out too late this year for the results to appear in this year's report.

We have continued to distribute a considerable amount of literature this year. The total sales amount to $232.62. Both this year and last the distribution of literature through AFSAR helped boost the CORE sales. At the moment we have on hand the following pieces of literature:
200 New Road to Racial Justice (The red or target folder)
200 What is CORE
750 Discipline
1000 Proof of Pudding
3000 Project Brotherhood
3 large cartons of Action for Interracial Justice (The yellow folder)
CORE History - a comfortable supply
CORE Techniques and Restaurant Techniques - same
Organization Manual - same
Statement of Purpose - practically none

I have had very limited time to give to CORE activities during the course of this year. I have met with a number of our groups on various occasions when I was visiting the community where our groups are active. Among these groups are Baltimore, a committee of our members in Washington, Columbia, and a committee of the New York group. I have of course spoken many times on the CORE approach before all kinds of groups, covering most parts of the country except the Far West. I did get as far West as Colorado. On my travels I have had to fit the CORE work, however, into my schedule, which primarily had to do with other activities. In the office we have been busy keeping up the constant correspondence on CORE matters, keeping in touch with the groups on various items, arranging for the Council meetings and Convention.

Again this year we have cooperated with the FOR on two projects -- the Pledge Brotherhood Campaign and the Interracial Workshop. The PBC was quite successful this year. Some 35 to 40 thousand folders were

distributed. Signed pledges were returned to us from about 31 states, the District of Columbia, and two foreign countries. A special report has been written up on the PBC which is available for those who are interested. In spite of the fact that I think the Pledge Brotherhood idea has proven its worth my recommendation is that it not be repeated next year, at least along the lines that we have done it the last few years. A project of this type which consists at least to a considerable extent of promotion by mail tends to become too repetitive unless new angles are found. Therefore my recommendation is that if the PBC idea is used this coming year, it be tied in with some very specific projects in carefully chosen communities more or less as pilot projects rather than as a national promotion campaign. The FOR has accepted this recommendation. If in deliberation on this question CORE comes out with a new angle and wishes to propose that the FOR join with it in promoting it, the FOR will be glad to consider the proposal.

This summer's Workshop will probably be the last one held, at least for a couple of years, in Washington. We had our first Washington Workshop in 1947. As everyone knows, Washington has had a rather complete face-lifting since that time, and Workshops can do a more significant job elsewhere. At the moment we have nine participants lined up for this year's Workshop. I hope that the Convention will make some recommendation of places for the Workshop to be held next year. Also the Convention should discuss wherher CORE should attempt to put on the Workshop alone or to work jointly with other groups.

Inasmuch as I will not be present for the meeting I should like briefly to discuss several items which will come up for consideration. First, there will be some discussion about field representatives. I think that it is a good thing for CORE to have volunteer field representatives located in various places around the country. I think that perhaps more thought should be given to who these field represenatives should be than has been true in some past years. The field representatives should be persons in whom the Convention has confidence. They should be persons who can give at least a minimum of time to representing CORE in the region close to where they live. I have a very strong conviction, however, that it is a futile gesture, no matter how qualified a person is, to name a person as field representative who can not give any time to the work. It is useless embroidery to have the names of five or six field representatives on our stationery when in reality only one or two of them do any work for CORE. I realize it may not be the fault of any person chosen as field representaitve. His situation may change shortly after the time he is elected so that he may not be able to put in any real work for CORE. In this event it would seem to me that such person ought to resign. I hope that the committee charged with the responsibility of nominating field representatives will very carefully think through this question.

Second, there will probably be considerable discussion of Wally Nelson's work as the field worker for CORE. At the New York Council meeting in late February there was quite a thorough analysis of this work. On the whole a good majority expressed confidence in Wally. A recommendation was made to the Convention which I hope will be adopted. To be realistic, I do not believe that CORE can afford to have a full time field worker this coming year. I do hope that the Convention will try to lay plans for raising sufficient funds to take on a field worker again. My feeling is that a field worker can do a great deal toward organizing new groups, and it should be thoroughly understood at the outset of any such period of work that the field worker's main task should be precisely that.

My own conviction is that Wally has done a commendable job as field worker. He has given real leadership to the Summer Workshop. He has sold a large supply of literature. He has introduced CORE to communities where either CORE groups have been organized or where there is the possibility of their being organized at a later time. I would strongly recommend that Wally be taken on as a field representative along with possible other representatives.

Third, without question there will be discussion of point No. 7 in the Discipline. Last year the Convention accepted a provisional wording of this point, but because the New York group felt so strongly on the issue of the wording, it was left for this Convention to reconsider. Although I can not know, of course, whether additional points may come up in the discussion, my own conviction is as it was last year, that the wording which was adopted as provisional in 1953 should become a recognized part of the Discipline this year. I believe that there should be freedom of judgment for a group to decide when the police may be part of the machinery of segregation, and that a decision can be made to refuse cooperation. I do not believe that this will be abused. Most of our groups and virtually all the individuals in these groups have not resisted arrest. I can not believe that the actual character or principles of CORE will be changed as a result of a resolution which is passed. A group is known by the action it takes in a conflict situation, not by the resolutions it passes in the midst of a theoretical debate.

Fourth, as I made clear at the time of our New York Council meeting, this is the last year that I felt I could agree to serve as executive director. Because of my trip to Africa and of other heavy responsibilities which have come my way I will find it increasingly difficult to give the amount of time to CORE that is involved. Therefore I can not be a candidate for executive director this next year. This does not mean that I am not willing to assume certain more limited national responsibilities for national CORE. I have found my duties for CORE very meaningful and enjoyable in the last few years.

Unless new light is brought to the problem of how national CORE is to be taken care of this next year I hope that the recommendation adopted by the New York Council meeting will be accepted. This would mean that Billie Ames would be called Coordinator or Group Secretary and would have the responsibility of keeping in touch with our groups. Also she will handle correspondence especially having to do with group affairs. Other correspondence can be handled by Jim Peck in New York. Also Jim will continue to edit the CORElator. It should be noted that Jim Peck has been putting in about fifteen hours a week since September helping with office work, and has in this way saved us several hundred dollars. If there is an alternative office address for national CORE I think that this should be considered favorably. However, if no alternative is obvious, at least for the time being my office can continue as the official address, and the addressing can be done from there.

Here's wishing for a most successful Convention. I hope that out of it will come a renewed sense of commitment to our common task.

George M. Houser

oeiu 153 - AFL

Treasurer's Report -- June, 1954

				corresponding figures for last year	
On hand June 1, 1953			1414.29		1398.70
Income:	Individual contributions	4971.89		5134.94	
	Group contributions	152.60		725.70	
	Literature sales	232.62		338.42	
	1953 Convention	328.66		69.00	
	1953 Workshop	742.15		496.62	
	1954 Workshop	50.00		35.00	
	1953 Pledge Brotherhood Campaign	7.45			
	1954 Pledge Brotherhood Campaign	333.91		89.50	
	Field work	134.50			
	South African project			39.30	
			6953.78		6928.48
			8368.07		8327.18
Expenses:	Office	2312.02		2334.80	
	Literature (bought)	119.63		212.86	
	Travel	483.81		593.66	
	Printing	613.99		581.45	
	CORElator	308.00		269.50	
	1953 Convention	303.73		50.00	
	1953 Workshop	1207.23		592.12	
	1954 Workshop			15.00	
	1953 Pledge Brotherhood Campaign	118.98			
	1954 Pledge Brotherhood Campaign	303.24			
	Field work	1334.50		1200.00	
	Salaries	699.82		939.80	
	(JRR: 474; office: 225.82)				
	Subscription to COURIER	7.00		7.00	
	Award	10.00		10.00	
	Union dues (oeiu 153 - AFL)	30.00		30.00	
	Service charge	.75			
	Social security			76.70	
			7852.70		6912.89
On hand June 1, 1954			515.37		1414.29
			8368.07		8327.18

The groups contributed as follows:

	1953-54	1952-53		1953-54	1952-53
Baltimore	5.00	5.00	Omaha		30.00
Chicago	10.00	24.64	Pasadena	10.00	30.00
Cincinnati		50.00	Pittsburgh	7.60	15.67
Columbia	14.00	6.00	St. Louis	95.00	55.00
Evanston	9.00	25.00	Swarthmore		5.00
New York	25.00	120.39	Washington	17.00	303.00
				152.60	725.70

oeiu 153 - AFL

Catharine Raymond

FINANCE SECRETARY'S REPORT AS OF JUNE 13, 1954

On June 8, 1954, Catharine Raymond and I went over the past year's figures and planned a tentative budget based on past experience. Because of changes in CORE'S organizational set-up necessitated by George Houser's resignation as executive director, it is harder than usual to project next year's budget. The fact that business activity in the United States has been on the decline also makes our task more difficult: as soon as people feel less secure, contributions are apt to be the first item cut. In view of the fact that our average contribution is small anyway, this could be serious for CORE. On going over the figures we worked out, I have altered upward the contribution figure by $200.00.

1954-55 Budgeted Expenditures:

Office (includes $200 plus for office costs for group co-ordinator)	$2500	
Literature	125	
Travel	500	
Printing ($100 Statement of Purpose) ($100 What is CORE?) ($400 Promotional Leaflet)	600	
CORElator	300	
Convention	400	
Workshop	700	
Pledge Brotherhood	200	
Salaries (Robinson $700; Ames $540; Misti Smith $60)	1300	
Miscellaneous	100	
Travel Pool	100	
Reserve Fund	455	(actually a transfer rather than an "expenditure")
TOTAL	$7280	

1954-55 Budgeted Income:

Individual Contributions (own list $4500 NEW 1000	$5500	
Group Contributions	200	
Literature	250	
Convention	430	
Workshop	500	
Pledge Brotherhood	200	
Miscellaneous	100	
Travel Pool	100	
	$7280	

We believe this is a conservative budget. The figure of $200. for group contributions is absurdly low, but is higher than the actual for this past year. The present state of most of the groups is apparently not good, but with any kind of cooperation at all, more than $200 should be raised from this source.

COMPARISON OF 1953-54 Budget with Actual Amounts Received and Expended:

Expenditures:

	Budget	Actual		Under	Over	
Office	$2500.00	2312.02		187.98		
Literature	200.00	119.63		80.37		
Travel	600.00	483.81		116.19		
Printing	600.00	613.99			13.99	
New Roads $250						
CORE Way 250 (not printed)						
CORElator	300.00	308.00			8.00	
Field Work (Nelson)	1200.00	1334.50			134.50	
Convention	400.00	303.73		96.27		
Workshop	1200.00	1207.23			7.23	
Pledge Brotherhood	100.00	303.24	(plus 118.98 PBC		203.24	(plus
Salaries:	1100.00	699.82	1953)	400.18		$118.98)
Sue Whealdon 500						
Jim Robinson 600						
Miscellaneous	100.00	87.75		12.25		
	7892.70	8300.00		893.24	366.96	(485.94 incl. PBC 1953)

Amount Underspent: 893.24
Less Overspent 485.94
407.30 less than Budget

Income:

	Budget	Actual		Under	Over	
Individual contributions	$5700.00	4971.89		728.11		
Own list $4400		(3453.49	June 1)	(946.51)		
New 1300		(1518.40	June 1)		(418.40)	
Group Contributions	700.00	152.60		547.40		
Literature	300.00	232.62		67.38		
Convention	400.00	328.66		71.34		
Workshop	1000.00	742.15		257.85		
Pledge Brotherhood	100.00	333.91	(7.45 '53)		241.36	(incl.'53)
Miscellaneous	100.00	259.50			159.50	
		(Travel pool $75.00				
		'54 Worksh. 50.00				
		Field Work 134.50)				
	$8300.00	7028.78		1672.08	400.86	

Under-raised $1672.08
Less Over 400.86
$1271.22 less income than Budget
407.30 Amount of Expenditure less than Budget
DEFICIT 863.92 On year's operations

NOTE: Final appeal to own list went out Decoration Day, hence returns on it necessarily miss inclusion in income for the past fiscal year. As of June 9, about $220.86 had come in from this source plus $65.00 group contribution (New York local.) No matter how well this Decoration Day appeal does, however, returns from our own list declined by hundreds of dollars. The fact that returns from NEW names exceeded the budget by $418.40 helps out on this decline considerably.

Indication for next year: More attention to appeals to our own list, with more follow-ups to those not contributing to fall budget appeal.

Exchange Lists Report:

List	Unit Cost	No. Sent	Tot. Cost	Responses No.	Amount	Profit	Loss	Pledged
AIF	.0609	1401	$85.32	30	127.10	41.78		
DU	.0609	1625	98.96	20	69.75		29.21	15.00
CCCO	.0609	1585	96.53	40	170.00	73.47		
NCLC	.0609	2119	129.05	39	207.00	77.95		
FOR	.0609	1423	86.66	32	162.25	75.59		10.00
WRL	.0609	2031	123.63	46	202.00	78.37		6.00
NSF	.0609	1540	93.79	42	169.60	75.81		
WIL	.0609	1496	91.11	18	71.00		20.11	
LID	.0909	301	27.36	7	24.00		3.36	
CALL	.0609	1440	87.70	22	101.70	14.00		
PWWC	.0609	1347	81.03	15	46.00		35.03	
ACLU	.0609	1550	94.40	10	39.00		55.40	
Unident.	zero	zero	zero	18	164.00	164.00		
TOTALS		17,857	1095.54	349	1553.40	600.97	143.11	31.00

Total returns 1553.40 — OR Profits 600.97
Less cost 1095.54 — Less Loss 143.11
457.86 — $457.86 Net profit

NOTE: The loss on ACLU will probably be significantly reduced by further returns; it has been in the mail only about three weeks, but a loss is to be anticipated on the basis of early returns.

Further exchanges arranged or in process: SCEF, 1500; NCAC, 1500; Progressive, 1700.

* * * * * * *

Sponsor CORE Promotion:

1684 appeals to Sponsor CORE sent out to own list in April. Follow up request on Decoration Day sent to 1730 persons on CORE list.

Only 47 persons responded and ordered sets from April letter. 6 additional orders on Decoration Day slips so far. Total....53 orders.

Number of sets ordered 314. Postage cost in sending out these orders $7.34

So far only four (4) responses totalling $10.00

CONCLUSION: Unless responses increase decidedly, this project may be written off as a mild failure. Two years ago, when we asked people to send in names and we mailed out the appeals, we were much more successful.

* * * * * * *

Total incidental costs paid to me for phone, extra postage, transportation, express charges, etc., $98.20.

Compensation paid finance secretary through June 7, 1954, $546.00.

CONCLUSION: On outside lists, we did almost as well as last year; with lists in process, the report to Fall Council may show we have done better. On our own list, results were significantly below expectations.

Respectfully submitted,

James R. Robinson
Finance Secretary

S-F
Talkers
Comics

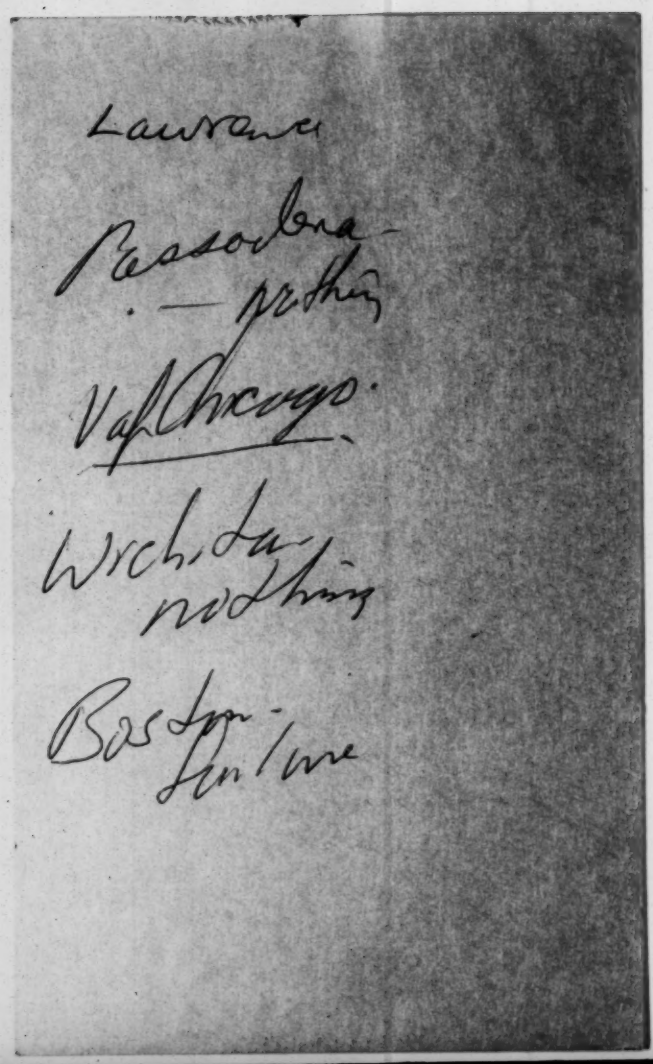
France-
45-47.

Maine
not much
Lane

Detroit
not much

Cleveland
Chapter

ECC-
Southwest
nothing


Lawrence
Pasadena
— nothing
Vassar
Wrch. Law
nothing
Boston
Univ

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE), 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

Minutes of 1957 Convention, St. Louis, Missouri, July 6, 1957

Following two days of CORE Conference -- during which local problems were discussed and the CORE Discipline re-written as CORE Rules for Action -- the CORE Convention was called to order by the Chairman, Charles Oldham, on Saturday morning, July 6, 1957.

GROUP COORDINATOR'S REPORT: Lula Farmer, as group coordinator, reported that during the past year two groups had affiliated with CORE -- Hutchinson (Kansas) and Nashville (Tennessee).

Due to the resignations of both LeRoy Carter and Ralph Blackwood, in each case because of illness, CORE has no national staff.

TREASURER'S REPORT: The report of the treasurer was made and accepted and is attached as part of these minutes. It was pointed out that the relatively good financial position of CORE at the present time is traceable in large part to the fact that no field work has been done for the past few months.

No audit of the CORE books has been made to date. It was agreed that an audit should be made for the 1957 Fiscal Year (that is, the year ended May 31, 1957).

The advisability of CORE's making substantial contributions to other organizations was questioned ($100 had been given to the Tallahassee Bus protest), and it was agreed that this should not be done in the future except under very unusual circumstances. There was some discussion of the desirability of CORE raising funds for specific issues or projects even though these projects may not be under CORE auspices. No decision was made.

FINANCE SECRETARY'S REPORT: James Robinson presented this report and it was accepted and is attached as part of these minutes.

HOLIDAY CARDS: It was decided that if it seems feasible the National Action Committee should proceed with promotion of Holiday Cards. It was pointed out that such cards would probably not result in net income the first year; indeed, the first year of such promotion might well result in a net loss.

PERSONNEL: Methods of securing a field worker were discussed. Suggestions made were that the various schools of social work be contacted, and also key people in other organizations who would be in a position to recommend persons for the field work position. James Robinson agreed to take time off from his regular job to prepare and mail personally typed letters to a large number of persons who might recommend applicants to us.

It was suggested that James Robinson take on the field job, but he declined on the grounds that his abilities were not in field work and that no one person could really do both field work and the various tasks connected with the national office.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVISIONS: The Constitution was reviewed and suggestions for modification were made as follows:

National Membership: CORE nationally shall no longer be a Federation, but a National Membership Organization. Contributors to National CORE become associate members; active membership is available only through such membership in a local affiliated group. The National Action Committee is to have the power to hold hearings and to expel persons from active membership; if their membership is in violation of the Constitution. Local groups are to issue active membership only after prospective members have been screened, the screening procedure to be established in the local constitution.

(over)

The National CORE Constitution shall guarantee that decisions are to be made through democratic procedure, and that persons owing allegiance to Communist, Fascist and/or totalitarian philosophies shall be excluded from active membership. These basic guarantees shall be included in the Constitution of each group. Each local affiliated group shall be required to have a Constitution.

The National Constitution shall be revised to authorize the National Action Committee to take action as required between Council meetings and Conventions, and to initiate action which may involve local groups. Considerable discussion was had on the role of the National Action Committee, particularly since there are fewer active groups than in the past. The consensus was that projects could be developed on a national level, originating or at least channeled through national representatives, and presented to the local groups for their action, as needed. Decision for participation was to rest with the local group.

The office of the group coordinator was to be abolished if a full-time executive secretary is obtained.

No local group is to engage in joint activity with other organizations unless that joint activity has been discussed and approved at a duly constituted meeting of the local CORE affiliate. Literature of other organizations cannot be distributed at CORE meetings except with the consent of the meeting of the local.

The Constitution is to be re-written by James Robinson as indicated by the above changes, and revised copy is to be available for acceptance at the Council meeting.

CORE ACTION DISCIPLINE: The Action Discipline was revised by the Convention on the basis of the pre-Convention Converence, and is to be issued as CORE Rules for Action.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: Charles Oldham, Chairman; Gordon Carey, Vice Chairman; Marian Oldham, Secretary; Lula Farmer, Treasurer; James Robinson, Finance Secretary; James Peck, CORElator Editor. The following were elected Field Representatives: Sayuri Buell (California); James Farmer (New York); Walter Hayes (St. Louis); George Houser (New York); Herbert Kelman (Massachusetts).

It was moved and passed that St. Louis CORE be re-imbursed for Convention expenses incurred. It was moved and passed that the registration fee be waived.

FEES FOR SERVICES: It was moved and passed that the fee rate paid for services be increased above its present $1.35 per hour rate. Rates and salaries paid to future staff, if obtained, was left to the discretion of the National Action Committee.

Executive Secretary: James Robinson might be available for such a position should a Field Secretary be found.

ADJOURNMENT: It was voted to adjourn with a motion of thanks to St. Louis CORE members for their hospitality, including the cook-out in the park, Dr. Nicholson's party, and the Saturday night swimming party followed by waffles and hi fi at Charles Oldham's.

(NOTE: These minutes compiled from notes taken by Kay Fields and Lula Farmer)

TREASURER'S REPORT

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR-JUNE 1, 1956 to MAY 31, 1957

Balance as of June 1, 1956 -	New York Savings		$ 3,562.58
	Chemical Corn Exchange		2,693.60
	Total		6,256.18
INCOME:			
Fund Raising		4,978.26	
CORE List		10,442.53	
Group Contributions		65.00	
Joining Fee (Nashville - Hutch)		10.00	
Field Work		25.00	
Literature		170.40	
Convention 1956		223.25	
Misc.		1.00	
Interest		115.54	
Total		16,030.98	16,030.98
BALANCE BEFORE EXPENDITURES			22,287.16
EXPENDITURES:			
Office. Exp.		2,591.47	
Bank Charges		2.75	
Rent		300.50	
Fund Raising		3,885.94	
Field Sal.	(Carter)	4,204.52	
	(Blackwood)	366.65	
Field Exp.	(Carter)	1,944.54	
	(Blackwood)	350.00	
Taxes - FICA		97.31	
Fees-Service	Robinson	687.82	
	Farmer	392.85	
Council & Con. Travel		173.70	
Field Rep. Travel		15.00	
Contributions - Tallahassee		100.00	
Convention - 1956		184.25	
Literature		285.45	
Corelator		562.05	
Total		16,144.80	16,144.80
Balance May 30, 1957			6,142.36
Cash in New York Savings		4,178.12	
Cash in Chemical Corn		1,840.74	
Cash on Hand		10.00	
Due from N. Y. CORE		20.00	
Prepaid Rent		43.50	
Deposit-N. Y. Telephone		50.00	
		6,142.36	6,142.36

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED - - LULA FARMER

FINANCE SECRETARY'S REPORT TO CORE CONVENTION, ST. LOUIS, JULY 4-7, 1957

As the Treasurer's Report makes clear, CORE received more money and spent more money in the year ended May 31, 1957 than ever before. Also, 40,000 copies of Martin Luther King's OUR STRUGGLE were distributed, a record for any piece of literature issued by CORE.

Because of high expenditures, financial position was not strengthened as in the preceding year. Programmatic difficulties reduced fund-raising efforts seriously. Ralph Blackwood resigned after a brief period as half-time Field Organizer in the Kansas area. LeRoy Carter's serious illness made it impossible for him to travel shortly after his busy West Coast trip (very efficiently planned by Gordon Carey, Sayuri Buell and others in the Los Angeles CORE group). Carter has now resigned also. Efforts to secure new personnel, so far unsuccessful, took priority and little fund-raising was done after February except for a major appeal to the CORE list in March.

The Revised Budget, worked out by Lula Farmer and myself at the end of February, was consequently far from realized: both income and expenses fell short.

However, the year was most successful in terms of new support gained. 25,549 appeal letters were sent to prospects. Gifts from 997 new contributors resulted -- totalling $4,856,26. This does not include money received between June 1, 1956 and August 27, 1956 as all such money resulted from the previous year's appeals. Percentage response reached 3.9% or almost double the response in some previous years.

Appeals sent since May 24, 1957 are not included above as responses are being tabulated for the current fiscal year. 11,235 letters have been sent out. 109 responses totalling $565 have been processed; about 150 additional responses have been received but not yet processed.

CORE LIST, now about 3,450, will exceed 3,600 when current returns are in. Dropping procedures and losses because of moving without leaving forwarding addresses will reduce the list by about 300 names during the summer.

About 9,000 appeals were sent to the CORE list -- on June 30, 1956, November 20, 1956 and March 25 and 26, 1957.

Out-of-pocket expenses paid to me.....$174.70
Fees for time @ $1.35 per hour..... 687.87

A considerable portion of both expenses and fees were related to items other than fund-raising, but the bulk was, of course, fund-raising.

Financial results were satisfactory, but gains should greatly accelerate if and when CORE's program is pushed ahead with dynamic personnel.

Respectfully submitted,

James R. Robinson
Finance Secretary

YRC

Minutes of January 8, 1958

CORE National Action Committee — Evelyn Rich, Acting as Secretary

Present: Lula Farmer, Marvin Rich, James Robinson

Absent: James Farmer, LeRoy Carter, George Houser, James McCain, James Peck

1. Treasurer's Report.

The Treasurer's Working Report, showing income of $13,617.46 and expenses of $11,666.25 for the period June 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957 was accepted. As this report was still in the working stages, it is not attached, but exact report for same period will follow shortly.

2. Minutes of the July Convention and Constitutional Revisions.

Not yet completed, but will be ready soon.

3. Mailing Minutes of NAC to Local CORE groups.

It was agreed that Minutes of the National Action Committee should in future be mailed to affiliated local groups. (To simplify this process, it would be helpful to have each group designate one or at most two persons to receive this material for referral to the group.)

4. Summer Workshop.

The Committee unanimously favored a summer workshop, to be held preferably in Nashville or some other Border or Southern city, probably the last two weeks of August. The Annual Convention could immediately follow at the same location. Reactions to the idea from local groups would be very much appreciated.

5. Literature.

THIS IS CORE and CORE RULES FOR ACTION are at the printers and will be mailed out shortly. We understand that work is in process on copy for a pamphlet on Nashville CORE's work in school integration.

6. McCain's Registration Work in South Carolina.

At the next meeting (January 27th), Jim McCain will be with us, and a fuller discussion on this new venture for CORE will be possible. Brief discussion touched on the legality of CORE membership in S. C., the nature and function of the Southern CORE group in relation to the Sumter Affiliation application. The feasibility of using recording equipment and referral of registration refusals to the Civil Rights Commission was discussed with no definite conclusion.

7. Baltimore-New York CORE Conference at Pendle Hill January 24-26.

It was decided that National CORE should sponsor the Saturday night dinner meeting at which Jim McCain and Jim Farmer will speak. Philadelphians on the National list will be invited to this Saturday evening dinner, meeting and social.

(OVER)

8. State Committee on Discrimination in Housing.

CORE accepted the invitation to be a member organization and to have James R. Robinson serve as a member of their Board.

Lula Farmer will also frequently serve as CORE's representative to the State Committee.

9. Fund-raising.

Holiday Cards: Lost approximately $1200 on the first year of this promotion. Large supply on hand, and money will be recouped as these cards are sold in the coming years. Failure this year attributed to: 1. many persons did not care for color and design; 2. promotion was late; and 3. almost no cooperation or sales through affiliated CORE groups. New designs to be solicited early in 1958.

Appeal Letters to Outside lists: In late May and June, 11,235 such letters were mailed; in October and November, 12,269 were mailed. Total 23,504. Results: 781 new contributors who gave $3,530.29.

An additional campaign of over 20,000 pieces with THIS IS CORE is now in the works. It is hoped to do another 20,000 based on the Nashville pamphlet before June 1st.

The Committee polished drafts for three appeal letters -- one to be mailed to outside lists; one to persons who have not contributed since June 1, 1957, and the third to those persons who have already given this fiscal year.

10. Auditing.

It was decided to have an independent audit of CORE's books, necessary for listing with National Information Bureau. Marvin Rich agreed to check with Sam Perelson about the audit.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

MINUTES, NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE, JANUARY 27, 1958

Present: James T. McCain, Marvin Rich, James R. Robinson

Absent: LeRoy Carter, James Farmer, Lula Farmer, George Houser, James Peck

1. August Workshop.

Nashville, Atlanta and Memphis in preferential order were considered desirable sites for the Workshop. Some study to be given to previous Workshops, but emphasis will now be placed on participation by persons who are already involved in action of some kind in their home cities. Workshop must be tied to a community action project so that participants can learn through experience as well as through the instruction given by leaders of various types of community action (registration campaigns, school integration campaigns, bus protests, and all the usual CORE types of action).

2. National Council Meeting, March 22-23.

Definite decision on date, weekend of March 22-23. To be held in New York City, with various places to be investigated as convenient meeting places.

3. Affiliation Applications.

Sumter CORE Application has been referred to the CORE groups. The applications of Clarendon County CORE and Columbia (South Carolina) CORE will be similarly referred before the Council Meeting. According to Constitution, the Council must make the recommendation for final action by affiliated groups. Nevertheless, it is hoped that representatives of the new groups will attend the Council meeting.

4. McCain's Work in South Carolina.

McCain is concentrating on the formation of local Committees on Registration Education (CORE) in South Carolina. Schedule: Feb. 2-11 Charleston; 12, State-wide meeting in Sumter of various groups working on registration (including CORE); 13-23, Jackson County; 24-March 2, Clarendon County; March 2, 6th Congressional District, Darlington; March 16, Taxville.

Sometime after the Council meeting, Mr. McCain will try to arrange a one-day institute in South Carolina, probably at Columbia, for CORE groups in S. C. and those interested in CORE in S. C. James Farmer to be asked to address large open meeting in the evening. James Robinson to attend the Institute.

5. Pendle Hill Weekend.

This Conference, sponsored by Baltimore and New York CORE Jan. 24-26, had only fair attendance. The Saturday evening meeting at which James Farmer and James McCain spoke was enthusiastic and great interest in the S. C. registration work was expressed. A successful social evening followed.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

Minutes, National Action Committee, Sunday, March 2, 1958

Present: James Farmer, Lula Farmer, Marvin Rich, James Robinson

Absent: LeRoy Carter, George Houser, James Peck

1. National Council Meeting, New York, March 22-23

Arrangements completed for meeting place from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. Saturday, March 22 and for 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. Sunday, March 23. Place: Hotel Restaurant Workers Joint Board (Room 1650), 11 West 42nd Street (near Fifth Avenue).

PROPOSED AGENDA (items will be added):

1. Minutes of the July 1957 Convention
2. Constitutional changes initiated by 1957 Convention
3. Reports from local groups affiliated with CORE
4. Reports from groups in process of affiliating with CORE
5. Recommendations to be made by Council to affiliated groups to approve or disapprove applications of new groups
6. Field Secretary's Report and General Discussion on Field work
7. Treasurer's Report
8. Executive Secretary's Report
9. South Carolina one-day CORE Institute April 23rd
10. Plans for spreading the CORE idea to college students (Evelyn Rich)
11. Holiday Cards: 1957 Report; 1958 plans
12. Literature: Report on CORE RULES FOR ACTION and THIS IS CORE. CORE STATEMENT OF PURPOSE
    Report and discussion of THE NASHVILLE STORY, how a local CORE group encouraged school integration
13. New program ideas (such as airlines). New program personnel needed?
14. Publicity and Public Relations
15. Two-week Summer Study and Action Institute. New Orleans? CORE Convention August 28th thru 31st at same place?

NOTE: Send your reservation in immediately for the Council meeting. We need your participation, and we hope to be able to provide free housing to those who make reservations. Saturday night party.

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2. Telephone change:

New office number is COrtlandt 7-0408.

3. Finances:

Apfel & Englander, accountants specializing in non-profit organizations, are doing audit for CORE. It will be ready by the Council. This audit is for the year ended May 31, 1957. Books for current year are to be revised to fit new system recommended by accountants. Because books have been out of our hands, only a thumb-nail sketch is available for January and February: Income $5,825 ($4,000 in contributions from CORE list); Expenses $7,118, including over $1200 for THIS IS CORE and CORE RULES FOR ACTION. Since June 1, over $5,000 has been contributed by new supporters. Returns on current appeals far below October results.

(more)

Nashville School Integration Pamphlet

At Jim Peck's request, Anna Holden of Nashville CORE has submitted detailed copy of the work done there on school integration. The Action Committee felt that the material was generally excellent. Considerable cutting and editing is, of course, necessary. John Befel was suggested as a possible ghost writer (however, Bob Crosby is working on it through arrangements already made by Jim Peck). Jim Peck to do much of the editing, with referral to Action Committee. Final copy must be approved by Anna Holden and Nashville CORE.

Financing this pamphlet: Publication costs may run to $2,000. Good quality, light-weight paper necessary if pamphlet is to be used with appeals (so effective with OUR STRUGGLE). Special financing desirable. Advertising and distribution costs will be high if we get the kind of large circulation desired. Financial sources to be investigated include: individuals, foundations, labor unions.

Funds for General Programming:

A number of suggestions were made for getting contributions from labor unions built around specific projects (i.e., the registration work in South Carolina).

South Carolina Institute:

April 23 is the date of an all-day CORE State Conference in Sumter, South Carolina. Jim Robinson to attend. Mass meeting scheduled for evening at which Jim Farmer will speak. Pictures for the CORElator.

Advisory Committee:

This Committee could well be enlarged. Martin Gerber of UAW and Jerry Wurf of AFSCME were suggested. It was agreed that Action Committee minutes should go to members of the Advisory Committee.

Public Relations & Publicity:

It was suggested that both Ebony and The Reporter might be interested in the South Carolina Registration story.

Equipment:

Tape recorded needed for McCain, but cannot afford now. Office typewriter to be purchased when bank account permits if price war continues.

Summer Institute:

Nashville not available. Atlanta, Miami and Memphis are possibilities, but New Orleans is most likely place. Still tentative.

James T. McCain's Field Work:

The concentrated work in South Carolina on registration will continue until the Council meets, and probably thereafter for some time with breaks to permit side trips to other areas. A field trip to the City where the Institute (August) is to be held may be necessary very soon. The Council must be prepared to discuss in detail the Registration work in S. C., as it is distinctly different from the kinds or projects CORE has carried on in the past.

END

Minutes -- National Action Committee - Congress of Racial Equality
March 2, 1958

Present: James Farmer, James Robinson, Lula Farmer, Marvin Rich

Absent: Leroy Carter, George Houser, James Peck

1. Telephone

New telephone numbers are COrtland 7-0408 and COrtland 7-0409. The extension to the War Resisters' League has been discontinued.

Financial Report.

The books are being audited by Apfel & Englander, specialists in non-profit organizations.

For this reason only a thumb-nail sketch of our financial situation is available. Income for the past two months (January & February) was $5825 (approximately $4000 was secured from CORE's mailing list). Expenditures for the corresponding period were $7118 (of this amount approximately $1200 was spent for This is CORE and CORE Rules for Action. Since June 1, 1957 CORE has received roughly $5000 from new names. The Return on the February appeal with This is CORE and CORE Rules for Action was in no way comparable to that of the previous year when Our Struggle.

Nashville School Integration Pamphlet

Publication

No one had read the pamphlet completely but it was felt that generally it was quite good. All agreed it should be "tightened and shortened." In addition considerable editorial work is required.

John Befel was suggested as a possible ghost writer. He has done work for Rose Pesotta and Norman Thomas. Jim Peck will do the general editing but final review will be done by an editorial board.

Financing

It was agreed that special financing was desirable. The publication costs would be high (about $2000) because good quality paper would weigh less and permit the pamphlet to be used extensively for fund-raising purposes. Advertising and distribution costs would be considerable.

The following possible financial sources for the pamphlet were mentioned:

1. Individuals
Trinnie Barnes and other persons with "independent incomes" who have demonstrated interest in material of this type.
2. Fund for the Republic
Frank Loescher does their race relations work. The FOR recently published a pamphlet with their assistance and experienced considerable delay. The Fund no longer provides free bulk distribution.
3. National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee. Harry Fleishman is the contact there.
4. Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.
Charles Zimmerman of our Advisory Committee may contact Louis Stulberg, who is the ILGWU's representative on the IUD.

Funds for General Programming

It was felt that CORE could tap labor unions for funds for general programming. All felt that Martin Gerber (UAW) and Gerold Wurf (AFSCME) could become valuable members of the Advisory Committee. Rudy Mitaritonna, Local 40, AFSCME, should be contacted for a contribution sometime after May 1. It was felt that locals of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees would probably make small contributions also.

Much discussion revolved around Mike Quill, Transport Workers Union, as a potential large contributor. It was felt that although we did not considerableMr. Quill suitable for the CORE Advisory Committee, he might well be receptive to a request for funds. Jim Farmer agreed to call Maurice Iushewitz re contacting Mike Quill and other CIO leaders.

Mc Cain's Field Work in S.C.

The committee expressed concern that Mc Cain will not be spending enough time in any one town in S.C. to organize solid groups. After the S.C. Institute* it is hoped that McCain will be available for field trips to other states including Tennessee and Louisiana, as well asssolidifying the S.C. groups.

*Mc Cain has scheduled the state-wide S.C. CORE Institute for the afternoon of April 23. A mass-meeting is scheduled for that evening at the Mt. Pisgah Church. Both Jim Farmer and Jim Robinson will attend.

It was agreed that we suggest to Mc Cain that pictures be taken of that meeting.

Advisory Committee

The Committee agreed that members of the Advisory Committee ought to receive minutes of its meetings.

Public Relations & Publicity

It is hoped that articles on Mc Cain's work in S.C. could be published both in Ebony and the Reporter. Jim Robinson will contact both magazines suggesting that material is available and requesting information on their interest.

Office Equipment

The Committee felt that a tape-recorder wouldbe a great asset to Jim McCain but CORE cannot afford it now. It was agreed that if Royal Typewriters are still off fair trade, the Executive Secretary would purchase one for the CORE office, if feasible.

Workshop

Nashville is not available as a possible site. Atlanta may be available. New Orleans appears to be the most likely place. There is some interest among local residents; it is a cosmopolitan city where there exist possibilities of group action projects. It is hoped that some scholarships will be available. A mailing with additional details has been sent out.

CORE Council Meeting

The CORE Council meeting will be held March 22,23 at the Hotel & Restaurant Employees New York Joint Board, 11 West 42nd Street.

The agenda is as follows:
CORE Constitution
Field Work (S.C. and other areas)
Workshop
Convention
Finances
Literature including the Nashville pamphlet
Holiday Cards
Publicity & Public Relations.

Minutes of the
National Action Committee
Congress of Racial Equality
May 6, 1958

Present: Jim Robinson, James Farmer, Lula Farmer, Leroy Carter, Marvin Rich

Absent: George Houser, James Peck

1. Financial Report

The financial report, presented by the Treasurer, Lula Farmer, was discussed at some length.

2. Fund Raising

CORE's precarious financial position as illustrated in the Treasurers Report makes successful fund raising in the coming months more important than ever before. The Executive Secretary outlined plans for fund raising in the near future. These include:

a. This is Core

a final mailing with this enclosure was completed around the end of April.

b. Reply-o-letter

This letter is scheduled to go out over the signature of A. Phillip Randolph to about 30,000 names.

c. Union Fund Raising was discussed again.

d. The Nashville Pamphlet

Although in the process of completion, the pamphlet has been held up because of changes in the text. It should be available by the end of May. The Executive Secretary will write to Moss Kendrix of the National Education Association about possible distribution.

3. Baltimore CORE

Jim Robinson read a letter which had been mailed to Charles Oldham, CORE Chairman, which raised objections to the CORE Constitution as revised by the 1957 CORE Convention.

4. 1958 Convention

The 1958 CORE Convention will be held July 4, 5 and 6 at a Quaker Camp in Frogmore, S.C. (dates changed to June 29 to July 2nd later on responses of groups).

5. South Carolina

Recently Jim Robinson and Jim Farmer visited S.C. where the Field Secretary, James T. Mc Cain, has been active in the voter registration drive. Jim Farmer's impression of the trip during which he addressed a mass meeting of S.C. leaders, was that an excellent job is being done by competent individuals. Group spirit is high and in this environment CORE has met a great need with flexibility of program and imagination. Jim Robinson was also impressed with the work being done in S.C.

Jim Robinson saw Al Mindlin and Mary Schlossberg in Washington, D.C. on his return from S.C. It is hoped that soon they will be able to help form a new CORE group there. In northern Virginia, a human relations group, rather than a CORE group, has been set up.

6. Field Work

Thus far Mc Cain has been concentrating in S.C. It is hoped that he will be able to visit some of the surrounding states as well as maintain his contacts in S.C.

CORE

National Action Committee -- Meeting May 26, 1958, 1 p.m., Co-op Cafeteria, Park Place, New York City.

Present: George Houser, Jim Peck, LeRoy Carter, James R. Robinson, and Lula Farmer.

Absent: Marvin Rich

Holiday Cards: James Robinson reported that Joe Gray has promised to submit designs. J.R.R. has also written to several artists whose works were featured in a recent EBONY article.

Requests for list for exchange purposes: The Committee approved an exchange with the CALL for a later date if the Executive Secretary thinks it will be profitable. James Robinson reported that the list, New York City Area, had been loaned to Morris Milgrim for announcements of the Modern Community Developers Dinner, held in New York City recently. The Committee disapproved exchange with World Good Will.

Finances: Lula Farmer reported a current balance of about $1,200, operating account.

Personnel: The Committee discussed several possibilities for additional staff, and the probability that an additional staff person may be added in the coming fiscal year.

NAC Personnel: The Committee approved the addition of Tom Roberts to the membership of the National Action Committee. Mr. Roberts, a lawyer, was active in the Boston group while at Harvard, now resides in New York, and is a member of the local New York group. Request to go to Charles R. Oldham for appointment of Mr. Roberts to the Committee.

James' Campaign and McCain: Mr. Robinson reported that a request had been received from Sumter group to have McCain assist actively with Reverend James' campaign for the City Council of Sumter. (Reverend James is the chairman of the Sumter group). After conferring with several members of the Committee, this request has been refused since CORE cannot engage in partisan politics. A leave of absence had been offered, but after conferring with McCain, it was decided not advisable to interfere with plans for registration work in the rest of the state in order that he work on the James Campaign.

Future plans for McCain: Possibility of types of action other than registration work in South Carolina were discussed, as well as the probable necessity of McCain's spending some time in Nashville prior to the re-opening of schools. Also discussed was possibility of time in Charlottesville, Virginia if any school project seemed possible.

Nashville Pamphlet: 25,000 have been ordered at cost of over $1,000. An order for an imprinted edition has been received from Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Other orders have been received from the ADL, ILGWU, with the possibility of orders from the SRC, and the NAACP. These orders are small but the ADL and ILG expect larger orders on the basis of mailings to regional education directors.

Advertising of pamphlet discussed with decision to place ads in the following: Progressive, Dissent, Independent, EBONY. Notices of pamphlet with review copies to go to, among others, N.Y. Times, Southern School News, South Today, Citizens Committee for Better Schools, Negro papers.

Conference-Convention: Mr. Robinson reported that announcements have been sent with follow-ups still to go. Rev. Martin Luther King, Lillian Smith, Ella Baker, and Bayard Rustin have been invited to attend. The Committee recommended that Anna Holden of Nashville be specifically urged to come to head discussion on school desegregation.

Affiliations: No further word has been received from Charleston, Columbia, or Greenville on their affiliations. (Note: since the Committee meeting, affiliation material sent in by Columbia and Greenville). The Committee discussed the necessity of devising means to assist these new groups in developing other action programs after the registration campaigns have come to an end.

Local Constitution Outline: The National office has been instructed by March Council to develop a sample Constitution for the use of new local groups. Possibility of having someone in a local group, or formerly active locally do this job was discussed. Ruth Roe, formerly of New York CORE, and now a suburban housewife, was suggested.

CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row New York 38, New York

Minutes of the National Convention, 1958, Penn Community Center, St. Helena Island, Frogmore, South Carolina

CONFERENCE: The two-day conference, June 29th to June 30th, was especially well attended. Many of the South Carolina affiliates and potential affiliates were represented only at the conference and not at the Convention. Courtney Siceloff of Penn Community Center and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, and Mrs. Spearman of the latter, as well as several others attended the Conference and parts of the Convention. The Convention is the ultimate governing body of the Congress of Racial Equality.

CONFERENCE DISCUSSION TOPICS:
School Integration
CORE in the North, West, Border and South
Registration in the South
Local Organisational set-up and Local Constitutions
Theory of Nonviolence
National Action Projects

DELEGATES PRESENT:

Take in from Virginia

TREASURER'S REPORT: The report of the Treasurer, Lula Farmer, was made and accepted. Attached.

The budget for 1958-59 fiscal year was distributed and read. Attached. Action on adoption deferred to a later point in Convention proceedings.

The Auditors' Report was circulated. Copies are available in limited quantity from the National Office.

Income for the fiscal year (June 1, 1957 to May 31, 1958, was $24,705.26; disbursements, $25,211.77, leaving deficity of $506.50.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT: This report was distributed and read. Attached.

There was considerable discussion of the need for a second field secretary and an office assistant. Idea approved if finances permit, and implementation left to the National Action Committee.

There is a need to further work of CORE in other areas (both geographical and program areas) by increasing work of field secretaries.

It was moved, seconded and passed that Executive Secretary James R. Robinson's report be accepted.

FIELD SECRETARY'S REPORT: James T. McCain read his report. Copy attached. There was discussion the the support a CORE group gave to Rev. Frederick C. James from Sumter, South Carolina for election to a public office. Although it was freely admitted that running Negroes for public office is a stimulus to Negro registration in the South, it was re-affirmed that CORE, as such, is a non-partisan organization and its affiliates should not engage in partisan politics. Report accepted.

REPORTS FROM AFFILIATED GROUPS TO THE CONVENTION (Delegates from Sumter, S. C. and Nashville, Tennessee, not present at this time, and hence no report from these groups is in the Minutes).

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: This report was given jointly by Sayuri Buell, Gordon Carey and Henry Hodge. Motels in the L. A. area tested. Three cases filed in small claims court. CORE won one of these. Five more motels will be tested and the information compiled.

L. A. CORE has worked with the NAACP on the Budweiser Brewery, where no Negroes are employed. CORE took major responsibility for picketing retail outlets and taverns which continued to sell Budweiser during the Boycott. The action was finally discontinued: it was reported that the local Teamsters' Union seems to be to blame for the policy.

CORE is a member of the Los Angeles County Conference on Human Relations. Work is planned on employment and housing. Recent court decisions on FHA housing appear to give groups such a CORE a handle with which to attack exclusion from housing on racial grounds.

Because the L. A. Urban League did not wish it, CORE did not contact Western Airlines in regard to hiring Negro stewardesses.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND: Marian Bardoff reported that many new places of public accommodation (restaurants, bowling alleys, theaters) have been tested and a number of places open to all have been retested. The group compiled a list and mailed it to individuals and organizations in Baltimore.

There have been demonstrations twice a week at the White Coffee Pot (lunchroom chain), and this is considered by the group a good educational effort.

Eight cars went to test the policy of Carlings Drive-In Theater. Admission refused.

Efforts are being made to get a Public Accommodations Bill to a vote in the Baltimore City Council.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI: The St. Louis Public Accommodations Bill was defeated by two votes, after CORE had made a house to house campaign getting 1400 names signed to a petition and 700 post cards signed in one ward. There have been demonstrations at two department stores attempting to get tea rooms to open service to all (other food service facilities in these stores are open).

St. Louis CORE is responsible for the formation of a city-wide organization whose one purpose is the passage of a Public Accommodations Bill.

There are plans to stage a one-week boycott at department stores to get Negroes hired in all capacities and to open service in the tea rooms to all. The focal point may be Famous-Barr, the St. Louis outlet of the May Co. chain. Other CORE groups will be asked to help in their respective cities where there are retail stores belonging to the May Co. chain.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK: New York CORE was the group instrumental in setting up the Committee for Immediate Action on the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Fair Housing Bill, and the National Office was used as the co-ordinating center for this Committee's project (a Demonstration of 300 persons calling for passage of the bill, led by Jackie Robinson, at City Hall). CORE itself not only promoted the Demonstration, but also sent letters, telegrams, etc. and appeared at the hearings. The Bill was passed and signed by Mayor Wagner. It prohibits refusal to rent apartments (apartment is defined as one of at least three living units in the same building) or to sell houses (in developments of ten or more units) because of race. CORE is working on implementation and use of the new law and is cooperating with the Commission on Integgroup Relations, the City agency responsible for administering the law.

AIRLINES FLIGHT-CREW EMPLOYMENT. CORE is seeking applicants for positions as pilot, co-pilot, flight engineer and stewardess. Plans congratulatory demonstration to TWA on hiring of Negro stewardess. Leaflets have been distributed in front of airlines ticket offices asking that customers demand a fiar employment policy of all the airlines. An attempt was made to get specific information about a specific applicant showing discrimination in order to refer same to President's Committee on Government Contracts.

COREIator: It was stated that the COREIator is the chief means of telling CORE groups and individual national members what the CORE groups are doing.

A plea was made to the groups that action reports for the COREIator be complete and specific and include human-interest material. Full reports can easily be cut by Editor Jim Peck; but it is essential that the story itself be so clear that a re-write cannot distort the truth.

SEND PICTURES OF THE PROJECT. Pictures are essential if a story is to receive feature treatment.

LITERATURE: It was urged that all affiliated local groups buy and use THIS IS CORE and CORE RULES FOR ACTION, our two basic items of literature.

A FIRST STEP TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION, by Anna Holden, edited by Alex Crosby and Jim Peck, is the most ambitious publication yet to be issued by CORE. We think it can be of great use in other cities where school integration is still to begin.

The CORE STATEMENT OF PURPOSE text is ready, but finances have not permitted its re-issuance. ORGANIZATIONAL MANUAL and HISTORY OF CORE must be re-written before they can be re-published. Jim Robinson to work on latter; Gordon Carey on former. On pamphlets other than the basic literature, the names of writers are to be given: this permits some personal expression of opinion.

PUBLICITY: It was suggested that we publicize and spread A FIRST STEP TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION in areas still to desegregate.

Groups should contact National Office if they have a spectacular project that can be built up into a pamphlet like A FIRST STEP.

Convention press release to NNPA to be written and sent out by Marian Oldham and Jim Robinson.

HOLIDAY CARDS. There will be two cards in 1958, one the same as in 1957. As long as sale is small, cards must be acceptable to all groups, religious and non-religious. Artists featured in the April issue of EBONY were written and asked for designs. These designs have been submitted.

CORE persons with leads to artists are asked to solicit designs on a contributed basis. Designs can be submitted at any time, but only those received in the early months of any calendar year will be considered for production for that year.

AFFILIATION FORM: The revised form was submitted and adopted without change.

(At this point, Albert Glover, a delegate from Sumter CORE was seated as a voting delegate and was present for remainder of the Convention Sessions.)

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE: It was reported that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., has accepted a position on the National Advisory Committee. The Convention directed the Executive Secretary to write the following persons to ask them to serve on the Advisory Committee:

Marian Anderson
Algernon Black (mention Henry Hodge who knows him)
James Carey (AFL-CIO)
John Henry Falk
John Gunther
Paul Hoffman
Rabbi Kline
Don Murray
Jackie Robinson
Carl T. Rowan
Bruno Walter
William Warfield

NATIONAL CORE CONSTITUTION: Charles R. Oldham, national chairman, stated that prior to 1956 items had been added to the Constitution but a new mimeographed copy was not issued eadh time a change was made. However, a new copy was issued in 1956 after the vital change from a federation to a national membership organization. All previous additions were incorporated in this issue.

Marion Bardoff, delegate from Baltimore, read a prepared statement from her affiliate on the Constitution and changes desired.

Article 2 was re-worded to read:

Article a. PURPOSES: CORE is a national membership organization with affiliated local groups, preferably interracial, working to abolish discrimination based on skin color, race, religion or national origin, and stressing direct nonviolent action. It shall represent the groups nationally and give voice to their convictions and to those of its national associate (contributing) members.

THE RESTRICTION ON MEMBERSHIP was re-worded to read:

RESTRICTION ON MEMBERSHIP: Active membership shall not be available to any individual who persists in violation of the CORE RULES FOR ACTION or attempts to subvert the CORE group through allegiance to other groups or organizations.

The National Action Committee, if it deems necessary, may hold a hearing on the eligibility for continued membership of any active member. If his membership in CORE is found to be in violation of this restriction, the National Action Committee shall then remove him from active membership and exclude him from participation in any affiliated group. Within thirty (30) days after receipt of the decision by the National Action Committee to remove him from active membership, he shall have the right to file an appeal. Such appeal shall be heard at the next meeting of the

National Council or Convention.

Eleven voting delegates were present at the time this re-wording was adopted. It was passed by a vote of 8 to 0.

Article 11, QUORUM. After discussion, it was moved and seconded that no change be made in this provision. Marian Bardoff of Baltimore wished to be recorded as not voting as she had been instructed to vote for a specific quorum, but, on the basis of the discussion, could see the reasons for continuation of the provision as is. The motion to keep QUORUM as is was passed by a vote of 8 to 1.

At this point, discussion on the Constitution was interrupted to consider other matters.

[redacted]: Dates set as Saturday and Sunday, February 21 and 22, 1959, in Nashville, Tennessee. If Nashville does not want the Council, St. Louis will take it. Motion passed.

There was some discussion as to whether the Council should meet once or twice a year; also, as to whether this plus the Convention does not make too many national meetings with delegates expected to attend from locals. It was requested that this be placed on the agenda for discussion at the 1959 Council and/or Convention.

1959 Convention. It was moved, seconded and passed that the Convention be held the third week in June if possible, but that dates be held somewhat flexible.

It was moved, seconded and passed that the Convention be in the general area of Los Angeles, California.

NATIONAL BUDGET: Proposed Budget prepared by Lula Farmer and Jim Robinson distributed. Suggestion that we try to get foundation grants. Difficulty: donations not tax deductible. Suggested that unions be solicited. Proposed budget had a mathematical error: contemplated income and expense should read $39,984, not $38,984.

Lula Farmer stated that the auditors raised no questions concerning the amount spent on raising funds.

Motion made and seconded that we adopt the proposed budget with no changes. Motion carried.

Instruction to local groups: Lists of possible contributors should be sent by local affiliates to National Office as soon as possible, preferably before July 21st, for the National to use in solicitations.

CONSTITUTION DISCUSSION CONCLUDED:

Marian Bardoff of Baltimore suggested that Constitution adoption be deferred for further group study. It was pointed out, however, that (1) we must have a Constitution in effect, and (2) Constitutional amendments can be made twice a year at least (National Council meeting and National Convention).

In order that group delegates may be prepared for any changes, it was strongly urged that where any group proposes changes, such changes be submitted in writing to the National Office for transmission to the other affiliated groups a few weeks before any national meeting.

Motion to ratify the Constitution as amended, seconded and carried by vote of 9 to 1.

It was decided that the Constitution must be re-issued every time it is amended.

BASIC CONSTITUTION FOR LOCAL AFFILIATED GROUPS: Motion made and seconded to refer this matter to the National Action Committee. Charles Oldham will prepare and send to the National Office a Sample Constitution based on the suggestions that came from the small groups meeting at the Conference.

SUMMER ACTION INSTITUTE: The training institute of two weeks duration in a Southern location, suggested for August 1958, was not possible this year according to the Executive Secretary. The idea and general format, however, seem feasible. It should have one or two prominent names on the faculty, preferably be co-sponsored with some other national organization and a local organization in the city chosen. The morning sessions would be discussions (nonviolence, race relations, CORE history, specific conditions in the locality, etc.); the afternoons would be given largely to action projects; evenings for evaluation, speakers, and one mass meeting.

New Orleans, Memphis (and possibly Miami) were suggested placed. Participants from Southern and Border states would be given preference. Stress on developing secondary leadership with an emphasis upon dramatic action.

Such an Institute would have to be largely self-supporting financially, but CORE should be willing to release someone for the preceding month to make the arrangements in the locality. A continuing local group of some kind desirable to carry forward projects not completed.. .

No formal motions passed, but unanimous agreement that the idea is a good one.

NATIONAL ACTION ASSISTANCE: The National Office is authorized to ask national associate members to write letters, etc., either on national race-relations issues or in aid of a particular project. Any affiliated local group can ask the National Office to transmit a request for supplementary assistance from other affiliates: for example, an outlet of a chain store in a Southern or Border location refuses to co-operate; the local involved asks for help from other locals; they can then, if they so decide, publicize that the X chain is guilty of discrimination in Y city and the outlet here should be boycotted, etc.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS (by secret ballot) Majority vote:

Chairman	Charles R. Oldham, St. Louis
Vice Chairman	Henry Hodge, Los Angeles
Secretary	Anna Holden, Nashville
Treasurer	Lula Farmer, New York

Field Representatives (2/3 vote required for election)

Herbert Kelman, Boston
James Farmer, New York
Walter Hayes, St. Louis
Wilson Riles, Los Angeles
George Houser, New York
Sayuri Buell, Los Angeles
Gordon Carey, Los Angeles

It was decided to have a maximum of two field representatives on the West Coast. At least one of the three elected from Los Angeles will withdraw. The question arose that no field representative was elected from South Carolina, but it was felt that the S. C. groups are all very new and that, since James T. McCain works out of S. C., it is not yet necessary or desirable to have a field representative ~~there~~ there.

SIGNATURE AUTHORIZATIONS ON CORE ACCOUNTS: It was moved and seconded that present signatures be continued on both the Operating Account (Lula Farmer and Jim Robinson's signatures) and the Reserve Account or Accounts (Charles R. Oldham, Lula Farmer and Jim Robinson's signature). Should Lula Farmer

become unable to sign (she is contemplating leaving the U. S.), it was moved and seconded that the National Action Committee be authorized to designate an additional signature.

Both motions passed.

COURTESIES: (1) James R. Robinson was instructed to send a letter of thanks to Courtney Siceloff of Penn Community Center for the very comfortable arrangements for the Conference-Convention -- in spite of the difficulties imposed upon him by the extreme laxity of some of the CORE groups in making reservations.

(2) The delegates gave particular thanks to James T. McCain, who took care of a great many of the details at the meeting and, in addition, spent a great deal of time picking up delegates who arrived at all hours of the day and night.

(3) Motion passed thanking Jim Peck particularly for his volunteer clerical work in the national office as well as for editing the CORElator. A note of thanks, signed by the delegates, was dispatched to him in Honolulu.

(4) The hat was passed for tips to the two cooks for excellent meals and service.

RESOLUTIONS: The Convention noted the receipt of a number of resolutions from a member of Los Angeles CORE.

It was noted that for several years we have had no Resolutions Committee and taken no action on resolutions.

It was moved, seconded and passed that a Resolutions Committee be appointed at the beginning of the 1959 Convention to handle resolutions.

In this connection, it was suggested that CORE is an action group and that resolutions with some connection to feasible action are more in line with CORE principles than resolutions of a general nature.

ADJOURNMENT

ADJOURNMENT: The Convention adjourned by unanimous vote at 11:35 A. M., July 2, 1958.

Respectfully submitted,

Marian Oldham, Secretary

(It should be noted that in spite of busy Conference and Convention sessions, Recreation periods were observed, with a number of swims in the Beaufort River particularly popular.)

GRC

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

Minutes, National Action Committee, - July 18, 1958, luncheon, 11 Park Place

Present: LeRoy Carter, James Farmer, Lula Farmer, George Houser, James McCain, Thomas Roberts (visitor), James R. Robinson.

Absent: James Peck (in Hawaii), Marvin Rich (ill).

1. Summary of Financial Position: Lula Farmer, Treasurer, reported that the Operating Account was down to $1,000 and unpaid bills, including some not yet received, exceed that amount. Income, although better than in most previous summers, is not sufficient. The question of deferring payment of salaries was discussed. It was decided to pay salaries for the next month and a half even if additional withdrawals on the Reserve Fund are necessary to do so.

2. Added Staff: Pursuant to the Convention decision that a second field secretary should be added to the staff, there was some discussion of this point. Such a person would work at least one-third of the time in the office planning field trips for himself and for McCain outside of South Carolina (McCain plans his own trips there). Development of National Program might be an added emphasis. The second field secretary would travel primarily in the North, West and Border areas; Mr. McCain largely, but not exclusively, in the South. Decision on the new job, date for starting, etc., deferred pending more information on one prospective applicant and especially clarification on the financial situation. George Houser raised the question of whether an added office person (secretarial-clerical) is not needed. James Robinson said such a person is needed, but the field position must be given priority at this time.

3. Projected Field Trips: (1) Charleston, West Virginia: Charles and Marian Oldham wrote they had found an interested convener for a CORE group in Charleston. Decided: James T. McCain to go there for at least ten days. (After meeting, it was arranged he should arrive in Charleston August 6th.)

(2) Washington, D. C.: James R. Robinson reported that there is some interest, but he has not yet had time to arrange a visit there.

(3) Boston, Massachusetts: Herbert Kelman and Charles Crawford indicate a need and some interest. Neither can assume central leadership of the new group, and both recommend waiting until Fall. Thomas Roberts, formerly a member of Boston CORE, suggested that contacting should start now and that he can help supply contacts.

(4) Shreveport, Louisiana: Dr. C. O. Simpkins had invited James McCain to assist with Workshop on Voter Registration, but, as nothing definite has been arranged, and as McCain will be busy in West Virginia and South Carolina, it is doubtful whether he will go to Shreveport even if travel money is provided by the Workshop.

4. Discussion of CORE and the South Carolina Groups: It was generally agreed that James McCain's work in South Carolina has been important in stimulating voter registration there. However, the main function of field work in South Carolina, as everywhere else, must be the formation of solid, distinct CORE groups, with an action-project emphasis, a democratic internal set-up, and not restricted to working on registration (although that may be the main emphasis at present).

(OVER)

Organizational difficulties in regard to the new South Carolinian groups were discussed. It was emphasized that CORE groups in the South will necessarily vary from the traditional CORE pattern. The development of solidly functioning groups with distinctive programs developed and controlled by the groups themselves will be helped by stressing such factors as the following as essential: (1) every group should meet at least twice a month (some have been indicating only one meeting a month); (2) while co-operating with other groups, each CORE group must have its own distinctive program, organization and emphasis; (3) finances must be stressed so that each group can send one delegate to the National Council in February and several delegates to the Convention in June 1959 (essential to stress because of spotty attendance at the 1958 Convention by the S. C. groups): without participation in the National Organization, a local group usually fails to pick up new ideas on action and organization for use back home, and it fails to do its democratic duty when it does not help in the direction of National CORE through participation at Councils and Conventions.

DECIDED: That James T. McCain should attend the meetings of all or most of the groups in the near future. Work should be done, particularly in the larger cities, to develop direct action projects. It was felt this could be an aid in building the group and in interesting more persons in the Registration campaign. In some of these groups, non-segregated riding of city buses, checking availability to all of airport facilities, elimination of differentials of treatment in department stores, fair hiring practices are possible as projects using CORE's traditional direct action techniques. The National Action Committee suggested that Mr. McCain plan to spend a number of days with any group initiating direct action projects so that the group may have the benefit of his participation and he may gain wider experience, some of which may later be applicable in other Southern groups. It was felt that in rural counties Registration might be the only feasible current project.

It was also urged that white persons be solicited for membership in the CORE groups on the basis of participation in an action project. The local group should decide which persons can safely be invited, and the NAC felt groups should be careful to exclude anyone, white or Negro, who may be over-cautious and may retard any group to which he belongs from participation in action.

Finally, it was agreed that Registration is vitally important to further advances in the South, but that a combination of Registration with other emphases may not only build stronger CORE groups, but also hasten the progress of self-assertion by Negroes with the corresponding growth of respect by white people -- which has been so notable in the areas of organized action such as Montgomery, Orangeburg, and Tuskegee.

5. Next Meeting: James Robinson is to call the NAC together as soon as necessary to decide on the additional staff person.

JPC

Minutes

NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE
JANUARY 6, 1959 - 12:30 P.M.

11 Park Place

Present were: Mr. James R. Robinson, Mrs. Lula Farmer, Mr. James Farmer, Mr. James Peck, Mr. Thomas Roberts, Mr. Gordon R. Carey, Mr. Marvin Rich, Mr. LeRoy Carter, Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Mrs. Hortense Sawyer

I. FIELD REPORT

Mr. Carey, Field Secretary, reported that on his second Virginia field trip he visited Portsmouth, Norfolk, Suffolk, Petersburg, Richmond, Williamsburg, Hampton and Newport News. Carey and Atty. L. W. Holt of Norfolk CORE made a four day survey of these cities and decided that organizational efforts should be concentrated in Suffolk, Petersburg and Richmond. Soon after the arrival of Field Secretary Mr. James T. McCain a CORE group was formed in Suffolk which was to investigate Trailways Bus Terminal and the local Coca Cola Co. as possible projects.

About thirteen persons attended the first meeting in Petersburg. At the second meeting it was decided to organize themselves into a CORE group. Good contacts were also made in Richmond, Williamsburg and Hampton with persons interested in organizing local Committees of Racial Equality.

II. PILGRIMAGE TO RICHMOND FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

While in Petersburg, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker suggested to McCain and Carey the possibility of a March on Richmond asking for the opening of the nine Virginia schools which were closed under Virginia's policy of "massive resistance". Carey and McCain secured the endorsement of several Virginia civil rights leaders and asked the CORE National Action Committee for $500 towards the financing of this project. Rev. Walker agreed to take a partial leave of absence from his church to act as Coordinator of the project which came to be known as the Pilgrimage of Prayer for Public Schools.

Rev. Walker was appointed Acting State Director of CORE for the State of Virginia by the National Chairman, Charles Oldham. Carey was instructed to remain in Virginia to work with Walker on mobilization of the Pilgrimage for the six weeks preceding January 1, the day of the Pilgrimage. On December 20, 1958, the Church Coordinating Committee of the Virginia State Conference, NAACP voted to co-sponsor the Pilgrimage and allotted $500 for that purpose. It was agreed that the cost of the Pilgrimage would be equally divided between CORE and the Virginia NAACP, not inclusive of staff salaries or incidental staff expenses.

Other organizations which cooperated with the Pilgrimage were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; the Virginia Baptist State Convention; the Goodwill Baptist Convention, N.B.C., Inc; the Old Dominion Dental Society; Virginia State Beauticians Association; the Baptist General Association; and the Virginia Teachers Association.

Individuals who supported the Pilgrimage and urged the support of their constituents were Dr. J. B. Henderson, President, Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention; Rev. William B. Abbot, Minister, Oakdale Presbyterian Church, Norfolk; Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Past President, National Council of Negro Women; Rev. H. G. Hairston, Masons; Mr. Joseph F. Simmons, Elks; Eugene West, Odd Fellows; ~~and~~ Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, and Rabbi Frank of Arlington.

Individual endorsements were given by Harry Golden, editor, the Carolina Israelite; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; and James McBride Dabs, President, Southern Regional Council.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations and the Virginia Committees for Public Schools refused endorsement or cooperation with the Pilgrimage. However, the Council on Human Relations did permit us the use of their mailing list.

Rev. Walker reported on the state-wide mobilization for the Pilgrimage, the local organization, the Pilgrimage continuations committee, and the January 1st Pilgrimage itself. He reported that over 2000 met in the Richmond Mosque at 2:30 for the one and one-half hour meeting. Following the prayer meeting more than half the participants led by some 300 clergymen marched across the city of Richmond in the rain to the steps of the State Capitol where the Pilgrimage was concluded with the unanimous approval of a resolution and prayer. The resolution requested the Governor "to invite delegates from this Pilgrimage to a conference which will seek as its end to establish a bi-racial commission to act in an advisory capacity in seeking a solution to the present school crisis.....to establish a program and time table for the desegregation of our schools, and to cooperate.....in resolving other racial problems in our Commonwealth."

The newspapers, both daily and weekly, gave the Pilgrimage accurate and complete coverage before and after the event. Coverage on radio and television was very good. Rev. Walker stated his pleasure in working with CORE and highly commended Mr. Carey's capabilities and capacity in his work with CORE. He and Carey had a very complete file of their records, correspondence, pictures and newspaper clippings which were submitted to the National Action Committee. Walker also reported that as a result of the Pilgrimage CORE is now well known throughout the state of Virginia. It was suggested that another field trip to Virginia should be planned as soon as possible. Marvin Rich suggested that there should be some follow-up from the National Office to maintain contact with the ministers and others who attended and cooperated with the Pilgrimage. Mr. James Peck noted that this was the first demonstration of this kind in the entire South. He also noted that the Pilgrimage was entirely a Virginia project. Peck moved, seconded by Rich, that Walker and Carey be especially commended for organizing a very successful demonstration. Motion passed.

Walker and Carey suggested that the Pilgrimage Continuations Committee might consider something like a 24 hour prayer vigil if the Governor fails to respond to the resolution and does not act on forming the suggested commission.

III. PUBLICITY

Item 3 (Regular publicity & press releases) of the agenda was deferred - Mr. Carey was very much impressed with the success of the Pilgrimage releases.

IV. WRL REQUEST TO USE CORE LIST

The February 2nd dinner of the War Resister League will not be a fund-raising dinner (Martin Luther King speaking). The Committee consented to WRL's use of CORE's NYC list and will ask them to distribute some CORE literature. Mrs. Farmer suggested that a report of the Pilgrimage be given at the dinner; the Committee wholeheartedly agreed to ask WRL for permission to do this.

V. FUND RAISING

A special promotional piece based on the Richmond Pilgrimage will be used in the February appeal to the CORE list, and the cross-check will be omitted. The CORElator will be mailed about January 20th for Brotherhood Month and will give special attention to the Pilgrimage.

VI. NEW LITERATURE

CORE's need for a new piece of literature was recognized by all, and it was noted that Mr. Peck will completely re-write ERASING THE COLOR LINE, including material from History of CORE. This issue will carry drawings and pictures and will be quite expensive.

VII. SUMMER ACTION INSTITUTE

The Executive Board of Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta voted to sponsor an Action Institute with CORE. The date will be set for some time near the end of the summer. Miami was not doubted as a favorable location. The

details for this will be left to CORE and representative(s) of SCLC. CORE should write to Ella Baker of SCLC.

VIII. FIELD PLANS

In arranging Field Plans it was decided that Mr. Carey will go to Baltimore for the weekend of January 16, 17 and 18. Mr. McCain to Lexington, Kentucky in early February; Mr. Carey to write Louisville CORE contacts and set up visit by McCain there between Lexington and Nashville Council. Carey to Virginia in February before Nashville Council (Feb. 20-22). Mr. McCain and Mr. Carey both in Miami February 28th. Miami contacts will be written again.

The Committee hopes to re-vamp the New York CORE during Mr. Robinson's absence. Efforts will be made to work up a list of white applicants who want to live in integrated neighborhoods; the possibility of using CORE list was voiced but not definitely decided.

IX. HOLIDAY CARDS

Sales amounted to $5800. When salary time is allocated CORE will not make a profit but did pick up 500 new names. Between 40,000 and 50,000 cards were sold and there were a good number left over for future sale. Will plan for two more cards for next year. Mr. Robinson feels that four times as much promotion should be done next year.

X. STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Rev. Foster, who is an AME minister and who is now in Bermuda, is definitely interested in a job with CORE starting in June. In accordance with favorable reaction at last NAC meeting, Mr. Robinson has written Rev. Foster stating our interest ~~about~~ but indicating that finances may determine final decision.

XI. NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

The National Council meeting is definitely set for Nashville, Saturday and Sunday, February 21 and 22. Travel plans to aid delegates to June Convention are to be worked out for presentation to the Council. There is a possibility that a plane can be chartered from Washington.

Nashville wants to establish a workshop in connection with the Council. It is understood that at least one representative from each group should be at the Council and that plans for the workshop should be made accordingly.

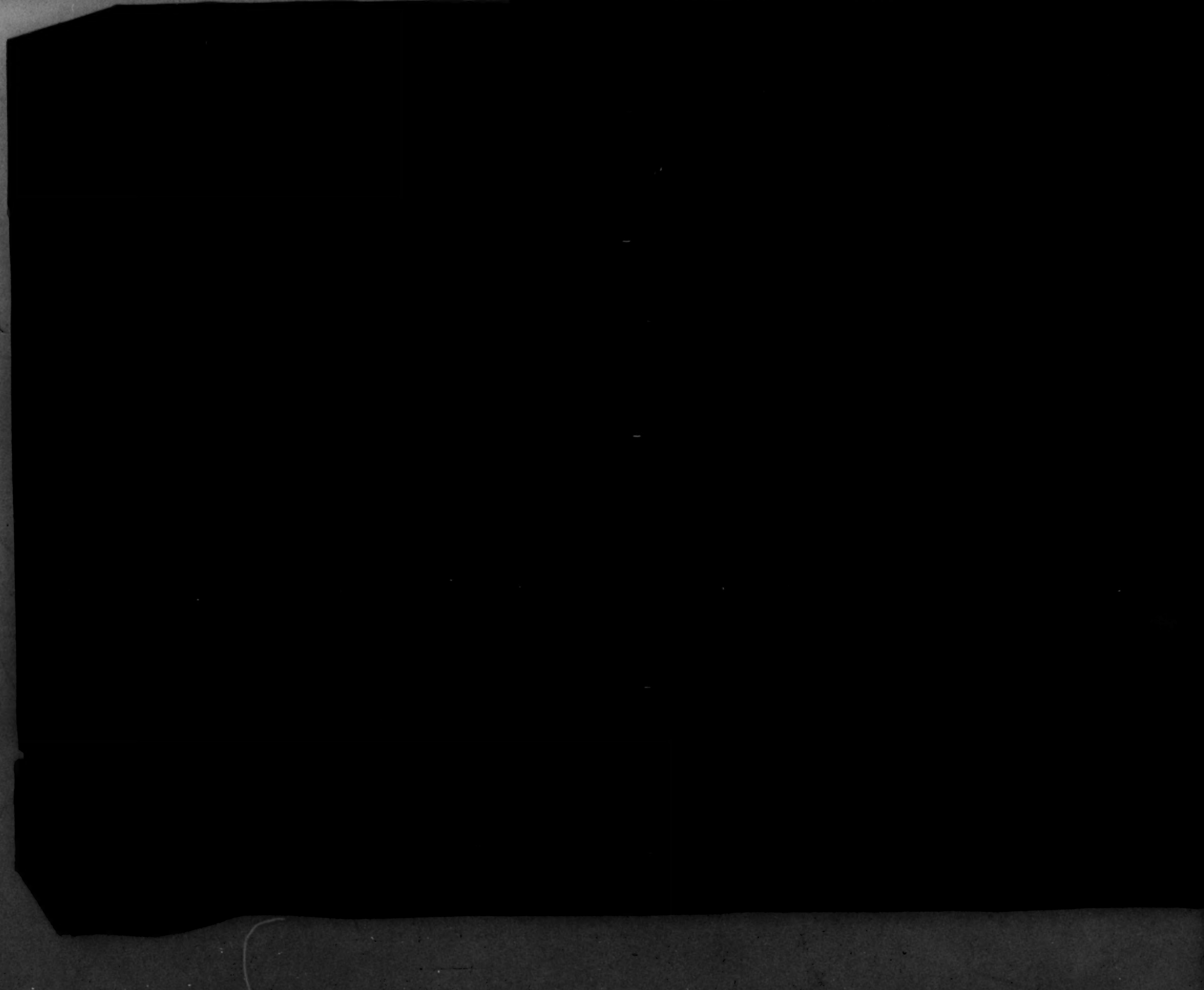
XII. NATIONAL CONVENTION

As to the National Convention which will be held Sunday to Friday, June 14th to 19th at Pacific Palisades, California, no program has been set. Mr. Carey will confirm with Martin Luther King his presence at the convention.

There is a possibility of having a fund-raising dinner in Los Angeles which would be held down town and at which a collection would be taken. This will have to be worked out.

Respectfully submitted,

Hortense Sawyer



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MINUTES OF
NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE MEETING
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1959 - 1:00 PM

Present: Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Mr. James Peck
Mr. LeRoy Carter
Mrs. Lula A. Farmer
Mr. James Farmer
Mrs. Hortense Sawyer

Absent: Mr. Tom Roberts
Mr. Marvin Rich
Mr. James R. Robinson
Mr. George Houser

I AFFILIATIONS:
Norfolk, Va. and Washington, D.C. were recommended to be affiliated by Mr. Carey. Columbia, S.C. applied and was denied a year ago and has re-applied in the last few months. Spartanburg, S.C. organized several months ago, sent in their application and is pending. Charleston Co., S.C. and Greenville, S.C. have been pending since the last Convention. Marion, S.C. has not been handled. Mr. Carey suggested that the NAC act favorably upon these groups pending approval by Mr. McCain. It was moved by Mr. James Farmer that the NAC recommend affiliation of these groups to the National Council - seconded by Mr. LeRoy Carter - approved by the Committee. East Saint Louis, Mo. and Charleston, West Virginia have been approved and memo already sent out.

II ANNUAL AFFILIATIONS:
After some discussion the Committee agreed that a special annual report form should be set up to be sent in at the end of each fiscal year in order that the NAC keep abreast of current affairs, have a report of each group's activities for the past year and have a roster of local officers and active members. This form should include a financial report. It was so moved by Mr. LeRoy Carter, seconded by Mr. James Farmer - approved by the Committee.

III FIELD WORK, REPORTS, PLANS:
Two reports were submitted to the Committee on Mr. McCain's work in South Carolina and Virginia. During the period from February 6 through June 19 Mr. Carey will visit Baltimore, Virginia or West Virginia, Miami and the West Coast. Mr. McCain will visit Lexington, Ky., Louisville, Ky., Miami and Virginia or Spartanburg between February 3 and April 1. The Committee discussed these plans

and the general concensus was that they were good; however, Mr. Peck felt that six weeks in the upper South would be much more valuable than time spent in the West. He also noted that a representative should go to Birmingham as an observer and possibly offer assistance. Mr. McCain may visit Birmingham between Nashville and Miami for a few days. Mr. Peck also noted that Atlanta is going to be a kep spot and that a CORE group should be formed to help them continue the good work they are already doing. Mr. Carey agreed to write letters to Atlanta to inquire about interest in a CORE group.

IV EXCHANGE OF MAILING LIST:
The Negro Labor Committee and the United World Federalists have requested an exchange of mailing lists with CORE. It was decided they be told that Mr. Robinson, who is out of the city, handles the exchange of lists and that we would have to wait for his return.

V ACTION INSTITUTE:
There was some discussion on the proposed summer Action Institute, changes in its organization and emphasis. Tabled.

VI NATIONAL COUNCIL:
The Committee agreed that a memo, which should contain an agenda, a schedule of meetings - where, when, directions of travel - who to contact on arrival, etc., be sent to all group contacts and officers immediately.

VII FINANCIAL OBLIGATION OF LOCAL GROUPS TO NATIONAL:
This is expected to be clarified at the Council meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

Hortense H. Sawyer

YRC

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

MEMO OF FEBRUARY 17, 1959

TO: National Advisory Committee
National Officers
Affiliated Local Groups and Groups in Process of Affiliation

FROM: James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary

RE: Abbreviated Minutes of National Action Committee for meetings held from July 30, 1958 through December 8, 1958.

NOTE: It has been our practice to send minutes of NAC meetings within a reasonable time after each meeting is held. Minutes through early July, 1958 and since January 1, 1959 have been so sent. However, the intervening period was one of remarkable growth both in field organization and in membership promotion (on a national contributing basis as well as within local groups). Yet finances did not permit the addition of office staff until December, and the NAC did not have a regular secretary to take down minutes. I kept notes on major decisions, and these abbreviated minutes are based on those notes. This should bring your records of NAC meetings up to date.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1958, 12:30 luncheon meeting, 11 Park Place.

Present: LeRoy Carter, Lula Farmer, Thomas Roberts, James R. Robinson, Marvin Rich
Absent: James Farmer, George Houser, James Peck (Hawaii).

FINANCES (Lula Farmer, Treasurer): Summer doldrums have set in and contributions have seriously fallen. Operating Account down to about $1,000 and some bills are outstanding. It was voted to withdraw $1,000 from Reserve Account and place it in the Operating Account. Lula Farmer and Jim Robinson were authorized to make a second such withdrawal should it be necessary.

ADDITIONAL FIELD STAFF: In accordance with Convention decision, Jim Robinson has made inquiries about Gordon R. Carey as our second field secretary. Mr. Carey has indicated definite interest, and the results of the inquiries have been generally favorable. Doubts were expressed about CORE's financial ability to sustain an additional staff person, particularly since field work means additional costs for travel expenses, literature, correspondence, etc. in addition to salary. However, as Mr. Carey is not presently employed, CORE can explain the situation to him, noting that the job may be temporary if finances cannot be expanded. He is willing to start immediately. It was voted to employ him as of August 1st, with payment of $200 for month of August and $80 per week beginning September 1st (annual rate $4,160). First two weeks to be spent in Southern California and then air-coach ticket provided for arrival in NYC on August 15th.

HOLIDAY CARDS: A number of designs in the rough have been received, including three from Mr. Joseph Grey, Jr. Yesterday, Mr. Gilbert S. Harris submitted a 4-color painting. Even though we had previously stipulated a preference for 2-color designs to keep costs down, the NAC voted to accept Mr. Harris' painting. Cost estimate for 60M $1,450, plus envelopes, plus packaging, plus promotion, plus postage on both promotion and mailing packages. Robinson noted that promotion must be at least doubled over previous year when 20,000 pieces of promotional material were mailed. Last year's Frankel card also to be offered.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1958, 12:30 luncheon meeting, 11 Park Place.

Present: Gordon Carey, LeRoy Carter, Lula Farmer, Jim Peck, Marvin Rich,
Thomas Roberts, Jim Robinson.

Absent: Jim Farmer, George Houser

FINANCES, Lula Farmer reporting. Operating Account again down to about $1,000, and combined Operating and Reserve just slightly over $4,000. Outstanding bills $2,700, plus cost of new typewriter (Robinson's portable is wearing out). Jim Robinson proposed that August 31st paychecks to James T. McCain and himself be deferred to September 10th so that some of the old bills may be paid off without invading Reserve Fund. It was voted to pay all paychecks on time and to withdraw another $1,000 from Reserve, using part of it to pay back bills. It was noted that the Budget Committee Appeal to the CORE list is scheduled to go out the day after Labor Day.

REQUEST FROM HARPER'S on promotion of Martin Luther King's Stride Toward Freedom. Jim Peck suggested that we stock the book and sell it ourselves, with Harper supplying the announcement to insert with our CORElator mailing. The discount we receive should more than pay the costs of this promotion. It was voted to accept Mr. Peck's suggestion.

AFFILIATION APPLICATION, Charleston, West Virginia: James T. McCain has reported favorably on this group formed in mid-August, and Mrs. Elizabeth Hardin Gilmore has sent in the affiliation form and $5 application fee. No action on the application is possible until after one month of existence, but there is no doubt that this group will be a most desirable addition to CORE.

REPORT FROM JAMES T. McCAIN. This report indicates that voter-registration work sometimes leads toward near-endorsement of candidates. Actual endorsement must be avoided for a number of reasons: (1) a candidate may have a good record in race relations and yet be unacceptable to many persons of good will because of his stands on other issues; (2) particularly in the South, it will be natural for Negroes to vote for the least undesirable candidate, but endorsement goes far beyond this and indicates complete acceptance of the candidate; (3) CORE should not get involved in partisan politics as it would be internally divisive and would lead away from our primary stress on nonviolence and direct action.

It was suggested that a Bulletin on Election Campaigns be prepared and sent to the affiliated local groups pointing out that CORE is not a political organization and that work on legislative and registration campaigns should make a clear distinction between working for objectives and endorsing candidates. (NOTE: As of February 1959, this Bulletin had not been written).

Difficulties with reports: It was observed that present reporting of Field Work is not fully satisfactory for two reasons: (1) it does not give a day-by-day account of time spent; and (2) one report often covers a number of groups or towns visited. Difficulty (2) results in the report going into the Field Worker's file without getting into the files of the various groups visited. It was suggested that (1) can be partially solved by more frequent reports and that (2) might be solved by use of a mimeo report form for each place visited. (NOTE: Report Form not yet prepared 2/17/59.)

FIELD PLANS FOR GORDON R. CAREY. In accordance with correspondence and telephone conversations with Mr. Harry Reid of Norfolk, Virginia, Mr. Carey is to go there about August 25th. Several weeks are to be spent in the State of Virginia, and James T. McCain is to come up to Virginia also to give CORE the benefit of an interracial team in a State where channels of communication between the races do not always exist. His presence and experience should benefit Mr. Carey to whom this work in a Southern atmosphere is new.

A visit to Washington, D. C., is scheduled for both field secretaries, arranged by Mary Schlossberg and Irene Osborne. Plans are under way for Carey to go to Boston, Massachusetts shortly thereafter.

LUNCHEON MEETING, 12:30 p.m., September 12, 1958, 11 Park Place.

Present: LeRoy Carter, James Farmer, Lula Farmer, James T. McCain, Jim Peck,

Marvin Rich, James Robinson

Absent: George Houser, Thomas Roberts

FINANCES: A very brief report was made by Lula Farmer. Response to the Budget Committee appeal has been good, and indications are that the response to Martin Luther King's letter sent to other mailing lists may be good. Receipting and tabulation have fallen behind. Although the financial picture has definitely improved, the combined factors of being behind on receipting and of not yet having received a number of very large bills, plus the fact that Holiday Card promotions start this month will make it impossible to assess the financial situation exactly for some weeks to come.

SAMPLE CONSTITUTION FOR LOCAL GROUPS: Original copy prepared by national chairman, Charles R. Oldham of St. Louis. Additions to be made by Jim Robinson. It was decided to go ahead with mimeographing rather than to spend much time re-working. In any case, the Council and Convention may want to make changes in this item.

ORGANIZATIONAL MANUAL. Excellent copy for this item received from Charles R. Oldham. Plan is to reproduce fairly cheaply as was done with the Chronology accompanying Anna Holden's A First Step. It was suggested that cartoon-type drawings might serve to lighten a text which is necessarily compact and didactic. Marvin Rich took the copy to go over it for suggested changes and re-write.

HOLIDAY CARDS: Promotion to 50,000 persons planned, of which CORE list is some 5,500 to 6,000 including dropped names, etc. Over 40,000 of the 50,000 names have been arranged for.

WEST COAST FIELD TRIP BY Vice-Chairman Henry Hodge of Los Angeles. Trip to Seattle, Washington and Portland, Oregon arranged by Mr. Hodge with the National office paying the bus fare. Good chances of a group in Seattle. Both Gordon Carey (before leaving West Coast) and Henry Hodge have visited San Bernardino, California, where some chance of a local CORE exists.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA. An interracial group with an action emphasis has been formed, and it is hoped that it will affiliate with CORE. Its first project was a spectacularly successful get-together of the 17 Negro students involved in litigation and about an equal number of students from the white schools they seek to enter, with some parents in attendance.

PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA: Gordon Carey has remained in Virginia to work with Dr. Hugo Owens on an interracial group here, and there is some chance of affiliation although questions exist as to the extent of the action an interracial group in Portsmouth is apt to be willing to initiate.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Illinois. With the aid of St. Louis CORE, a sizeable group is forming here, and it will definitely affiliate.

REPORTS OF AFFILIATED GROUPS. Good reports from many affiliated groups were noted.

JAMES T. MC CAIN. Mr. McCain gave a fairly extensive report on the South Carolina groups, including a report on a successful test of airport eating facilities in Columbia, S. C. and some riding of street buses to discover how far the rulings against segregation seating have passed into actual practice by bus riders. Mr. McCain was a speaker and resource person at the Friends Conference on Race Relations at Westtown School (Pa.) late in August. He also reported on both the Charleston, W. Va., group which organized during his visit there and on the Virginia trip he made with Carey.

LUNCHEON MEETING, early October, 11 Park Place.

Present: Gordon Carey, Jim Farmer, Lula Farmer, Jim Peck, Marvin Rich, Thomas Roberts, Jim Robinson.

Absent: LeRoy Carter, George Houser

FINANCES: The Martin Luther King letter, sent under permit to about 50,000 names on lists other than CORE's, is proving remarkably successful. The Budget Committee appeal to our own list have been successful also. Total funds in bank (including $2,000 in Reserve) now over $8,000.

ESTIMATE ON FINANCIAL POSITION: Jim Robinson pointed out that, while the recent upsurge in contributions relieves the financial pressure, it does not necessarily indicate an easy year ahead. Increased travel, increased staff and increased promotion are all accelerating the rate at which money is being used. Experience last year indicates that September to December is our period of greatest income: from January on, even with our smaller operation then, expenses outran income in a steady way. Also, this year we are obligated to pay a retroactive bonus to staff members if possible as suggested at the Convention when it was obvious that increases could not be granted at that time.

FIELD WORK (Gordon R. Carey present and reporting): A full discussion was given on the experience in Virginia, indicating that organization of a group such as Norfolk might be rapid because local leaders such as Harry A. Reid were already committed before any field secretary arrived. In other localities, much more time was needed as it was necessary to visit a good number of people trying to spot which ones were interested in the actual formation of an action group. This indicates that we should allot plenty of time to field trips where we are not sure we have any lively contacts. It was decided that both James T. McCain and Gordon Carey should spend another two weeks in joint work in Virginia. This should include a stop in Norfolk, but more time should be given to other cities as Norfolk seems solid. Cities: Richmond, Petersburg, Hampton, Newport News, Suffolk, Williamsburg, Portsmouth.

Boston plans are in process, and Washington, D. C., has had one meeting. Wilmington, Philadelphia and possibly the D. C. suburbs in Virginia should be investigated: This might make enough groups on the East Coast to make a regional conference worthwhile at some point. Such conferences may become essential to keep the actual relationship between the widely variant types of work done by, for example, Boston and South Carolina: both ultimately aimed at complete integration.

There was considerable discussion of trips to Detroit, Chicago and the West Coast, with the majority sentiment favoring at least the West Coast trip sometime this spring between the February Council (Nashville) and the June Convention (Los Angeles).

During this discussion, a basic difference of opinion became evident. Jim Peck and Marvin Rich felt that emphasis in organizing should be placed largely in the South and Upper South. Thomas Roberts and Jim Robinson felt that, while major emphasis might well be placed on these areas now, ultimately the questions of integrated housing and open employment may be crucial, and these questions are of greatest importance outside the South. In some areas of the Deep South, CORE would tend to lose either its interracial character or its action emphasis; it cannot afford to do so as it then becomes too similar to other organizations. Opinions of others on the Committee intend to shade off between the two positions listed. It was agreed to go ahead on the Boston trip and to re-consider this question at an evening meeting Friday, October 31st.

CORElator: Jim Peck reported briefly on the new and large CORElator, stressing that only an abundance of interesting action stories from the groups made this particular brand of publication possible.

KENTUCKY: A field trip to this state would be desirable in the near future if interest develops in any city there.

GENERAL FIELD POLICY should include at least one annual visit by one field secretary to each CORE group. It was felt that where new groups are formed during the stay of one field secretary, it is desirable to have the other field secretary make a repeat visit.

1959 CONVENTION. Plans have not materialized although Henry Hodge is working on securing a camp in California. This was the area designated by the 1958 Convention for the 1959 Convention. The question arose as to how long we should wait on indefinite plans before considering other locations. There was also some sentiment that in view of the development of new groups almost exclusively from the Mississippi eastward the placing of the Convention on the West Coast was a mistake. Jim Robinson emphasized that switching the Convention to another area would be dubious unless camp arrangements do not go through in California. Gordon Carey pointed out that if an extensive field trip is carried through on the Coast at least these new groups would benefit from the location. It was also stressed that many persons in our groups in the East would like to visit the West anyway and, with some financial aid from their local groups plus the use of their own vacation time and funds, the Convention is apt to make this possible.

1959 NATIONAL COUNCIL. Plans not final. Place will be Nashville, Tennessee unless the local group feels it cannot swing the arrangements in which case, St. Louis will accept the responsibility for the Council meeting.

1959 SUMMER ACTION INSTITUTE. Discussion deferred to the October 31st meeting.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, at 7 p.m., at James R. Robinson's apartment.

Present: Gordon R. Carey, Lula Farmer, Thomas Roberts, James R. Robinson.

It was regretted that the attendance at this meeting was small as it was arranged in the evening to give more time for discussion of the more difficult and controversial points on CORE's direction, etc.

FINANCES: Total of Operating Account and Reserve Fund approximately $12,000. However, many bills of large amounts have not yet been received, with the result that we still do not really know how the picture will develop.

AFFILIATIONS: East St. Louis, Illinois: Thomas Roberts moved and Lula Farmer seconded that East St. Louis be recommended for affiliation. Passed.

Charleston, West Virginia: Roberts and Farmer moved and seconded that this group be recommended for affiliation as soon as written recommendation is secured from James T. McCain. Passed.

Follow-up on a number of other potential affiliations is needed.

(NOTE: These recommendations were deferred because of the impossible load of other work in the office caused by simultaneous appeals and the heavy Holiday Card orders.)

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CONVENTION: Still plans are inconclusive.

UNDATED MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE IN NOVEMBER, 11 Park Place, Luncheon

This meeting was held about the time the office moved from Room 720 to Rooms 519-20 at the same address. During several weeks at this time, Jim Peck was unexpectedly out-of-town, Lula Farmer, although at this meeting, went to Washington for ten days, and, because of the development of the Prayer Pilgrimage to Richmond, the Miami field trip had to be postponed while Gordon Carey was released to work with the Pilgrimage. Notes on this meeting were lost in the shuffle. Robinson was the only person at the office during and after the move. The following notes have therefore been reconstructed, with some possibilities of inaccuracies:

FINANCES: (This is exact as written remarks prepared for the meeting were not lost):

REMARKS ON CORE's FINANCIAL POSITION BY J. ROBINSON

Last year, CORE's income greatly exceeded expenses during October, November and December. From January on, expenses almost continuously exceeded income -- at a fairly slow rate but to such an extent that the Reserve Fund, which had reached $6,000 was reduced to $2,000 by the time of our September 2 appeal. The top figure for total funds (Reserve Plus Operating Account) was about $10,000.

We now have about $10,000 in total funds, with about $4,000 owed on bills already received or to be received.

By December, our Reserve Account must reach $12,000 and Operating $3,000 for total of $15,000 (with all bills paid) before it will be possible to consider the payment of any bonuses (promised in lieu of our failure to give raises originally promised for September). By February, I hope we can do something on wage adjustments.

However, I think we should at this point increase Lula Farmer's hourly rate to $2.00, preferably retroactive to June 1. The reason I suggest this is that Lula is now receiving less than any other paid employee, yet takes care of a very complicated financial setup.

A rapidly increasing contributors' list (estimated at 6,000 at this point) indicates better response to the February appeal and much better response to the Budget Appeal next September. It requires roughtly 2,000 new contributors to support the expansion implied in the hiring of each new employee (except a possible clerical in the office, who would increase expenses only salary-wise).

IT WAS VOTED to increase Lula Farmer's compensation to $2 an hour (formerly $1.65 an hour) retroactive to June 1st, the beginning of the fiscal year.

It was reported that the office move has been arranged with a 3-year lease at $132.50 per month including electricity, cleaning, etc. New space is almost three times the size of old space. New asphalt-tile flooring, new fluorescent lighting, and new painting are being done by the Landlord. Lease is renewable for 2-years additional but at slightly higher rental. There is room for New York CORE to meet at the office and it is hoped that some part of the rent may be paid by the local group.

HOLIDAY CARDS: Sales are definitely up from last year, but so are costs. No prediction can be made at this time. One good point, however, is that cards left from last year are selling quite well. A major difficulty with the Cards is that sales are not yet large enough to justify adding a temporary employee just to handle Cards. This would relieve the present tendency for Card work to hamper other office procedures.

PUBLICITY: Our field secretaries both stress that our failure to send out press releases, etc., makes field work slower in new areas. In Virginia, for instance, most of the contacts met on the first field trip had never heard of the organization before. It was suggested that the whole list of Negro newspapers be obtained and that releases be sent to them from time to time. This could be facilitated by preparing address stencils for the list.

OFFICE STAFF: No leads on a clerk-typist have developed from either the Los Angeles or the St. Louis CORE groups. There is some danger in bringing in a person from outside NYC as it would be embarrassing should she prove unsatisfactory after moving here. Robinson authorized to seek the employee through established business channels. He is not inclined to rush matters because of the unclear financial situation.

DECEMBER 8, 1958, 12:30 Luncheon Meeting, 11 Park Place

FINANCES: Total funds now approach $14,000. As appeal has recently gone to 38,000 new names, as most Holiday Card bills have been paid, and as some replenishment of funds can be expected in February, it was felt safe to pay a 10% bonus on salary earned to December 31, 1958 to Carey, McCain and Robinson. Lula Farmer felt that in view of her retroactive raise, she should not be included in this bonus which was originally adopted as an idea by the Convention only because it was evident that CORE would not be able to pay increases when they were due. It was voted unanimously to direct Lula Farmer as Treasurer to issue the three bonus checks.

Salary increases: Jim Robinson pointed out that Gordon Carey's salary is smaller and, since his period of employment is short, his bonus is also quite small. It was unanimously voted to increase his salary from $80 to $90 per week beginning January 1, 1959. Marvin Rich said that nonprofit groups usually do not pay bonuses and that we should certainly grant general increases as soon as possible so that employees need not wait until the end of each calendar year to get reasonable compensation. It was also pointed out that higher increases should be given to executives who do not travel as they bear all lodging and food expenses personally while traveling executives are given expense money for food and lodging when away from home. The question of salary increases can be brought up again after we know the results of the February appeal.

STAFF: Two suggestions for new field secretaries were made. Unanimously agreed that at least one additional field secretary should be added when finances permit. Definite authorization was voted Jim Robinson to hire a clerk-typist at $60 per week, hours 9 to 5:30, with agreement to take minutes at evening meetings of NAC.

PUBLICITY & FUND-RAISING: Albert Ettinger, formerly a leader of New York CORE's Palisades Project and a participant in one of the most successful Interracial Workshops in Washington in the late 1940s is back in town and has put us in touch with Mr. Ben Wechsler, who formerly did publicity for the International Rescue Committee. Jim Robinson is to arrange a luncheon meeting with Mr. Ettinger and Mr. Wechsler. Marvin Rich and Thomas Roberts of the NAC will attend.

However, Mr. Wechsler has already expressed the opinion that CORE might well approach the Oram Organization (Public Relations and Fund Raising). Discussion brought out that most of the NAC members feel our present fund-raising program might be continued for the time being, but that something drastic needs to be done to get a public relations program under way. In addition to the increased expense involved, there were some reservations about using a professional fund-raising organization.

MOVIE: NAC members and Mr. Paul Talbot were in agreement that they were not satisfied with the documentaries which ACI had screened for us. Also, ACI is a new organization and CORE would be new to the field. Robinson is to see Mr. Ed Cullen, an established film producer who has expressed interest.

REPORT ON PROMOTIONAL FUND-RAISING: The Martin Luther King appeal, with Anna Holden's pamphlet enclosed, went to about 50,000 persons in September & October, and another 38,000 persons within the past ten days. The first mailing produced almost 2000 new names for CORE list and $12,000 (cost about $5,000). A special Hoovenized letter recently went to 275 people on our list whose names were dropped at the time the letter was sent.

HOLIDAY CARDS: Sales fair; anticipated total in dollars, about four times as much as one year ago.

MC CAIN reports a new CORE group formed in Spartanburg, South Carolina.

The new WASHINGTON CORE GROUP in meeting. Seventeen in attendance and a good spirit reported by BOSTON CORE after the initial meeting. PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA reported a formation meeting for a CORE group there.

MARCH ON RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. An idea for a school integration demonstration in Virginia was first put forward by Rev. Abbot of Norfolk. At the time the idea was dropped. However, Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker of Petersburg has revived the idea and interest has snowballed. Charles R. Oldham has appointed Rev. Walker Virginia State Director of CORE. Carey has been released from all other commitments to assist Rev. Walker. This will be the first such action demonstration in a Southern State by citizens of that state. $200 has been sent to initiate the work. NAC approves sending up to $300 additional, but stresses that the March, if successful, should be able to return all or almost all money advanced.

INSURANCE: Sidney Vyorst is to be consulted about necessary insurance policies for CORE. Compensation, Fire & Theft, and Liability insurance may be necessary.

(NOTE: Later in December, Mrs. Hortense Sawyer was employed in the office. Since then, minutes have been promptly prepared and sent out to the groups.)

Respectfully submitted,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

MEMO OF FEBRUARY 17, 1959

TO: National Advisory Committee
National Officers
Affiliated Local Groups and Groups in Process of Affiliation

FROM: James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary

RE: Abbreviated Minutes of National Action Committee for meetings held from July 30, 1958 through December 8, 1958.

NOTE: It has been our practice to send minutes of NAC meetings within a reasonable time after each meeting is held. Minutes through early July, 1958 and since January 1, 1959 have been so sent. However, the intervening period was one of remarkable growth both in field organization and in membership promotion (on a national contributing basis as well as within local groups). Yet finances did not permit the addition of office staff until December, and the NAC did not have a regular secretary to take down minutes. I kept notes on major decisions, and these abbreviated minutes are based on those notes. This should bring your records of NAC meetings up to date.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1958, 12:30 luncheon meeting, 11 Park Place.

Present: LeRoy Carter, Lula Farmer, Thomas Roberts, James R. Robinson, Marvin Rich
Absent: James Farmer, George Houser, James Peck (Hawaii).

FINANCES (Lula Farmer, Treasurer): Summer doldrums have set in and contributions have seriously fallen. Operating Account down to about $1,000 and some bills are outstanding. It was voted to withdraw $1,000 from Reserve Account and place it in the Operating Account. Lula Farmer and Jim Robinson were authorized to make a second such withdrawal should it be necessary.

ADDITIONAL FIELD STAFF: In accordance with Convention decision, Jim Robinson has made inquiries about Gordon R. Carey as our second field secretary. Mr. Carey has indicated definite interest, and the results of the inquiries have been generally favorable. Doubts were expressed about CORE's financial ability to sustain an additional staff person, particularly since field work means additional costs for travel expenses, literature, correspondence, etc. in addition to salary. However, as Mr. Carey is not presently employed, CORE can explain the situation to him, noting that the job may be temporary if finances cannot be expanded. He is willing to start immediately. It was voted to employ him as of August 1st, with payment of $200 for month of August and $80 per week beginning September 1st (annual rate $4,160). First two weeks to be spent in Southern California and then air-coach ticket provided for arrival in NYC on August 15th.

HOLIDAY CARDS: A number of designs in the rough have been received, including three from Mr. Joseph Grey, Jr. Yesterday, Mr. Gilbert S. Harris submitted a 4-color painting. Even though we had previously stipulated a preference for 2-color designs to keep costs down, the NAC voted to accept Mr. Harris' painting. Cost estimate for 60M $1,450, plus envelopes, plus packaging, plus promotion, plus postage on both promotion and mailing packages. Robinson noted that promotion must be at least doubled over previous year when 20,000 pieces of promotional material were mailed. Last year's Frankel card also to be offered.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1958, 12:30 luncheon meeting, 11 Park Place.

Present: Gordon Carey, LeRoy Carter, Lula Farmer, Jim Peck, Marvin Rich, Thomas Roberts, Jim Robinson.

Absent: Jim Farmer, George Houser

FINANCES, Lula Farmer reporting. Operating Account again down to about $1,000, and combined Operating and Reserve just slightly over $4,000. Outstanding bills $2,700, plus cost of new typewriter (Robinson's portable is wearing out). Jim Robinson proposed that August 31st paychecks to James T. McCain and himself be deferred to September 10th so that some of the old bills may be paid off without invading Reserve Fund. It was voted to pay all paychecks on time and to withdraw another $1,000 from Reserve, using part of it to pay back bills. It was noted that the Budget Committee Appeal to the CORE list is scheduled to go out the day after Labor Day.

REQUEST FROM HARPER'S on promotion of Martin Luther King's Stride Toward Freedom. Jim Peck suggested that we stock the book and sell it ourselves, with Harper supplying the announcement to insert with our CORElator mailing. The discount we receive should more than pay the costs of this promotion. It was voted to accept Mr. Peck's suggestion.

AFFILIATION APPLICATION, Charleston, West Virginia: James T. McCain has reported favorably on this group formed in mid-August, and Mrs. Elizabeth Hardin Gilmore has sent in the affiliation form and $5 application fee. No action on the application is possible until after one month of existence, but there is no doubt that this group will be a most desirable addition to CORE.

REPORT FROM JAMES T. McCAIN. This report indicates that voter-registration work sometimes leads toward near-endorsement of candidates. Actual endorsement must be avoided for a number of reasons: (1) a candidate may have a good record in race relations and yet be unacceptable to many persons of good will because of his stands on other issues; (2) particularly in the South, it will be natural for Negroes to vote for the least undesirable candidate, but endorsement goes far beyond this and indicates complete acceptance of the candidate; (3) CORE should not get involved in partisan politics as it would be internally divisive and would lead away from our primary stress on nonviolence and direct action.

It was suggested that a Bulletin on Election Campaigns be prepared and sent to the affiliated local groups pointing out that CORE is not a political organization and that work on legislative and registration campaigns should make a clear distinction between working for objectives and endorsing candidates. (NOTE: As of February 1959, this Bulletin had not been written).

Difficulties with reports: It was observed that present reporting of Field Work is not fully satisfactory for two reasons: (1) it does not give a day-by-day account of time spent; and (2) one report often covers a number of groups or towns visited. Difficulty (2) results in the report going into the Field Worker's file without getting into the files of the various groups visited. It was suggested that (1) can be partially solved by more frequent reports and that (2) might be solved by use of a mimeo report form for each place visited. (NOTE: Report Form not yet prepared 2/17/59.)

FIELD PLANS FOR GORDON R. CAREY. In accordance with correspondence and telephone conversations with Mr. Harry Reid of Norfolk, Virginia, Mr. Carey is to go there about August 25th. Several weeks are to be spent in the State of Virginia, and James T. McCain is to come up to Virginia also to give CORE the benefit of an interracial team in a State where channels of communication between the races do not always exist. His presence and experience should benefit Mr. Carey to whom this work in a Southern atmosphere is new.

A visit to Washington, D. C., is scheduled for both field secretaries, arranged by Mary Schlossberg and Irene Osborne. Plans are under way for Carey to go to Boston, Massachusetts shortly thereafter.

LUNCHEON MEETING, 12:30 p.m., September 12, 1958, 11 Park Place.

Present: LeRoy Carter, James Farmer, Lula Farmer, James T. McCain, Jim Peck,

Marvin Rich, James Robinson

Absent: George Houser, Thomas Roberts

FINANCES: A very brief report was made by Lula Farmer. Response to the Budget Committee appeal has been good, and indications are that the response to Martin Luther King's letter sent to other mailing lists may be good. Receipting and tabulation have fallen behind. Although the financial picture has definitely improved, the combined factors of being behind on receipting and of not yet having received a number of very large bills, plus the fact that Holiday Card promotions start this month will make it impossible to assess the financial situation exactly for some weeks to come.

SAMPLE CONSTITUTION FOR LOCAL GROUPS: Original copy prepared by national chairman, Charles R. Oldham of St. Louis. Additions to be made by Jim Robinson. It was decided to go ahead with mimeographing rather than to spend much time re-working. In any case, the Council and Convention may want to make changes in this item.

ORGANIZATIONAL MANUAL. Excellent copy for this item received from Charles R. Oldham. Plan is to reproduce fairly cheaply as was done with the Chronology accompanying Anna Holden's A First Step. It was suggested that cartoon-type drawings might serve to lighten a text which is necessarily compact and didactic. Marvin Rich took the copy to go over it for suggested changes and re-write.

HOLIDAY CARDS: Promotion to 50,000 persons planned, of which CORE list is some 5,500 to 6,000 including dropped names, etc. Over 40,000 of the 50,000 names have been arranged for.

WEST COAST FIELD TRIP BY Vice-Chairman Henry Hodge of Los Angeles. Trip to Seattle, Washington and Portland, Oregon arranged by Mr. Hodge with the National office paying the bus fare. Good chances of a group in Seattle. Both Gordon Carey (before leaving West Coast) and Henry Hodge have visited San Bernardino, California, where some chance of a local CORE exists.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA. An interracial group with an action emphasis has been formed, and it is hoped that it will affiliate with CORE. Its first project was a spectacularly successful get-together of the 17 Negro students involved in litigation and about an equal number of students from the white schools they seek to enter, with some parents in attendance.

PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA: Gordon Carey has remained in Virginia to work with Dr. Hugo Owens on an interracial group here, and there is some chance of affiliation although questions exist as to the extent of the action an interracial group in Portsmouth is apt to be willing to initiate.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Illinois. With the aid of St. Louis CORE, a sizeable group is forming here, and it will definitely affiliate.

REPORTS OF AFFILIATED GROUPS. Good reports from many affiliated groups were noted.

JAMES T. MC CAIN. Mr. McCain gave a fairly extensive report on the South Carolina groups, including a report on a successful test of airport eating facilities in Columbia, S. C. and some riding of street buses to discover how far the rulings against segregation seating have passed into actual practice by bus riders. Mr. McCain was a speaker and resource person at the Friends Conference on Race Relations at Westtown School (Pa.) late in August. He also reported on both the Charleston, W. Va., group which organized during his visit there and on the Virginia trip he made with Carey.

LUNCHEON MEETING, early October, 11 Park Place.

Present: Gordon Carey, Jim Farmer, Lula Farmer, Jim Peck, Marvin Rich, Thomas Roberts, Jim Robinson.

Absent: LeRoy Carter, George Houser

FINANCES: The Martin Luther King letter, sent under permit to about 50,000 names on lists other than CORE's, is proving remarkably successful. The Budget Committee appeal to our own list have been successful also. Total funds in bank (including $2,000 in Reserve) now over $8,000.

ESTIMATE ON FINANCIAL POSITION: Jim Robinson pointed out that, while the recent upsurge in contributions relieves the financial pressure, it does not necessarily indicate an easy year ahead. Increased travel, increased staff and increased promotion are all accelerating the rate at which money is being used. Experience last year indicates that September to December is our period of greatest income: from January on, even with our smaller operation then, expenses outran income in a steady way. Also, this year we are obligated to pay a retroactive bonus to staff members if possible as suggested at the Convention when it was obvious that increases could not be granted at that time.

FIELD WORK (Gordon R. Carey present and reporting): A full discussion was given on the experience in Virginia, indicating that organization of a group such as Norfolk might be rapid because local leaders such as Harry A. Reid were already committed before any field secretary arrived. In other localities, much more time was needed as it was necessary to visit a good number of people trying to spot which ones were interested in the actual formation of an action group. This indicates that we should allot plenty of time to field trips where we are not sure we have any lively contacts. It was decided that both James T. McCain and Gordon Carey should spend another two weeks in joint work in Virginia. This should include a stop in Norfolk, but more time should be given to other cities as Norfolk seems solid. Cities: Richmond, Petersburg, Hampton, Newport News, Suffolk, Williamsburg, Portsmouth.

Boston plans are in process, and Washington, D. C., has had one meeting. Wilmington, Philadelphia and possibly the D. C. suburbs in Virginia should be investigated: This might make enough groups on the East Coast to make a regional conference worthwhile at some point. Such conferences may become essential to keep the actual relationship between the widely variant types of work done by, for example, Boston and South Carolina: both ultimately aimed at complete integration.

There was considerable discussion of trips to Detroit, Chicago and the West Coast, with the majority sentiment favoring at least the West Coast trip sometime this spring between the February Council (Nashville) and the June Convention (Los Angeles).

During this discussion, a basic difference of opinion became evident. Jim Peck and Marvin Rich felt that emphasis in organizing should be placed largely in the South and Upper South. Thomas Roberts and Jim Robinson felt that, while major emphasis might well be placed on these areas now, ultimately the questions of integrated housing and open employment may be crucial, and these questions are of greatest importance outside the South. In some areas of the Deep South, CORE would tend to lose either its interracial character or its action emphasis; it cannot afford to do so as it then becomes too similar to other organizations. Opinions of others on the Committee intend to shade off between the two positions listed. It was agreed to go ahead on the Boston trip and to re-consider this question at an evening meeting Friday, October 31st.

CORElator: Jim Peck reported briefly on the new and large CORElator, stressing that only an abundance of interesting action stories from the groups made this particular brand of publication possible.

KENTUCKY: A field trip to this state would be desirable in the near future if interest develops in any city there.

GENERAL FIELD POLICY should include at least one annual visit by one field secretary to each CORE group. It was felt that where new groups are formed during the stay of one field secretary, it is desirable to have the other field secretary make a repeat visit.

1959 CONVENTION. Plans have not materialized although Henry Hodge is working on securing a camp in California. This was the area designated by the 1958 Convention for the 1959 Convention. The question arose as to how long we should wait on indefinite plans before considering other locations. There was also some sentiment that in view of the development of new groups almost exclusively from the Mississippi eastward the placing of the Convention on the West Coast was a mistake. Jim Robinson emphasized that switching the Convention to another area would be dubious unless camp arrangements do not go through in California. Gordon Carey pointed out that if an extensive field trip is carried through on the Coast at least these new groups would benefit from the location. It was also stressed that many persons in our groups in the East would like to visit the West anyway and, with some financial aid from their local groups plus the use of their own vacation time and funds, the Convention is apt to make this possible.

1959 NATIONAL COUNCIL. Plans not final. Place will be Nashville, Tennessee unless the local group feels it cannot swing the arrangements in which case, St. Louis will accept the responsibility for the Council meeting.

1959 SUMMER ACTION INSTITUTE. Discussion deferred to the October 31st meeting.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, at 7 p.m., at James R. Robinson's apartment.

Present: Gordon R. Carey, Lula Farmer, Thomas Roberts, James R. Robinson.

It was regretted that the attendance at this meeting was small as it was arranged in the evening to give more time for discussion of the more difficult and controversial points on CORE's direction, etc.

FINANCES: Total of Operating Account and Reserve Fund approximately $12,000. However, many bills of large amounts have not yet been received, with the result that we still do not really know how the picture will develop.

AFFILIATIONS: East St. Louis, Illinois: Thomas Roberts moved and Lula Farmer seconded that East St. Louis be recommended for affiliation. Passed.

Charleston, West Virginia: Roberts and Farmer moved and seconded that this group be recommended for affiliation as soon as written recommendation is secured from James T. McCain. Passed.

Follow-up on a number of other potential affiliations is needed.

(NOTE: These recommendations were deferred because of the impossible load of other work in the office caused by simultaneous appeals and the heavy Holiday Card orders.)

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We now have about $10,000 in total funds, with about $4,000 owed on bills already received or to be received.

By December, our Reserve Account must reach $12,000 and Operating $3,000 for total of $15,000 (with all bills paid) before it will be possible to consider the payment of any bonuses (promised in lieu of our failure to give raises originally promised for September). By February, I hope we can do something on wage adjustments.

However, I think we should at this point increase Lula Farmer's hourly rate to $2.00, preferably retroactive to June 1. The reason I suggest this is that Lula is now receiving less than any other paid employee, yet takes care of a very complicated financial setup.

A rapidly increasing contributors' list (estimated at 6,000 at this point) indicates better response to the February appeal and much better response to the Budget Appeal next September. It requires roughtly 2,000 new contributors to support the expansion implied in the hiring of each new employee (except a possible clerical in the office, who would increase expenses only salary-wise).

IT WAS VOTED to increase Lula Farmer's compensation to $2 an hour (formerly $1.65 an hour) retroactive to June 1st, the beginning of the fiscal year.

It was reported that the office move has been arranged with a 3-year lease at $132.50 per month including electricity, cleaning, etc. New space is almost three times the size of old space. New asphalt-tile flooring, new fluorescent lighting, and new painting are being done by the Landlord. Lease is renewable for 2-years additional but at slightly higher rental. There is room for New York CORE to meet at the office and it is hoped that some part of the rent may be paid by the local group.

HOLIDAY CARDS: Sales are definitely up from last year, but so are costs. No prediction can be made at this time. One good point, however, is that cards left from last year are selling quite well. A major difficulty with the Cards is that sales are not yet large enough to justify adding a temporary employee just to handle Cards. This would relieve the present tendency for Card work to hamper other office procedures.

PUBLICITY: Our field secretaries both stress that our failure to send out press releases, etc., makes field work slower in new areas. In Virginia, for instance, most of the contacts met on the first field trip had never heard of the organization before. It was suggested that the whole list of Negro newspapers be obtained and that releases be sent to them from time to time. This could be facilitated by preparing address stencils for the list.

OFFICE STAFF: No leads on a clerk-typist have developed from either the Los Angeles or the St. Louis CORE groups. There is some danger in bringing in a person from outside NYC as it would be embarrassing should she prove unsatisfactory after moving here. Robinson authorized to seek the employee through established business channels. He is not inclined to rush matters because of the unclear financial situation.

DECEMBER 8, 1958, 12:30 Luncheon Meeting, 11 Park Place

FINANCES: Total funds now approach $14,000. As appeal has recently gone to 38,000 new names, as most Holiday Card bills have been paid, and as some replenishment of funds can be expected in February, it was felt safe to pay a 10% bonus on salary earned to December 31, 1958 to Carey, McCain and Robinson. Lula Farmer felt that in view of her retroactive raise, she should not be included in this bonus which was originally adopted as an idea by the Convention only because it was evident that CORE would not be able to pay increases when they were due. It was voted unanimously to direct Lula Farmer as Treasurer to issue the three bonus checks.

Salary increases: Jim Robinson pointed out that Gordon Carey's salary is smaller and, since his period of employment is short, his bonus is also quite small. It was unanimously voted to increase his salary from $80 to $90 per week beginning January 1, 1959. Marvin Rich said that nonprofit groups usually do not pay bonuses and that we should certainly grant general increases as soon as possible so that employees need not wait until the end of each calendar year to get reasonable compensation. It was also pointed out that higher increases should be given to executives who do not travel as they bear all lodging and food expenses personally while traveling executives are given expense money for food and lodging when away from home. The question of salary increases can be brought up again after we know the results of the February appeal.

STAFF: Two suggestions for new field secretaries were made. Unanimously agreed that at least one additional field secretary should be added when finances permit. Definite authorization was voted Jim Robinson to hire a clerk-typist at $60 per week, hours 9 to 5:30, with agreement to take minutes at evening meetings of NAC.

PUBLICITY & FUND-RAISING: Albert Ettinger, formerly a leader of New York CORE's Palisades Project and a participant in one of the most successful Interracial Workshops in Washington in the late 1940s is back in town and has put us in touch with Mr. Ben Wechsler, who formerly did publicity for the International Rescue Committee. Jim Robinson is to arrange a luncheon meeting with Mr. Ettinger and Mr. Wechsler. Marvin Rich and Thomas Roberts of the NAC will attend.

However, Mr. Wechsler has already expressed the opinion that CORE might well approach the Oram Organization (Public Relations and Fund Raising). Discussion brought out that most of the NAC members feel our present fund-raising program might be continued for the time being, but that something drastic needs to be done to get a public relations program under way. In addition to the increased expense involved, there were some reservations about using a professional fund-raising organization.

MOVIE: NAC members and Mr. Paul Talbot were in agreement that they were not satisfied with the documentaries which ACI had screened for us. Also, ACI is a new organization and CORE would be new to the field. Robinson is to see Mr. Ed Cullen, an established film producer who has expressed interest.

REPORT ON PROMOTIONAL FUND-RAISING: The Martin Luther King appeal, with Anna Holden's pamphlet enclosed, went to about 50,000 persons in September & October, and another 38,000 persons within the past ten days. The first mailing produced almost 2000 new names for CORE list and $12,000 (cost about $5,000). A special Hoovenized letter recently went to 275 people on our list whose names were dropped at the time the letter was sent.

HOLIDAY CARDS: Sales fair; anticipated total in dollars, about four times as much as one year ago.

MC CAIN reports a new CORE group formed in Spartanburg, South Carolina.

The new WASHINGTON CORE GROUP in meeting. Seventeen in attendance and a good spirit reported by BOSTON CORE after the initial meeting. PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA reported a formation meeting for a CORE group there.

MARCH ON RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. An idea for a school integration demonstration in Virginia was first put forward by Rev. Abbot of Norfolk. At the time the idea was dropped. However, Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker of Petersburg has revived the idea and interest has snowballed. Charles R. Oldham has appointed Rev. Walker Virginia State Director of CORE. Carey has been released from all other commitments to assist Rev. Walker. This will be the first such action demonstration in a Southern State by citizens of that state. $200 has been sent to initiate the work. NAC approves sending up to $300 additional, but stresses that the March, if successful, should be able to return all or almost all money advanced.

INSURANCE: Sidney Vyorst is to be consulted about necessary insurance policies for CORE. Compensation, Fire & Theft, and Liability insurance may be necessary.

(NOTE: Later in December, Mrs. Hortense Sawyer was employed in the office. Since then, minutes have been promptly prepared and sent out to the groups.)

Respectfully submitted,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

LRL

M I N U T E S

National Action Committee Meeting
March 16th, 1959
Co-Op Restaurant - 12:30 PM

Present: Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Mr. Leroy Carter
Mr. James Farmer
Mr. Marvin Rich
Mr. Tom Roberts
Mr. James R. Robinson
Rev. Wendell Foster (guest)

Absent: Mrs. Lula A. Farmer
Mr. James Peck
Mr. George Houser

I. **FINANCES:**

The organization has a total of $11,972.60 with outstanding bills of about $2,000.00. Income tax withholding will take $600 to $700 in April.
The response to the February appeal was very poor.

II. **FUND-RAISING PLANS:**

It was planned that the CORE list be sorted for special letters - people who have given more than $50. during the year, for those who have not contributed since June and for those who have not contributed during the last 2 years; also, to compile Holiday card buyers of 1957 who have not since contributed.

(a) Exchanges of lists:

Sources of lists are almost depleted. The Committee agreed to using, if possible ACLU, 7,500 names; Call, 3,000 names; WRL, 2,000 names and FCNL, 8,000 names. Eleven thousand to twelve thousand names are available for rental from Manchester Guardian at $30 per thousand. Mr. Robinson has written the Carolina Israelite, Bulletin Atomic Scientists, NSF, American Indian Fund and Vol. for UN.

(b) Convention dinner:

A. Philip Randolph has been asked to speak at the Convention dinner in Los Angeles, but has not yet agreed.

(c) Labor Union Appeals:

Mr. Robinson has written to Mr. Zimmerman but as yet has had no reply. It was generally felt that it might be good to telephone him.

III. STAFF RAISES:

This question was to come up in February. The situation makes it impossible to consider raises at this point. However, it is particularly important that McCain and Robinson be considered for raises as soon as feasible as they have had no increases since starting with CORE. If necessary to continue deferments of raises, the bonus plan used last year might be used again.

IV. REPORT OF MIAMI (G. CAREY)

This Fall four Negro students will enter Orchard Villa School. The area is going through a transition with whites moving out and Negroes moving in. Fifty-two white families said they would leave their children in the school but this is not a certainty. For this reason there is no way of knowing just how much integration there really will be.

A CORE group was formed last Thursday evening (March 12th). The group will probably not work in Orchard Villa, but may focus its efforts on public facilities. The group did some testing and found some places accepting Negroes under certain conditions, at certain times; others did not accept inter-racial groups at all. Fourteen joined the group at the initial meeting and at least a dozen more indicated interest in CORE work.

MC CAIN report (based on his letters):

On his way to Miami, Mr. McCain stopped in Birmingham. Rev. Shuttlesworth is trying to do the entire job without getting very much assistance from others. From Birmingham McCain went to Montgomery. The buses are effectively integrated. Here he talked with Rev. Abernathy. In Tallahassee he saw Rev. Steele who said an attempt will be made to re-activate bus integration here. The Negro patrons will deliberately sit in the wrong places but will move when asked to do so.

V. FILM

Consideration has been given to making a film. It was decided that for the time being no further steps will be taken on this. It may be further considered at a later date.

VI. STAFF ADDITION: WENDELL FOSTER

After much discussion, with special attention being given to the financial status of CORE, it was decided that CORE would want to hire him.

As an AME minister he feels that the Methodist church would be a good source of support for CORE and that because of his affiliation with the church, his contacts, etc., he could be especially helpful along these lines. He enjoys fund-raising.

Rev. Foster's salary would not begin at less than $90.00 per week. It was moved by Leroy Carter that CORE accept Rev. Foster as a staff member - to begin work on August 1st, seconded by James Farmer and unanimously accepted by the Committee. Rev. Foster is not yet definitely sure that he will be able to accept the job but will let Mr. Robinson know not later than the end of the month.

VII. USE OF CORE LIST:

It was agreed by all that the CORE list can not be used by any other Race Relations organizations except when specifically authorized by the National Action Committee. This would mean that the Youth March for Integration and the Negro Labor Committee, who have asked to use the list, will be refused.

Respectfully submitted,

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary.

MINUTES OF NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF CORE, APRIL 30, 1959,
Marvin Rich's Apartment.

Present:	Gordon R. Carey	Absent:	LeRoy Carter
	Lula Farmer		George Houser
	Jim Farmer		Jim Peck (hospitalized)
	James T. McCain		
	Marvin Rich		
	James R. Robinson		

1. FINANCES: Income through April 28th, $56,586.54. Current balance less outstanding bills about $8,000. Over 50,000 pieces of mail to new names will go out in May. But the financial outlook to Labor Day is BLEAK.

2. AFFILIATIONS: Boston CORE application received. Affiliation recommended unanimously. Lexington CORE application still incomplete, but acceptance recommended pending receipt of acceptance by the group of the national constitution. No application yet received from Miami CORE.
DISAFFILIATIONS: NAC believes Pasadena group is not functioning. Carey authorized to work on forming new group when he takes Coast field trip. Another attempt by letters to get word from Paul Lockwood and Pop Hattersley will be made to insure us against hurting any feelings.
NEW YORK CORE: It was unanimously recommended to New York CORE that it disband, thus clearing the way for formation of new group.

3. CONVENTION DINNER. Randolph cannot go. Hotel dinner idea dropped, but VIce Chairman Henry Hodge may work on a church-basement dinner if he and L. A. CORE deem it advisable.

4. HONORARY DINNER IN NEW YORK. Idea for Gandhi day. October 1st preferred. Jim Farmer and Jim Robinson to approach Randolph.

5. HOLIDAY CARDS: No progress. Decision on "Boy with Birds" deferred pending receipt of other designs. It was the feeling that "Boy with Birds" will lose its impact when reduced to card size.

6. SUMMER WORKSHOPS: Richmond definitely rejected as we have no central living arrangement there and no CORE group has emerged. It was unanimously decided to approach Miami CORE, with preferred dates of August 23 to September 7. Lexington, Kentucky to be approached about summer action workshop for 1960. 1960 might be a month-long workshop.

   Once Workshop is definitely set, it should be publicized widely in Negro press, Crisis, Fellowship, NSA, ADA, etc., making some special effort to involve Southerners where possible.

7. UTILIZATION OF FIELD STAFF: North Carolina should get some attention. Immediately after workshop, visit Rock Hill, South Carolina. McCain to spend May in Sumter working with group on registration campaign. Chicago and Detroit still on agenda, but no time yet to give them. Carey will spend early May to the June Convention in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Berkeley and Southern California.

8. The problem of mono-racial groups. Wherever possible, CORE affiliates should be interracial in membership. In South Carolina, Charleston, West Virginia and East St. Louis, Illinois, active membership is exclusively Negro. In the latter two cities, this should not be necessary. It is more difficult to transform an already formed group into an interracial group; hence much emphasis at the start should be placed on interracial membership. Even in S. C., white sympathizers could probably be used from the start and some white membership should be possible in the larger cities.

9. The Conference-Convention program was approved with some modifications. Speakers, if there are to be any, will be arranged by Henry Hodge and L.A. CORE. See item 3 above for decisions on Convention Dinner.

   Lexington CORE to be written to find if they would be interested in having the 1960 Conference-Convention there (possibly the Workshop also).

10. OFFICE SITUATION. Our clerk typist, Hortense Sawyer, left over a week ago because of illness in her family. This will leave Jim Robinson again alone in the office as Carey leaves this weekend. The discussion indicated that an executive assistant might be considered instead of a clerk-typist if such assistant becomes available at a salary feasible to CORE.

11. The idea of circulating a Memo about Associated Dry Goods Corporation with the CORElator was approved. This might help Charleston, West Virginia CORE in its campaign to open the lunch facilities of Diamond to all (Diamond belongs to Associated).

12. LITERATURE: Peck's brochure on housing has not been reproduced. His "Nonviolence Against Jimcrow" is still on our minds, but finances and the feeling that several additional types of projects need to be included are holding up production.

13. Richmond Pilgrimage and Virginia field work: It was felt that recent Virginia field work had been largely unsuccessful. In view of the success of the January 1 Pilgrimage, this is surprising, and various views were expressed on the reasons.

14. Public Relations: This area is being neglected, and some staff arrangement or arrangement with a public relations firm should be worked out.

Minutes of the 1959 National CORE Convention
Presbyterian Conference Grounds
Pacific Palisades, Calif.
June 17-19

CONFERENCE: The Convention was preceded by a 3-day Conference, June 14-17, during which delegates discussed:

(1) the world revolution for racial equality in Africa and Asia;
(2) race relations in the US; contrasting 1939 and 1959;
(3) characteristic techniques of different civil rights organizations;
(4) application of CORE's "Rules for Action";
(5) CORE in the "liberal" areas of the North and West;
(6) CORE in the "border" area;
(7) CORE in the South;
(8) internal CORE problems, national and local, from the national point of view;
(9) internal CORE problems, local and national, from the local point of view..

DELEGATES: Carol Ann Clay, Marian Oldham, Edgar Poindexter
ST. LOUIS, MO.
James Breed, Earl Walter, Newton Casper, Joan Aaron, Sayuri Buell
LOS ANGELES
Charles Smith, LEXINGTON, KY.
Frank Robinson, S. G. Abrams, A. Glover, SUMTER, S.C.
Frank McKenzie, CHARLESTON, S.C.
Homer Randolph, Zennia Pettus, Mrs. Willie Mae Gardner,
Virgil Murdock, Collier Stovall, E. ST. LOUIS, ILL.

OFFICERS: (Voting Delegates) Charles Oldham, Chairman, St. Louis, Mo.
Henry Hodge, Vice-Chairman, Los Angeles
Anna Holden, Secretary, Nashville, Tenn.
Lula Farmer, Treasurer, New York City

STAFF: James R. Robinson, Exec. Sect'y, New York
Gordon Carey and James McCain, Field Secretaries, New York

VISITORS: Ellen Fisk, San Francisco, Calif. (full time)
(Some part time people from Los Angeles area)

THE CONVENTION OPENED at 7:45 PM Wednesday night, June 17th.

MINUTES: Minutes of the 1959 Council Meeting, Nashville, were distributed and read, the only correction being that Homer Randolph should be listed as a voting delegate. Frank McKenzie moved the minutes be accepted with the necessary correction. Marian Oldham seconded and passed. The staff was instructed to correct the official copy in the national office.

PENDING AFFILIATIONS: A memo of June 9, 1959, re affiliation applications from Lexington, Ky. and Boston, Mass. was circulated and read. Copies of the constitution of the Greater Boston Committee on Racial Equality were also circulated.

Lexington, Ky.--There was some discussion about selection of membership, which is vague as described in the report of the Lexington group to the National office. Jim Robinson says he is not worried about their selection of membership. McCain, who visited the group recently recommended affiliation. Edgar Poindexter moved that the Lexington group be affiliated.

Henry Hodge seconded the motion. Convention voted to accept Lexington's affiliation by a unanimous vote.

Boston, Mass.--Jim Robinson noted that membership procedures are completely outlined in Boston's constitution. Lula Farmer moved that the Boston group be affiliated. A. Glover seconded the motion. The Boston group was affiliated by a unanimous vote.

COMMITTEES: Charles Oldham appointed the following committees for the Convention:

(1) Resolutions--Jim Breed, Lula Farmer, Marian Oldham, Ellen Fisk
(2) Nominations--Frank Robinson, Rev. Charles Smith, Edgar Poindexter, Sayuri Buell
(3) Constitutional Revision--Jim Robinson, Henry Hodge, Frank McKenzie, A. Glover and Charles Oldham
(4) Publicity--Gordon Carey, Carol Clay

DISAFFILIATION: Pasadena, Calif.--The Pasadena group has not been meeting for a long time. The National Action Committee has suggested to them that they disband. According to Grodon Carey, one of the founders of Pasadena CORE has tried to get the group reactivated, but he was not able to get the people to do anything. Carey noted that if the group is disaffiliated, it can be reorganized using new people. Charles Smith moved that the Convention ratify the action of the National Action Committee in disaffiliating the Pasadena group. Frank Robinson seconded the motion. Disaffiliation of the Pasadena group passed unanimously.

Columbia, S. C.--Jim Robinson reported that the Columbia, S. C. group has failed to make reports to the National office. He wrote asking for a report for the convention, which they did not send. Robinson suspects the group is inactive. Jim McCain called the chairman prior to the Convention. The chairman said he was too busy and that he was going to resign as chairman. McCain also talked with others in the group and he thinks there is interest and another group could be organized.

Charles Oldham suggested that McCain make another visit to the Columbia group, ask officers too busy with other things to resign, and call together interested people to reorganize.

The National Action Committee did not have a recommendation regarding action on Columbia. Henry Hodge moved that action on disaffiliation be postponed until the next National Action Committee meeting or the Council meeting, and that a field secretary be sent to investigate the situation in the meantime. Jim Breed seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

REPORTS FROM LOCAL GROUPS: Los Angeles, Calif.--Henry Hodge reported that the Los Angeles group has carried out the following activities since the Council meeting in February: (1) Local Youth March--a local committee in which CORE participated, organized and carried out a Youth March which took place simultaneously with the Youth March in Washington, D. C. The March was successful in terms of publicity, getting a good spread in the Los Angeles Times' Sunday edition, and TV coverage. The fact that CORE led the group was mentioned in publicity and has helped the local CORE.

(2) Motels--Circulation of the list of "open" motels has continued. The group heard from someone in San Diego after publication in the CORE-LATOR who told them of one additional motel. This list has been sent to the daily papers and to five or six other groups particularly interested.

(3) Fund-raising--Have had a concerted effort to raise funds, using a mail appeal. About 25% of the persons written responded. The group plans to concentrate on this type of fund-raising in the future.
(4) Future plans-- LA CORE will probably move on to employment and housing as areas for its future projects.

Earl Walter noted that on the motel project, CORE filed eight cases in court against motels where they were unsuccessful in negotiations, or where the motels refused to negotiate. He also noted they had spent a good deal of time preparing for the workshop and the convention.

St. Louis, Mo.--Carol Clay reported on CORE's work with the Washington University-NAACP Youth Council on a restaurant near the Washington University campus. Three students were arrested on charges of disturbing the peace after three or four sit-ins. The City Counselor had told them it was illegal to stay on property if asked to leave. The peace-disturbance charges were dropped and the students were charged with trespassing. The case won on appeal in the second court.

Edgar Poindexter reported that all eating facilities in four department stores operated by the Famous Barr Company were opened to Negroes as a result of a picket march planned for August, 1958. The picket line which was to have gone up around the Famous Barr store was to protest the dropping of some 30 Negroes from employment with the installation of automatic elevators. CORE had been asking for placement of these Negroes in other jobs, as well as opeing of the higher-priced eating facilities. Result: Famous Barr opened all their eating facilities. Some elevator operators were shifted to other jobs, including jobs Negroes had not held before.

In the area of restaurants, CORE has also tested two in the Mrs. Hullins chain. In one, they were placed in back of the regular eating place. Service changes in the cafeteria section of the restaurant; Negroes are never served in the part with waitresses. CORE has been able to get no committment from management on policy. The group has actually done little on the moderately priced chains recently.

St. Louis CORE has continued its radio work on the NAACP's program. Marian Oldham reported they have participated in two programs since the Council meeting, including one giving background on their work on school desegregation.

Their campaign against Taystee Bread included a boycott on the part of retail stores in Negro areas.

Lexington, Ky.--Rev. Charles U. Smith reported for the Lexington group.
(1) Organization--Lexington's group has a steering committee of nine elected members, plus five elected officers. This group brings plans to the main membership body. There is also an advisory board of fourteen members, whose function is to give advice upon request on proposed projects and methods.
(2) Projects--a) Elimination of discrimination in four variety stores in the downtown Lexington area--McCrory's, Kresge's, Green's and Woolworth's. This has involved testing, negotiations with local management and correspondence with the national office of Woolworth's.
b) "Project Infiltration." CORE has eliminated discrimination in eating facilities in 7 restaurants around the University of Kentucky campus by sending members in to eat and continuing to use those restaurants

where they have been served. There are eight other restaurants which still discriminate and the group plans to put pressure on these and try to open them.

Both projects began in February.

(3) Publicity, Community Cooperation--CORE has sent out two news releases: a) announcement of the local advisory board, which made the front page of the local paper, with members of the board listed; b) a notice of the delegate attending the national conference, also used in the local daily. The group has a monthly newsletter called, "The Lexington Committe on Racial Equality Newsletter," which goes to all members. Members have spoken at the Jewish Synagogue and in several churches. The Central YWCA has written a letter of support and the Chief of Police has indicated approval of the group's work.

(4) Sample Constitution-- The group has prepared a proposed constitution.

(5) Membership--The group has about 70 active members, with an average attendance of 35 at meetings. There are 14 on the Advisory Board and the mailing list has 101 names.

The meeting adjourned for the evening.

The second session of the Convention opened at 8:45 AM, Thursday morning, June 18.

LOCAL REPORTS, CONTINUED: Sumter, S. C.--Frank Robinson reported that the voting project has continued and there is a motor pool to take people to register. The adult group is working with youth collecting facts on job opportunities. They are getting ready to go into the A & P, other food stores, the 10¢ stores and recreational facilities. Sumter CORE has printed all the SC laws regarding motels, hotels, etc. They are working with other clubs and have good cooperation from the ministers of the city.

Jim Robinson suggested they might get a few white members by bringing up their projects in the Human Relations Council. Frank Robinson says they plan to do this and he feels they can get one or two white members this way. Jim Robinson also suggested that buttons, stickers and placards used in the registration campaigns have CORE printed on them.

Charleston, S. C.--Frank McKenzie reported that the Charleston group has concentrated on registration because it felt it could be most effective in that endeavor. Thus far 710 Negroes have been registered. There was unusual enthusiasm this spring due to the Mayor's election. Car pools were organized to carry people to register. The program began in January; since then the group has had training centers set up to help people with reading, writing, and signatures; sample copies of the state constitution and registration forms were distributed.

The group is now laying the groundwork for some type of action with one of the 10¢ stores. "Operation Alert" is now underway; queries are being sent to individuals in a 50-mile radius asking if they would cooperate in a boycott of a store if one were organized (name of store not mentioned.) Object is employment of Negroes in the store.

East St. Louis, Ill.--Zennia Pettus reported that the East St. Louis group, organized in September, 1958 by Mrs. Marian Oldham and Norman Seay, both of St. Louis CORE, has a consistent active membership of about 15 persons. The group has worked on restaurant discrimination, testing a total of 60 restaurants in the city. They were initially refused in 58 of

the 60, but over a period of nine months members have gained service in all but three (G&L, Apollo and B&E). In some service is still given with reluctance and prices are raised far above those listed on the menu. At present there is one civil suit pending court action. The group has also filed a petition against the State's Attorney for his failure to act within a reasonable time on certain affidavits filed with his office. East St. Louis CORE plans to file at least three more civil suits against restaurants (each occurrence of discrimination is basis for a suit).

The group hopes to finish work with restaurants soon and enter the field of employment. Hundreds of people are unemployed with the shut-down of industries. By August 15, Armour & Co. will lay off 1400 by closing a local plant.

Nashville, Tenn.--Anna Holden reported Nashville CORE has an active membership of about 8 to 10, with an average attendance of 4 or 5 at each meeting. The executive committee consists of five persons. Meetings are held twice a month.

Projects: The group is still working on school desegregation and plans to do so through the fall of this year. This winter CORE worked with the Sociology Club at Fisk, which surveyed the Howard district and made outline maps of most of the districts affected by desegregation. CORE helped with expenses, furnished the Sociology Club with maps and helped with their planning. On April 3, CORE held a meeting of parents with children in integrated schools and interested individuals to set up this year's surveying. The group plans to survey and contact parents in the nine districts in which they worked last year, plus two new districts. Surveying is completed in three districts and underway in six additional districts. This year emphasis is being placed on parents and neighborhood leaders, with the hope that leadership can be developed in each district so that CORE can turn to another project.

Community Education: CORE sent speakers to the First Unitarian Church and FOR during the month of April to explain the organization and its projects. Finances: A financial drive was conducted during the month of May and early June to raise money for the California trip and general expenses. Two types of membership were sought, individual and organizational affiliation ($5.00), plus donations where people did not want to become members. The organizational affiliation drive is also an effort at community education, as one member has gone to club meetings to explain the work of the group and its needs. This was the first drive and response to follow-up visits was good, where these were made.

The group has no future projects outlined after this fall, but there is some interest in employment and some in recreational facilities.

New York City--Lula Farmer made the report for New York CORE. She had already covered the housing project during the Conference, but noted that housing has been their major activity. CORE had had leaflets ("Knock on Any Door") printed which outline how individuals may take advantage of New York's new housing bill covering private housing. These have been distributed door-to-door and there has also been one poster walk to help educate the public on the housing bill.

The airlines project has just about died out, since efforts to find persons to apply for stewardess' and pilots' jobs did not meet with much success. TWA has hired one Negro stewardess and plans to employ more.

The New York group is considering whether it will do any more on the air lines.

Boston, Mass.--Boston CORE submitted a written report which was read by Jim Robinson. The Boston group has concentrated primarily on housing, beginning with an attempt to find bona fide prospective tenants who would test apartments listed in public advertisements. Attempts to find bona fide tenants were not very successful. The group sent representatives to meet with the American Friends Service Committee's Community Relations Committee, the Cambridge Fair Housing Committee and the Housing Registry at Harvard (which has a non-discriminatory policy and will not list unless person agrees not to discriminate).

Boston CORE next worked with an ad hoc committee to support a state fair housing bill, finding persons who had been subject to discrimination and passing on their case histories to the ad hoc committee for presentation at a public hearing. Two of these persons presented their cases at the hearing. CORE read a statement of support into the record at the hearings along with more than a score of organizations.

Boston CORE is now working on a campaign to publicize the fair housing bill and encourage Negroes to seek housing in locations of their choice. Flyers are being prepared which will be distributed to groups through personal contact. They expect to use it with university student housing registries in the area.

Baltimore, Md.--A written report from Baltimore, also read by Jim Robinson, states that group is now making plans for an annual demonstration protesting the all-white policy of "All Nations Day" at Gwynn Oak Amusement Park. Baltimore CORE has been working with students at Morgan State on picketing and sit-in demonstrations at Northwood shopping Center. One restaurant opened immediately; negotiations are being carried out with a large department store there and the Mayor's Commission on Interracial Problems. Discussions with management of one of the drive-in theaters continue. A survey of treatment of Negro customers in department stores is under way, and CORE representatives spoke at the state legislature in support of a state-wide civil rights bill under consideration (since defeated). Baltimore CORE is no longer working on the White Coffee Pot chain. Their final demonstration there was an all-day picketing and sit-in last September which created favorable response in the community.

Lula Farmer moved that locals be directed to bring or send written reports to the Convention, preparing sufficient copies to be distributed to all delegates. Newton Casper seconded the motion, which passed with one dissenting vote. Charles Oldham asked the national staff to remind locals to prepare approximately 25 copies for the Council meeting.

San Francisco, Calif.--Ellen Fisk, acting chairman of the newly organized San Francisco group, reported that they have had three meetings with approximately ten persons at each. The second two have been predominately white, but she is sure they will have more Negroes as they begin to work. Half the group is now investigating Sears Roebuck and half a Safeway Store, as to their policies of employment. At the next meeting they will decide which store they will work on. San Francisco CORE has selected employment as a first project because public accommodations is not a problem and they feel this would be better supported by the Negro community.

FIELD SECRETARIES' REPORTS: James T. McCain's written report was circulated and read. McCain said that since the written report was prepared, the Miami, Fla. group had conducted an 8-hour sit-in at a lunch counter in the city. The press reported there were no disturbances.

Marian Oldham asked McCain to evaluate the future prospects of interracial organization and work in South Carolina. McCain said that he thinks it will be possible to form interracial organizations in Beaufort and Rock Hill, S. C.

Gordon Carey reported verbally. Miami; Richmond & Petersburg, Va.; San Francisco, Berkeley and Richmond, Calif.; and Portland, Ore. were visited since the February Council. About half these organizational efforts were successful. He noted approximately one month of field time is necessary to organize each group. He usually spends about one and one-half weeks per city, part of the time being devoted to non-organizational work.

In Richmond, Va. he attempted to set up a workshop as well as form a CORE group. Neither effort was successful.

What Carey evaluated as a "shaky" group was organized in Petersburg, Va. He doesn't know whether it will be a success or not.

Carey did one week of field work in Seattle. The group Henry Hodge worked with is inactive and he was unable to get a meeting set up.

Portland, Ore. Carey spent five days here and one meeting was held. They decided to call another meeting at which they would organize.

San Francisco and Berkeley. Potentially good groups are shaping up in both places. Contacts there are good and both have a chance for thoroughly interracial groups. The Berkeley group had 10-12 persons at the first meeting, all white; the next was mixed, about 25 attending. Employment will probably be a focus for their projects. There were some students and professors in the group, but it is not predominately university people.

Richmond, Calif. Carey organized one meeting. There were five people, but contacts there are good and there is a good possibility of a group developing.

Two additional minor efforts to organize were made in Williamsburg, Va. and Suffolk. There were 25 present at the Williamsburg meeting, 20 Negro. They were interested in voter registration.

Henry Hodge commented that his and Carey's work in the Northwest and the Far West indicate more time is needed for effective field work. It takes one to two months to get a group off the ground, Hodge stated.

LITERATURE: Jim Robinson reported that production was not too good this year. Most of the time was devoted to distributing the "First Step." A first draft of "Nonviolence against Jim Crow" was mimeographed. The organizational manual was supposed to be printed by now, but it has not been.

Jim also noted that thus far, there have been no suggestions for revisions of "Nonviolence against Jim Crow," though there have been some criticisms. Some of the staff feel it is not inclusive enough.

A pamphlet on registration techniques has been proposed but has not progressed very far. There is some material collected, but it is not sufficiently schematic or sufficiently interesting as reading.

A pamphlet is needed for fund-raising. It may be possible to write the Miami workshop announcement for fund appeals.

The Virginia Pilgrimage pamphlet was the most unsuccessful piece of CORE literature ever sent out. There were too many pictures and not enough text.

Charles Oldham suggested that the New York and Boston groups be asked to write up material on housing for "Nonviolence Against Jim Crow", the South Carolina groups be asked to write up material on registration and St. Louis, to cover employment.

TREASURER'S REPORT: A written report for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1959 was circulated and accepted. During the discussion it was pointed out that the $500 advanced on the Virginia Prayer Pilgrimage is listed under accounts receivable although there is little likelihood of recovering any of this money. The treasurer pointed out that projects of this type will result in a drain on National finances, unless concerted efforts are made at the time the project planning takes place, and <u>on the spot</u>. In this case, CORE staff failed to emphasize funds and it was agreed this must not occur again.

Charles Oldham pointed out that the books are regularly audited by Appel & Englander, a firm specializing in non-profit organizations.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT: A written report was circulated and read. Following the report the question of an additional staff person to do public relations work came under considerable discussion. This person would work on fund-raising through contacts with unions, dinners and other such approaches CORE has not used in the past. There was general agreement that the person hired, if someone were hired for this job, should be someone in keeping with the spirit of the organization, who understands and accepts what it is trying to do.

Jim Robinson noted he is also interested in additional field staff, and prefers to get someone through the locals. He asked that locals keep this in mind. Carey feels the first addition should be additional office staff for routine clerical work. Jim Robinson pointed out that Lula Farmer's office help, as well as her bookkeeping, have been a major contribution.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Among the persons nominated at last year's Convention, James Carey, Al J. Hayes, and Paul Hoffman have been approached and turned down nominations. Don Murray is still a possibility.

Additional suggestions that received general agreement include: Aldous Huxley; Philip Wylie; Father LaFarge, S. J. (Alternate, Dorothy Day); Hayakawa, San Francisco State; Averill Harriman; Winthrop Rockefeller; Herbert Block (Alternate, Bill Mauldin); Erwin D. Canham (former editor Christian Science Monitor); Harry Golden, Carolina Israelite; Eleanor Roosevelt; Dr. Benjamin Mays; Leontyne Price; Eric Fromm; Carl Rowan, Minneapolis Star-Journal; Mordecai Johnson; George A. Hormel.

The afternoon session was adjourned at this point.

The Thursday evening session was called to order at 6:40.

REMOVALS FROM ADVISORY BOARD: It was suggested that Dorothy Maynor's name be removed since she has not been of much assistance and is not well known. Hodge moved that her name be removed. Charles U. Smith seconded the motion. Removal was voted unanimously.

1960 COUNCIL MEETING: There was some discussion of the necessity of two national meetings a year, with some interest expressed in the possibility of regional meetings once per year combined with one national meeting. It was agreed to continue the two national meetings per year for the present, with consideration for regional meetings (dropping one national meeting) at a future date. Henry Hodge suggested that the item of combined regional-national meetings be placed on the agenda for the next Council meeting.

After no agreement on a date for the 1960 Council meeting could be reached, Frank Robinson moved that the date be referred to the National Action Committee. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously. The group agreed by common consent to have the Council meeting in New York City (1st choice), Washington, D. C. (second choice) or Boston, Mass. (third choice).

Travel assistance to Council meetings: Jim Breed moved that travel assistance be continued. A. Glover seconded the motion. Lula Farmer asked that the motion be amended to read that travel would be subsidized equal to one-half travel expenses or one-half round trip bus fare, whichever is less. The amendment was accepted and the motion passed unanimously.

1960 CONFERENCE-CONVENTION: It was agreed by common consent that the 1960 Conference-Convention would be held in St. Louis (1st choice) or Racine, Wisc. (2nd choice).

Frank McKenzie moved that the national body subsidize travel of national officers (excluding regional representatives) to the Conference-Convention up to two-thirds of their expenses, not to exceed two-thirds of air-coach travel. Casper seconded the motion. The motion was passed unanimously.

It was agreed that the 1960 Convention would be held no earlier than the last week in June and no later than the second week in July. The length of the entire Conference-Convention was set at four days.

It was agreed by common consent that the 1961 Convention would be a larger type of convention with a name speaker. The Convention authorized the National Action Committee to begin working on such a convention for 1961 immediately, including looking for a name speaker, working out the time, place and other arrangements.

CORE POLICY ON INTEGRATION VS. SEPARATE BUT EQUAL: It was agreed by common consent that as a matter of policy no CORE group should support or give the appearance of supporting "separate but equal" facilities. Discussion of this matter grew out of a misunderstanding as to action one of the South Carolina groups had taken in cooperation with other groups in the community.

There was also some discussion at this point over the question of involvement in political activities. Groups were warned to be careful not to involve their CORE organization in political situations and to carry on all political work as individuals. CORE members have the right

to engage in political activities as individuals, but CORE as an organization is non-political.

Further discussion of the question of all-Negro groups (which came up several times earlier) followed. While there was fairly general agreement that it might not be possible to involve whites in all areas (e.g. rural South Carolina), it was the general concensus of opinion that locals should be interracial wherever possible and that groups could be integrated in the border areas and the upper South and in most of the larger urban areas of the South. Jim Robinson and several others stressed the importance of emphasizing this during field work and the early organizational stage of groups. All-Negro groups present stated they would try to find whites to work with them.

The Convention agreed by common conset to direct the National Action Committee to consider in the utilization of field workers (1) need; (2) the possibility of forming an interracial group; and (3) the possibility of success.

The concensus of the Convention was that there should be more emphasis on the interracial character of new groups, more concentration on urban areas, with less attempt to organize in the rural South. The National office was directed to use Field Secretary James T. McCain more frequently outside South Carolina.

There was also some discussion at this point as to the amount of time field workers spend in a community. Both Carey and Hodge said the present amount of time is not enough to accomplish as much as necessary. The Convention expressed concern that not enough time is allocated for field workers in each locality and requests that if at all possible, field workers should be scheduled so that more time is spent in each community. Working several communities in one area might permit field workers to utilize their time more efficiently.

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND SPECIAL FUND-RAISING: Addition of a special person to the staff who would work in fund-raising and public relations would entail a cost of about $11,000 a year. This would include the fund-raiser's salary, plus a full-time secretary. It would not be anticipated that he would raise more than the additional cost the first year. Jim Robinson described the duties of a public relatios secretary as getting out news releases, building up publicity and developing fund-raising projects such as dinners and speeches.

Jim Robinson stated that he had approached Marvin Rich about the PR job. Marvin, who has been on the National Action Committee for two years, is interested. Charles and Marian Oldham said that Marvin Rich had been a most valuable member of St. Louis CORE. They felt that if he would take the position, CORE should stretch every financial nerve to offer the job to Rich.

MIAMI WORKSHOP: Carey reported that a workshop is being planned in Miami, Fla. for two weeks in September, beginning Labor Day weekend. The Miami group will select action projects in areas such as public accommodations, voter registration and possibly school integration in the Orchard Villa neighborhood. McCain, Wendell Foster and Carey are the three directors. Emphasis will be placed on action projects with the Miami group. There will be evaluation sessions in the evening and one public meeting. Participants will be housed in the Sir John Hotel, which has a swimming pool.

Prices are high and food arrangements vague. Locals are urged to send participants. There will be some scholarships available but not travel assistance.

Newton Casper moved that the Convention approve the Miami Action Institute and direct the National Action Committee to proceed with the necessary planning. Mr. Glover seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Delegates are urged to check their locals and see that interested persons send in applications.

1960 WORKSHOP: It was agreed by common consent to place evaluation of the 1959 Workshop on the agenda for the next Council meeting, along with the question of a 1960 Workshop. The Conventions instructs the Executive Secretary and the staff to make plans to bring to the Council meeting if a 1960 Workshop seems desirable.

YOUTH MARCH COMMITTEE: There was some discussion of the Fall 1958 and Spring 1959 Youth Marches for Integrated Schools -- with a predominant feeling that further repetitions are not effective and that no permanent organization for such purposes is feasible.

TRAVEL POOL 1960 CONVENTION: A. Glover moved that a travel pool which would be assessed against all groups, including those <u>not</u> sending delegates, be set up for the 1960 Convention. Jim Breed seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

The Thursday evening session adjourned at this point.

The Friday, June 19 session was called to order at approximately 8:45 AM.

PROPOSED BUDGET: Lula Farmer presented a proposed budget of $101,000. She explained that the budget proposed was subject to minor revisions and corrections, but that the total, if adopted, would not change. It included salary for public relations secretary. After some discussion as to what expenditures are included in "promotion." "program," and so forth, Frank McKenzie moved that the budget be adopted with necessary clerical corrections. Casper seconded the motion. The proposed budget passed unanimously.

RESOLUTIONS: Ellen Fisk presented several resolutions prepared by the resolutions committee. Action taken is indicated below.

(1) Airlines--One resolution to TWA commending them for beginning integration of flight crews. Resolutions to other major airlines (American, Eastern, etc.) urging them to follow TWA's leadership in employment desegregation. Newton Casper moved the airlines resolutions be adopted. McKenzie seconded the motion. Motions passed unanimously.

(2) <u>Governor Coleman of Mississippi</u>--Resolution concerning Poplarville lynching case, urging Gov. Coleman to use his office as a force for justice in trial of persons for the lynching of Parker. Convention not satisfied with wording as it came from the resolutions committee. Jim Breed moved that the general content of the resolution be adopted, but the wording revised. McKenzie seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

(3) <u>Gov. Leroy Collins, Fla.</u>--Resolution proposed concerning appeal to Gov. Collins for clemency in Tallahassee rape case involving

four white boys and also that clemency be extended to four Negroes convicted of rape who were awaiting execution. Wording was not completely satisfactory. McKenzie moved that the general content of the motion be approved and that the wording be revised. Randolph seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

(4) Jim Peck--Newton Casper moved the adoption of a resolution expressing appreciation for the work Jim Peck has done for CORE and our hope for his speedy recovery. Smith seconded the motion. Motion passed unanimously.

(5) Civil Rights Bill, School Integration--Lula Farmer moved that the group endorse the Douglas civil rights bill now pending in Congress. she also introduced a resolution urging President Eisenhower to implement school integration. Casper seconded the motions. Both motions passed unanimously.

It was agreed by common consent to send a card to Mr. Newsome of Los Angeles who was in the hospital during the convention.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES: The Constitution Committee proposed the following changes in the national CORE constitution. Action taken on each proposal is indicated below.

Article 12--Article 12 was reworded to read: "Its application must be accompanied by the affiliation form and payment of the non-refundable $10 fee." Unanimously adopted.

Article 13--Proposed changes would reword Article 13 to read: "Each affiliated local group shall pay $10 annual membership fee. In addition, each group shall pay 10% of its adjusted gross income to the national office, or $25, whichever is larger. Payment in full must be made to entitle groups to have voting delegates at this convention. A minimum of $35 must be paid by each local group prior to the Council meeting to entitle them to a voting delegate at the Council meeting."

Some of the delegates objected to the proposed revision of Article 13 on the basis that it would put too heavy a burden ($35) on the small groups. Others were in favor of eliminating the requirement to pay the 10% tax, feeling that the 10% tax required locals to contribute too much to the national office. Homer Randolph introduced a substitute motion proposing a dollar ceiling on the amount CORE locals were required to pay the national office. His motion was defeated by a 10 to 5 vote.

Proposed changes in Article 13 were defeated by a vote of 10 for and 6 against (a 2/3 vote is necessary for constitutional changes.) Rev. Charles Smith asked that his vote against the changes be recorded in the minutes.

Jim Breed moved that each group pay a flat tax of $25 per year to the national office in addition to the $10 annual membership fee. Randolph seconded the motion. The motion was defeated by a 2/3 vote (5 for, 10 against).

Sayuri Buell suggested that the national office define "adjusted gross income" more clearly for the locals before the next Council meeting, since this seems to be the basis for some delegates opposing the 10% tax. Lula Farmer stated earlier in the discussion she could prepare a statement to the locals regarding how to calculate tax due the national office, what expenses from the groups were deductible, etc. At present, there is an

informal understanding that money-raising expenses are deductible. This might be expanded to include court costs, travel expenses to meetings, etc.

Gordon Carey suggested a memo to the locals advising them how to set up a budget, so that they could begin on a good sound financial basis. He also suggested an annual accounting to the national office might be required from locals. Anna Holden said financial responsibilities to the national should be stressed in field work, and Jim Robinson added that the necessity of setting up a budget and making financial plans for the local should be stressed.

National Advisory Committee--The following provision for the National Advisory Committee should be inserted in the constitution as Article 9, the rest being renumbered: "The National Advisory Committee shall consist of individuals who will lend their prestige and influence to promote the growth and welfare of CORE. Membership shall be conferred by the action of the Council, Convention or the National Action Committee. Members may be removed by the action of the Council or Convention."

Casper moved that the provision for the Advisory Committee be adopted. Glover seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

Article 8--Article 8 was reworded to read: "NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE. National officers and staff in the area of the national office, plus persons appointed by the National Chairman on the recommendation of, or with the consent of, those already on the National Action Committee, shall constitute the National Action Committee. Appointees of the National Chairman shall serve immediately upon appointment and shall be approved or removed by the next succeeding Council or Convention. This Committee shall handle day-to-day decisions between Councils and Conventions, including matters of personnel and policy. The Committee meets on call of the Executive Secretary, but not less than ten times a year.

The National Action Committee shall be authorized to initiate and develop action programs and projects in the name of the National Organization. It may request participation of local groups in such projects. Such participation shall, however, be at the discretion of the local group."

Charles Smith moved that the proposed revisions to Article 8 be adopted. Casper seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

Conference Grounds--The Convention agreed by common consent to direct the Chairman to write a letter to the Presbyterian Conference Grounds expressing CORE's appreciation for arrangements and hospitality during the Convention.

Jim Breed introduced a motion that groups which did not send delegates be requested to contribute to the deficit of almost $200 incurred by the Convention. The motion passed unanimously. (Seconded by McKenzie)

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: A. Glover moved that the present officers be re-elected by acclamation. Smith seconded the motion. The following officers were reelected by acclamation:

Chairman	Charles R. Oldham, St. Louis
Vice-Chairman	Henry Hodge, Los Angeles
Secretary	Anna Holden, Nashville
Treasurer	Lula Farmer, New York

Regional Representatives--elected by secret ballot (2/3 vote required):

Walter Hayes, St. Louis (18)
George Houser, New York (18)
Herbert Kelman, Boston (18)
Frank Robinson, Sumter,SC (18)
Rev. Charles Smith, Lexington, Ky. (18)
Earl Walter, Los Angeles (15)
James Farmer, New York (17)

(Mr. Farmer later declined because of his connection with NAACP staff)

THANKS TO LOS ANGELES: Lula Farmer introduced a resolution thanking the Los Angeles group and Henry Hodge for the excellent and splendid work they did in arranging the Conference and Convention.

ADJOURNMENT: The Convention adjourned approximately at 12:00 noon, June 19.

Respectfully submitted,

Anna Holden, Secretary

Attendance of Delegates
1959 Convention, Los Angeles, Calif.

	Wed. Night 6/24	Thurs. AM 6/25	Thurs. Aftn. 6/25	Thurs. Night 6/25	Fri. AM 6/26
National Officers:					
Charles Oldham, Chairman	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Hodge, Vice-Chairman	X	X	X	X	
Lula Farmer, Treasurer	X	X	X	X	X
Anna Holden, Secretary	X	X	X	X	X
Delegates:					
Carol Clay (St. Louis)	X	X	X	X	X
Marian Oldham (St. Louis)	X	X	X	X	X
Edgar Poindexter (St. Louis)	X	X	X	X	X
Joan Aaron (L. A.)			X		X
James Breed (L. A.)	X	X	X	X	X
Earl Walter (L. A.)	X			X	
Newton Casper (L. A.)		X	X	X	X
Sayuri Buell (L. A.)		X	X	X	X
Charles Smith (Lex., Ky.)	X	X	X	X	X
Frank Robinson (Sumter,SC)	X	X	X	X	X
S. G. Abrams (Sumter, SC)		X	X	X	X
A. Glover (Sumter, SC)	X	X	X	X	X
Frank McKenzie (Charleston,SC)	X	X	X	X	X
Homer Randolph, (E. St. Louis)		X	X		X
Miss Zennia Pettus (E. St. Louis)		X	X		X
Mrs. Willie Mae Gardner		X	X		X
Collier Stovall					
Virgil Murdock					
Ellen Fisk (San Francisco non-voting delegate)	X	X	X	X	X

Delegates, 1959 CORE convention
Los Angeles, Calif.

Marian Oldham	5110 Palm, St. Louis 15, Mo.	
Frank Robinson	17 Robinson St., Sumter, S. C.	
A. Glover	316 Manning Ave., Sumter, S. C.	
Sayuri Buell	1352 Sutherland, Los Angeles, Calif.	MA 8-5460
Carol A. Clay	5146 E. Minerva, St. Louis 13, Mo.	FO 7-2564
Joan L. Aaron	1241 S. Muirfield R., L.A. 19, Calif.	WE 6-7308
Frank McKenzie	3 Judith St., Charleston,S. C.	RA 2-1122
Gordon R. Carey	38 Park Row, N.Y. 38, N. Y.	
Charles Smith	352 Chestnut St., Lexington, Ky.	
James R. Robinson	280 First Ave., N.Y. 9, N. Y.	
Henry Hodge	2623 S. Manhattan Place, L.A., Calif.	
Newton J. Casper	1504 3/4 Maple St., Santa Monica, Calif.	
James T. McCain	317 W. Bartlette St., Sumter, S. C.	
Anna Holden	2010 Meharry Blvd., Nashville 8, Tenn.	AL 5-6170
Silas M. Abrams	216 S. Washington St., Sumter, S. C.	
Edgar Poindexter	5465 Bartmer Ave., St. Louis 12, Mo.	FO 74771
Ellen Fisk	316 San Benito Way, San Francisco 27, Calif.	
Charles R. Oldham	5110 Palm, St. Louis, Mo.	
H. S. Randolph	1324 Broadway, E. St. Louis, Ill.	
Zennia Pettus	1838 Market, E. St. Louis, Ill.	
Mrs. Willie Mae Gardner	2741 Converse Ave., E. St. Louis, Ill.	
Lula Farmer	85 Bedford St., N.Y. 14, N. Y.	

JDL

NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

38 Park Row, N.Y. 38, N.Y.

Minutes of meeting July 6, 1959, Co-Op Cafeteria, 12:30 p.m.

Present:			Absent:	
	James R. Robinson	James Farmer		George Houser
	Gordon R. Carey	Lula Farmer		Thomas Roberts
	LeRoy Carter	Marvin Rich		James Peck (hosp.)

James Robinson gave a report on finances and plans for summer appeals.

Finances:	Operating Account	$ 1,896.63	(three missing checks)
	Outstanding Bills	1,149.57	
		$ 747.06	Balance in Operating Account.
	Reserve Accts.	5,500.00	Approximately
	Total on hand	$ 6,247.00	

This balance, contrasted with balances as high as $14,000 during the past fiscal year, indicates the rather steady drain of expenses over income the past six months. There is little likelihood that this trend can be reversed until Labor Day when the Budget Committee Appeal goes out.

It was decided to withdraw $3000 from Reserves to be placed in the operating account.

James Robinson had talked with the Oram Organization about the possiblity of handling our account. Since Marvin Rich will be joining the staff as Community Relations Director this would be unfeasible. Also, Oram is unable to handle the account for other reasons.

Marvin Rich has definitely decided to join the staff, starting in September if possible. His work will consist largely of public relations and special fund raising. His salary was set by the National Convention at $8000.

It was decided to abandon the idea of a fund-raising Gandhi Memorial Dinner for this fall since A. Philip Randolph has had to decline to be guest of honor and no other big-name person seems available presently.

It was discussed whether or not the staff and employees of CORE should be organized under Local 1707. No recommendation was made.

Autherization was given to co-sponsor the Atlantic Conference of Non-violence with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the FOR. The Conference will be July 22, 23 and 24. James McCain and Robinson will definitely attend and possibly national chairman Charles Oldham.

Returning from Atlanta Robinson will make a weekend field stop in Lexington, Kentucky at the request of the local group.

Mr. Harold Nisinson, insurance agent, explained the Workmen's Compensation Law and its application to volunteer CORE officers, such as Regional Representatives. It was decided to pay under protest the additional $85.80 required to cover these officers under the Law.

Gordon Carey reported that in addition to San Francisco and Berkeley, a third CORE group resulted from his recent western trip. This new group is in Portland, Oregon. He also said that according to the last report Petersburg CORE was still functioning. Plans were made for McCain to make a field trip to Cleveland in August. Both McCain and Carey will do some field work in South Carolina in late summer and Carey will make a trip to St. Louis, East St. Louis, and Columbia, Missouri this fall.

Respectfully submitted,

Gordon R. Carey (Acting as Sec'y)

National Action Committee, 12:30 Lunch, - June 5, 1959

Present: Marvin Rich, Thomas Roberts, James J. Robinson
Absent: George Houser, Jim Farmer, Lula Farmer, Leroy Carter, Jim Peck (hosp.)

1. Finances: About $7,300 in total funds, but $500 in bills not paid. This indicates almost total depletion of reserves by end of August. Total income for year just ended, about $62,000.

2. Budget: Lula Farmer and Jim Robinson have worked on a budget to present to convention, but it is not complete. It is based on contributions of $50,000 from CORE list; $20,000 from new names; $18,000 from Holiday Cards and $3,000 miscellaneous, plus enough from special fund-raising to bring total over $100,000. Prospect now exists of hiring person for special fund-raising and public relations; it is hoped that his activities would at least cover the additional expenses, including salary, the new position would cause.

3. Boston and Lexington affiliation material: Approved; to be sent out to groups, and NAC recommends accepting affiliation even if material does not get mailed to groups before Convention.

4. Field work: Carey's trip on Coast has produced definite new group in San Francisco. Possibilities in Bremerton, Portland, Richmond, Berkeley.
McCain reports that the Sumter, South Carolina, registration campaign has gone well.

5. Workshop. Miami CORE has approved the idea. They request that date be shifted to Labor Day and two weeks following. Set for September 5 to 20. Sir John living arrangement, has swimming pool, three to a room at $3 per person per day. One member of staff to be there one week early.

6. Personnel: Wendell Foster will not accept job as field secretary, but will try to be one of directors of Miami Workshop. Mr. Lyman has been with us a few days as clerk-typist. Work satisfactory, but two absences. It was voted to discharge Mr. Lyman before Robinson leaves for Convention, as frequent absences make it impossible to trust Mr. Lyman alone in the office while Robinson is gone.
It was felt that public relations secretary is the next staff position, more important than additional field staff for two reasons: (1) present staff not fully utilized in field; and (2) no outstanding field person in view. Marvin Rich indicated that the might be interested in this position, with responsibilities for special fund-raising also.

7. Recruitment: Recent mailing to 53,000 people is losing money, but at least 700 new contributors have resulted. A recruitment mailing with the Summer Workshop announcement possible for end of July or early August. Hope to send to 50,000 people.

8. Holiday Cards: Jerry Goldman's "Birds with Olive Branch" accepted as one design. Gilber Harris' "Reverence" probably to be used as second card.

9. Conference-Convention: Reservations slow. Most arrangements have been made. It was felt we must have next one nearer center of U. S. to facilitate representation of larger portion of our affiliates.

10. Robinson reported on conference with Gilbert Jonas of Oram Associates. No definite commitments on either side as to either fund-raising or publicity.

11. Fringe benefits for employees might be obtained through union (#1707).

Adjourned about 2:30.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE LUNCHEON MEETING NOVEMBER 12, 1959

Present: L. Carter, L. Farmer, M. Rich, J. Robinson

Absent: J. Farmer, G. Houser, T. Roberts

1. Applications for Affiliation: The Action Committee voted to recommend the affiliation of new groups in Rock Hill, South Carolina and Portland, Oregon. Memo with details will follow. Application of Miami CORE (recommended by 1959 Convention): Spartanburg CORE and New York CORE voted to accept; no other groups have yet reported votes. (Subsequent to meeting, Baltimore CORE sent in a YES vote.)

2. 1960 Interracial Action Institute: Dates set as August 14 through September 7. This gives us a three-week institute and should allow more time for thorough training. A. J. Muste of the Advisory Committee has agreed to spend one or two days at the Institute. Co-sponsorship or "cooperating" sponsorship with other groups was discussed but no action was taken. None of the CORE groups written about interest in having the Institute has yet answered.

3. Publication Plans: "Cracking the Color Line" -- a 16-page detailed description of CORE projects in restaurants, public accommodations, employment and housing -- South and North -- is planned for distribution in February. Based on material from the groups, with the writing done by Jim Peck and the design by Jerry Goldman, this will be a major educational and training pamphlet with many photographs, a fancy cover, and a price of $1 per copy.

Our first "precedent sheet" -- showing CORE methods in sit-ins and stand-ins - will be available next week. Organizational Manual re-issued.

4. Field Reports: Greenville (South Carolina) Airport Demonstration scheduled for Emancipation Day under Rev. Hall, with help of James T. McCain. Suggested speakers include Lillian Smith, Martin Luther King, and Jackie Robinson. Committee felt that someone should arrive or depart from the airport on demonstration day to give it more point. McCain visiting other S. C. groups to enlist their support.

TALLAHASSEE: Carey now there. Visited earlier by McCain. Miss Patricia Stephens worked to get the group together. She became acquainted with CORE through participation in the Miami Action Institute. The Reverend Steele, leader of the bus protest, has been a great help. The group is definitely formed and has engaged in testing municipal and interstate transportation with varying results.

Plans: McCain to New York and Boston in early December. Carey to Midwest, including Columbia, Missouri. Possibly both at Greenville protest. Then both to Chicago until D. C. National Council Meeting, Jan. 22 to 24.

5. Theatre Benefit: Has brought in $1100 so far, covering expenses to date; but an additional $1,100 on tickets still to be paid January 4th. Lowest price tickets are gone, and top price tickets are selling well. Poor sales for in-between prices.

6. Holiday Cards: $5,846 has come in so far. Although this equals the total for last year, we have more cards and more promotional expenses so that costs will run to $12,000. We are lucky if we break even.

7. Finances: Checking account balance $2,419.56. Outstanding obligations in excess of $6,000, including $1,100 for reprinting World Brotherhood Card, $800 for list rental (Carolina Israelite) and $4,000 to printers and mailers for 66,000 promotion now going in the mails.

8. Council Meeting: In connection with the Council, Jan. 23-24, it was suggested that a Friday night (Jan. 22) public meeting might be good. Washington CORE to be written.

yrc

Congress of Racial Equality
National Action Committee Minutes
December 15, 1959

Present: Jim Farmer, Lula Farmer, Marvin Rich, Gordon Carey, Tom Roberts, Jim Robinson.
Visitor: Susan Bodan
Absent: Leroy Carter, George Houser, Jim Peck

FIELD REPORTS: McCain's visit to Boston was very tightly scheduled. Two public meetings and numerous smaller meetings. Helped set up a sponsors' committee and recruit new members. McCain reports CORE is much better known than last year as a result of news releases.

Greenville demonstration on January 1 is soundly planned and well set up. Cooperation around the state has been good (Spartanburg CORE expects 100 cars to go from Spartanburg).

New York CORE is increasing activity. Response to interest sheets has been poor. Need more Negro members. Suggested several additional projects for the group. Unions approached on meeting place.

FIELD PLANS: Proposed field plans through the 1960 Action Institute were discussed. These call for visits to 5 cities where CORE groups do not now exist. Open time in the schedule is to permit flexibility in response to requests that may come in. Schedule is also arranged so that newly established groups can be revisited approximately 3 months after first visit.

Chicago trip is well set up. We have had about 60 responses to the interest sheet. Of these, about 30 are interested in forming a CORE group.

1960 ACTION INSTITUTE: Approved Miami site if acceptable to Miami CORE. National Office will do more advance planning than last year. Written evaluation of the 1959 Institute will be available soon. Susan Bodan, a participant in the 1959 Institute, suggested that action plans might well be coordinated with CORE groups in other cities especially if a large chain such as Grant's is involved.

CRACKING THE COLOR LINE: Two foundations have been approached for assistance in publishing this how-to-do-it-the-CORE-way booklet. Our printer has agreed to accept deferred payment if necessary.

LEGAL MEMO: A memo to the groups on legal problems that may arise has been prepared. It will be checked with four attorneys: Rowland Watts of the ACLU, Carl Rachlin of the WDL, Charles Oldham and Tom Roberts.

THEATRE BENEFIT: "A Loss of Roses" is closing Saturday, December 19. We shall offer to return ticket money and contributions. We expect that most will allow us to retain the contributions. If so, we should have a small surplus after expenses.

HOLIDAY CARDS: It now appears that we shall not quite make $11,000 in total sales and that we shall lose some money on the cards. A check of the lists indicates that we shall add more than 800 names to the CORE list as the result of card sales.

FINANCES: Authorized Jim Robinson to exchange names with the Highlander Fold School if the date can be worked into our schedule. Also authorized Robinson to exchange with Recording for the Blind if duplicate receipts do not go to the central files of the fund-raising organization that handles the account of Recording for the Blind. Authorized rental of the CORE list to magazines on a restricted trial basis.

Financial situation continues to be serious. Estimates on income from CORE list have risen slightly but there will be less than anticipated from Holiday Card sales.

We now have $4,700 in the bank and have over $1,500 in unpaid bills. This leaves us with about $3,000 on hand. We cannot expect any substantial income until the February appeal.

MINUTES OF THE 1960 NATIONAL CONVENTION
Roosevelt Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri
July 1 - 3, 1960

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

The first session of the 1960 Convention opened at 8:05 P.M., Friday, July 1.
Attendance included:

VOTING DELEGATES:

James Laue, Boston, Mass.
Rae Alexander, Boston, Mass.
Jean Mann, Boston, Mass.
Richard Mann, Boston, Mass.

Cynthia Burk, Charleston, W. Va.

Kay Fields, Chicago, Ill.
Fred Fields, Chicago, Ill.
Sterling Stuckey, Chicago, Ill.
Gertrude Belamonte, Chicago, Ill.
James Wagner, Chicago, Ill.

Al Abram, Columbia, Mo.
Delores Daniel, Columbia, Mo.
Paul Green, Columbia, Mo.
Wilbur Thomas, Columbia, Mo.
Justine Williamson, Columbia, Mo.

Arbon Hairston, E. St. Louis, Mo.
Katherine Hairston, E. St. Louis, Mo.
Lula M. Dickerson, E. St. Louis, Mo.
Homer G. Randolph, E. St. Louis, Mo.
Barry J. Henderson, E. St. Louis, Mo.

Julia Lewis, Lexington, Ky.
Dan Garrison, Lexington, Ky.

Sayuri Buell, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. S. Neusom. Los Angeles, Calif.
Mildred Walter, Los Angeles, Calif.
Earl Walter, Los Angeles, Calif.

Evelyn Rich, New York, N. Y.
Al Ettinger, New York, N. Y.
Genevieve Hughes, New York, N. Y.
Virginia Hughes, New York, N. Y.

Mary Lee Murphy, St. Louis, Mo.
Jean Nunaley, St. Louis, Mo.
Eugene Tournour, St. Louis, Mo.
Herman Thompson, St. Louis, Mo.
Molly Schlafman, St. Louis, Mo.

Alfred Glover, Sumter, S. C.

Patricia Stephens, Tallahassee, Fla.
Priscilla Stephens, Tallahassee, Fla.
Richard Haley, Tallahassee, Fla.
Bob Armstrong, Tallahassee, Fla.

Paul Bennett, Washington, D. C.
Caroline Bennett, Washington, D. C.
Charles N. Mason, Jr., Washington D. C.

ALTERNATES:

Stan Matoren, Columbia, Mo.
Shirley Word, Columbia, Mo.
John Schopp, Columbia, Mo.

Marian Oldham, St. Louis, Mo.
Wanda Penny, St. Louis, Mo.
James Moore, St. Louis, Mo.

NATIONAL OFFICERS: (Voting)

Charles Oldham, St. Louis, Mo., Chairman
Henry Hodge, Los Angeles, Calif., Vice-Chairman
Anna Holden, Ann Arbor, Mich., Secretary
Lula Farmer, New York, N. Y., Treasurer

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE: Walter Hayes, St. Louis, Mo.

STAFF:
James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary
Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director
Gordon Carey, Field Director
Field Secretaries: James T. McCain, Ulysses Prince
Marvin Robinson, Major Johns, Darwin Bolden

MINUTES of the Council meeting, held in January, 1960, were unavailable for distribution, as they were misplaced.

AFFILIATION: Chicago. Gordon Carey reported the Chicago group was organized in

January with the assistance of James McCain. The group has been active in the Woolworth boycott, along with other projects. Affiliation was recommended by the National Action Committee. Information has been previously circulated. Richard Mann moved that Chicago CORE be affiliated. D. S. Neusom seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Tallahassee. McCain reported that he and Gordon Carey have worked with the Tallahassee group and recommend its affiliation. Information was circulated prior to the Convention. Lula Farmer moved the Tallahassee group be affiliated. A. Glover seconded the motion. The motion was passed unanimously.

Columbia, Mo. Ulysses Prince noted the group has been working to desegregate the Tiger Inn and Minute Inn. He recommended affiliation. Homer Randolph moved the Columbia group be affiliated. Al Ettinger seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

TREASURER'S REPORT: Lula Farmer made a provisional report which covers income and distributions recorded up to the time she left for the Convention. The office is behind in recording due to inadequate staff. The final auditor's report, which will be sent later, may differ somewhat as to totals in each area, but will show approximately the same distributions.

Lula commented that union contributions, which were not recorded separately during the first part of the year, actually total about $6,400. Holiday Cards still show a deficit, but introduce many people to CORE and pay off in contributions that do not show in the Holiday Card account. Income from chapters is better but still not good.

Proposed budget: Equipment expenses will be three times that of last year since the office will be moving to larger quarters and new equipment will have to be purchased. There is also a provision for an increased Legal Defense Fund for CORE members arrested. At present CORE has access to a special bail fund of $5,000 for loan in emergencies. The increase in new contributions expected in 1961 is contingent on the hiring of a fund-raiser and expanded use of devices such as special luncheons to cultivate interest in the organization.

The deposit in Fidelity Federal Savings & Loan in Glendale, Calif., will be closed out because of its lily-white loan policies.

Travel Fund money from all the chapters is not included.

LOCAL ACTION PROJECT: Wanda Penny reported that the action project planned for the Convention by St. Louis CORE could not be carried out. Her committee suggested that Clayton, Mo. restaurants be tested as a substitute. Jean Mann moved that the substitute action be adopted. Walter Hayes seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

STRATEGY COMMITTEE: Charles Oldham appointed the following committee to set up plans for continuation of direct student action in the South: Darwin Bolden, Major Johns and Pat Stephens (chairman). The committee was instructed to make recommendations to the group during the Convention.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT: Jim Robinson submitted a written report, which was circulated among the delegates.

Henry Hodge proposed that the national staff spend more time with the new field secretaries, orienting them to the purposes and methods of CORE. Otherwise, sending out people who have not become fully acquainted with the organization, may cause problems for the locals.

The Friday night session adjourned at this point.

CLOSED SESSION: The Saturday morning session began at 9:50 A.M. with a session limited to delegates only, for clarification of Leonard Holt's separation from CORE.

Jim Robinson explained that the hiring and firing of staff is done by the National Action Committee. Charles Oldham read the section from the constitution describing the duties and composition of the NAC.

Sayuri Buell suggested that the make-up of the NAC needs to be revised; that it should be made up of people active in locals, rather than people who have severed connections with action at the local level.

Jean Mann suggested that in the future skeleton information regarding such action by the national office be sent in confidence to officers and chairmen of the locals, with the indication that there will be discussions at the next meeting. Dick Mann said it appears to him the decision-making process within CORE needs to be evaluated. Charles Oldham concluded the discussion by suggesting that the hiring and firing policy be re-evaluated.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT, CON'T. Jim Robinson recommended that the national office be authorized to engage the Harold Oram firm for fund-raising, if they see fit to do so. The Oram firm has handled fund-raising for such organizations as the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the American Association for the United Nations, the American Committee on Africa and the National Sharecropper's Fund. Engaging this firm would give CORE access to lists from these organizations.

Dick Mann moved that the Convention authorize the national office to hire a fund raising organization. James Laue seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

Jim Robinson noted that CORE made a request for tax (federal) deductibility which has been under consideration for one year. He does not know what the outcome will be; income tax deductibility will help in gaining foundation funds.

NATIONAL MEETINGS: The group agreed to continue the present pattern of meeting twice per year. Suggestions for the 1961 Council meeting include: Tallahasse, Fla., Lexington, Ky., and New York City. Suggestions for the 1961 Convention were New York City and a camp site near Milwaukee (University College Camp, Williams Bay, Wis.)

Charles Mason moved that the 1961 Convention be held in a camp in preference to a city hotel. Dick Mann seconded the motion. The resolution passed unanimously. Marion Oldham suggested that those making the arrangements get a commitment in writing from the camp.

It was agreed by common consent that the 1962 Convention site should be selected by the staff.

Charles Oldham noted that the Gandhi Award was the incentive for having national meetings where a large public meeting could be held. The award need not be given at the national convention, however; it could be given at a separate meeting.

FIELD DIRECTOR's REPORT: Gordon Carey submitted a written report which was circulated among the delegates. In the discussion following, the question of organization of more than one group per city was raised. Carey said there are no restrictions as to the number of groups which can be organized. Delegates also inquired as to policy concerning names, action and the desirability of campus chapters. Carey said the groups do not have to be named "Committee on Racial Equality" but it is desirable for publicity and morale purposes to maintain either the name or the initials CORE. Under the constitution groups must be primarily action-oriented to qualify for affiliation.

As for campus groups, there has not been sufficient staff time to focus on this. Al Ettinger and Rae Alexander both raised the question of a slowing down of progress in organizing chapters. Rae suggested regional organizations which might hold meetings in addition to the national organization meetings. Gordon noted that the staff is open to service local groups and would be available for regional meetings.

FIELD SECRETARIES' REPORTS: Major Johns read a written report which was circulated among the delegates. His speaking engagements on the west coast, described in the report, were primarily for purposes of public relations. Johns travelled with McCain in South Carolina to learn something about organizing and working with organized groups, and has done some organizational work.

Darwin Bolden also submitted a written report, and made some additional comments regarding his work in New York. The New York boycott has not been effective enough and he suspects boycotts in other places have not been either. There has not been full-scale use of the CORE pledge cards or sufficient utilization of those picketing. He suggested capitalizing on the interest in picketing to move into other areas.

The Saturday morning session adjourned at 12:10.

RESOLUTION: During the lunch hour four resolutions were passed unanimously. (For text of resolutions see attached sheet.)

One resolution is to be sent to the college presidents involved and the appropriate student bodies, as well as the press.

Resolutions concernign cooperation with other organizations and support of the marches on the Democratic and Republican conventions were sent back to the Resolutions Committee for revision.

TRAVEL POOL COMMITTEE: Lula Farmer announced that travel pool money is in, or committed, from the following groups: Tallahassee, E. St. Louis, Columbia, Mo., St. Louis, Boston, Washington, D. C. and New York City.

Saturday afternoon was devoted to the local action project, testing Clayton restartants, and recreation. The Saturday night session resumed at 7:45 P.M.

FIELD SECRETARIES' REPORTS CON'T: Ulysses Prince III and James McCain circulated written reports. Their comments did not go beyond the substance of the written reports.

Marvin Robinson reported orally. Robinson began working with CORE in June. He was first sent to New Orleans June 16 to work with Louisiana students. Many were away, but he worked with the Consumers' League which is picketing Dryades Street. He also visited a mass meeting held in connection with the wade-in at Biloxi, Miss., and has formed an action group which rode the trolleys on an integrated basis in New Orleans. Thus far the group interested in the trolley situation is all Negro (about 30); they have not been able to get whites to participate.

NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE: Sayuri Buell presented the following slate of officers on behalf of the nominating committee: Chairman, Charles Oldham; Vice-Chairman, Henry Hodge; Secretary, Anna Holden; Treasuruer, Lula Farmer.

Regional representatives: Northeast, Michael Rice; New York, Joseph Kaye, Evelyn Rich, Bernadine Wesley, Genevieve Hughes and Gladys Harrington; South Carolina, Frank Robinson; Florida, Bob Armstrong, William Larkins; Kentucky, Julia Lewis; West Coast, Earl Walter; and St. Louis, Walter Hayes.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS DIRECTOR: Marvin Rich's remarks were confined primarily to

material covered in the written report, which he circulated. Following his report there was some discussion of locals applying for tax deductibility. The staff suggested that it would probably be better for locals to wait until some action is taken on the national organization's application.

Charles Oldham asked Marvin Rich to prepare a statement setting up a separate organization in CORE to organize and finance the Action Institute, publications, and other activities that would be clearly tax deductible.

LOCAL ACTION REPORT: Reports on the afternoon's testing in Clayton's 14 restaurants were made by Wanda Penny, Lula Farmer, Evelyn Rich, Jim Laue, Herman Thompson, Edgar Poindexter and Mary Lou Murphy. CORE members were served in 9 restaurants; 5 restaurants refused service.

VICE-CHAIRMAN'S REPORT: Henry Hodge noted that the Richmond, Calif. CORE has been activated since his written report was prepared. Hodge also added a report on Las Vegas, where he spent three days with a dentist who has spearheaded a move to open restaurants and clubs on the strip. Hodge suggested that they use CORE techniques and the possibilities look good. Information on housing testimony has helped CORE on the West Coast.

Charles Oldham commended Hodge for doing so much work on his own time, much of it at his own expense.

RESOLUTIONS, CONTINUED: The resolutions committee reported additional information on the Chicago march on the Republican convention: (1) the march will not be all-Negro, either in participation or sponsorship; (2) organization is to the conventions only; (3) national and local NAACP's are participating.

Jean Mann moved that the resolution supporting the march on the conventions be adopted. Paul Green seconded the motion. Green moved that the motion be amended to add the names of King, Randolph and Wilkins to the resolution. Dick Mann seconded the amendment to the motion. Both the amendment and the motion passed unanimously.

Al Ettinger called for active support of the marches. D. S. Neusom pointed out that the Los Angeles NAACP is holding a mass rally the Sunday before the convention and will conduct picketing all during the convention.

NATIONAL ACTION INSTITUTE: Marvin Rich requested authorization for a separate organization for special projects such as the Miami Action Institute, in the event that the whole organization does not qualify for tax deductibility. Dick Mann moved that the national staff be authorized to set up a separate organization such as the National Action Institute for purposes of tax deductability, in the event that the staff deems it advisable. Caroline Bennett seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE: The following names were suggested for the National Advisory Committee: Homer Jack; Rev. J. Herbert Nelson, South Carolina; Harold Fey; Martin E. Marty, Christian Century: John A. Johnson, Johnson Publications; Herman Long, Fisk University Race Relations Institute; Ralph Abernathy, Montgomery, Ala.; E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Maceo Walker, Memphis Tenn.; Septima Clark, Highland Folk School; Thomas Pettigrew, Harvard University; John Morris, Atlanta, Ga.; Mordecai Johnson, Howard University.

STUDENT STRATEGY COMMITTEE: Dick Mann reported the following recommendations from the Committee on Strategy for the Student Movement:

(1) Non-cooperation in Jail -- CORE should <u>consider</u> a policy of non-cooperation with local officials in jail; not work on the road or take part in other segregated activities in the jail. Pleas should indicate non-cooperation (enter no plea or a

plea of nolo contendere). CORE should not assume all are ready for jail, but should encourage it where possible as a means of arousing community sympathy and dramatizing the issues.

(2) Southern college representatives will try to get direct action going by October 8-15. They will communicate with other groups and try to coordinate activities. William Larkins of Fla. A & M is recommended as a coordinator to whom all groups can give information of activities.

(3) Northern students should coordinate activities through the national office of CORE. Someone should be appointed to handle this. The committee also recommends that Northern and Southern groups 'adopt' each other and exchange news of their progress. William Larkins could be coordinator for this, also.

(4) The Sit-Down Newsletter communicating activities and beliefs of students active in demonstrations should be continued and circulated to all Southern students.

Al Ettinger suggested that (1) CORE emphasize organizing student groups (2) field secretaries be assigned to groups within regional areas so that they can establish continuing relationships with the locals.

James Laue suggested that CORE keep in close touch with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee organized at the Raleigh, N. C. Meeting.

Gordon Carey raised several objections to some implications of the discussion on the report. He suggested that it was fallacious to think of the lunch counter movement as an exclusively student movement. While supporting the idea of favoring jail versus bail or fines he suggested that CORE should not take the position that this was the only correct position for all persons at all times. Further, he pointed out the spontaneous nature of the southern movement and the fact that too much coordination might tend to stifle rather than stimulate further activity. Carey felt we should emphasize local grass-roots action and more training in non-violent techniques.

The committee's report was accepted by common consent.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS: Henry Hodge, chairman of the Constitution Committee expressed the feeling of the group that CORE is in dire need of a new and more comprehensive constitution. The committee recommends that a committee be appointed to bring a proposed draft of a new constitution to the next Council meeting. It was suggested that this might be made the responsibility of St. Louis CORE.

Action on proposed amendments.

Article 8. National Action Committee. "The National Action Committee shall consist of national officers in the area of the national office and staff, plus not more than five persons appointed by the national chairman with the consent of the majority of the following: national vie-chairman, secretary, treasurer, executive secretary, community relations director and field director. The staff will be limited to three votes, to be cast by the executive staff in order of seniority; that is, the three persons with the highest seniority. Appointees of the National Chairman shall serve immediately upon appointment and shall be approved or removed by the next succeeding Council or Convention. At any Council or Convention appointees serving on the National Action Committee may be removed by a majority vote ..."

Charles Oldham indicated that among qualifications for the NAC are interest in CORE and willingness to serve.

Dick Mann moved adoption of the proposed revisions. The motion was seconded by Jean Mann.

Sayuri Buell suggested that the NAC be revised to include functioning members on the policy level of the national organization, plus people active in the local (NY) CORE. She moved that the proposed change be amended to permit the national chairman to call meetings of the NAC. It was agreed by common consent to change the last sentence of paragraph one of Article 8 to read:

"The Committee meets on call of the Executive Secretary or National Chairman, but not less..."

Genevieve Hughes moved that the motion be further amended to permit five members of the staff to vote instead of three. Kay Fields seconded the motion. After discussion of the inadvisability of giving the staff "transparent control" of the NAC, the amendment was withdrawn.

Proposed changes in Article 8 passed with one dissenting vote.

The Saturday night session adjourned at approximately 1:00 A.M. Sunday morning. Session resumed at 9:00 Sunday.

INTERNATIONAL FRATERNAL AFFILIATIONS: CORE has had a request for affiliation from a race relations group in Nigeria. Al Ettinger moved that the office and the National Action Committee be authorized to investigate such requests and establish fraternal relationships with race relations groups outside the continental limits of the United States. Bob Armstrong seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

CORELATOR: Genevieve Hughes suggested that the <u>CORElator</u> keep a month-by-month tabulation of progress in desegregation of lunch counters, placed prominently on the front page. Caroline Bennett recommended using a "What you can do" box similar to that in the last issue regularly.

Charles Oldham urged groups to get their news in on time. Al Ettinger moved that Jim Peck be commended for his fine work on publications, particularly for editing the <u>CORElator</u>. The motion passed unanimously.

Jim Robinson reminded locals to send pictures for feature stories and that extra copies of the <u>CORElator</u> must be ordered in advance.

INCORPORATION: Al Ettinger moved that CORE be incorporated in the state of New York. Dan Garrison seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously. (Now incorporated in Ohio)

LOCAL-NATIONAL RELATIONS: Gordon Carey recommended requiring an annual report from locals as a means of getting information, the report also to include an account of finances to serve as a basis for tax assessment. There was some discussion of the role locals could play in encouraging other locals to attend national meetings.

Molly Schlaffman moved that the national staff be directed to prepare report forms to be gotten to locals before the next national convention; that locals' obligation to pay the 10% tax to the national be emphasized; and that the convention go on record as encouraging local groups to make every effort to send representation to the next national meeting. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

MIAMI ACTION INSTITUTE: Locals were urged by Jim Robinson to send in applications of members for the Institute. He announced that complete and partial scholarships are still available, but that locals must get applications in right away.

Marvin Robinson emphasized the importance of getting Southern students from the sit-in movment to the Miami Institute. Paul Green also stressed the importance of training student leaders in Miami.

It was agreed by common consent that travel subsidy is desirable in special circumstances. The national staff is directed to give help in those circumstances where students could not otherwise attend. Genevieve Hughes moved that pledges from local groups be taken at the convention to help southern students attend the Miami Institute and that this money be administered by the national office. The motion passed 11 to 3.

1961 CONVENTION SITE: Jim Laue reported facilities at University College Camp, Wisconsin would be available to CORE June 28 - July 2, 1961, if the group wishes to meet there. Lula Farmer moved that arrangements be made to hold the 1961 convention at the University College Camp. Williams Bay, Wis., June 28 - July 2, 1961. The motion passed unanimously.

1962 CONVENTION: Carolyn Bennett moved that we have a comparable date for meeting in 1962 (June 28 - July 2). The motion passed 18 to 9.

PREPARATION FOR VIOLENCE IN SOUTH: Sayuri Buell introduced discussion regarding CORE's responsibility to make steps to deal with possible violence in the South. Sayuri indicated a feeling that (1) the national office is insensitive to the danger of violence in the South; (2) there is a need for setting up machinery which would go into action immediately in the event of violence; and (3) there is a need for recommendations for specific action in case of emergency situations.

Sayuri introduced a resolution providing for a regional strategy committee, which was subsequently amended to read as follows:

"Without intent to criticize the national office and recognizing that the national office is being overworked for the duration of the Woolworth boycott, I move that the national office set up a temporary regional Southern strategy committee including Jim McCain, Marvin Robinson, Buddy Prince and Major Johns, for the purpose of intensive direction in time of need; to be mobilized in time of need, with full powers to act in the name of CORE, to add CORE members to their committee as they see fit, and to work with community leaders."

Paul Green seconded the motion. The motion was defeated 25 to 8 in a roll call vote.

Henry Hodge noted the strong feeling in regard to the need for action to prepare for possible violence and asked that the Nation Action Committee therefore be instructed to meet with the field secretaries and listen to their feelings on this matter. He asked that the NAC consider specific recommendations the field secretaries might have for taking action to meet the problem.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, CON'T.: Article 13. Affiliation. Recommended change: that the following sentence be inserted in paragraph two, line three, after "application". "In the case of a metropolitan area, this information shall include a statement, if any, from any existing CORE group in the area."

Al Ettinger moved that the recommended change be adopted. Virginia Hughes seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

After some discussion of joint activities of locals in the same metropolitan areas and possible cooperation and coordination on a regional level, the convention passed the following resolution unanimously:

"Local CORE groups are encouraged to voluntarily cooperate on projects through joint committee, conferences, meetings and similar activities."

Discussion from the floor resulted in introduction of the following resolution:

"It is strongly urged that at least one month before a national convention, the Executive Secretary submit to at least three officers of all local chapters a proposed convention agenda and any proposed constitutional or policy changes proposed by the national office or by a chapter. Local CORE groups shall forward their recommendations to the national office at least six weeks prior to each convention."

Motion passed unanimously.

Staff Severence procedure: The committee proposed a new article, to be inserted at an appropriate place in the constitution.

"After a six months probationary period, charges relating to severence of executive staff members shall be decided by a majority vote of the National Action Committee, which for this purpose shall include all field secretaries, each with a vote. Should consideration result in dismissal, the staff member may appeal to the national convention or national council, whichever is held first."

Kay Fields moved that the article be adopted. Evie Rich seconded the motion. Genevieve Hughes moved that the first part of the motion be voted on first, and that the two parts be considered separately. Albert Glover seconded the motion.

Part 1 of the amendment was defeated for lack of a two thirds majority by a 13-12 vote. Fifteen delegates abstained from voting. ("Yes" 13, "No", 12)

The morning session adjourned for lunch about 12:30. The afternoon meeting resumed at approximately 1:30 P.M.

PROPOSED BUDGET: It was moved and seconded to adopt the proposed budget presented earlier in the Convention by Lula Farmer. The budget was adopted.

1961 COUNCIL MEETING: The Convention voted to hold the 1961 National Council meeting in Tallahassee, Fla. as a first preference. Lexington, Ky. was agreed on as a second preference if the meeting cannot be held in Tallahassee.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: The four officers presently serving were re-elected by acclamation.

Regional Representatives: A motion to limit regional representatives to one per region was defeated by a 15 to 13 vote. It was agreed that states can have no more than two representatives for their region.

Al Ettinger asked that Joseph Kaye's and Bernadine Wesley's names be removed from the ballot as candidates for regional representatives. Yvonne Stephens' name was added as a candidate for regional representative in the Chicago area.

The following regional representatives were elected by secret ballot:
(2/3 vote required for election)

New York -- Evelyn Rich and Gladys Harrington
South Carolina -- Frank Robinson
Florida -- William Larkins
West Coast -- Earl Walter
Chicago -- Sterling Stuckey
St.Louis-- Walter Hayes

BRANCH OFFICES: It was moved and seconded that the Convention authorize the National Action Committee to set up branch offices as the need arises, with the advice of representatives chosen by the region under consideration. First consideration in setting up a branch office should be given to the West Coast. Motion carried.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE ACTION: The convention recommends as possible future action to advance the cause of racial justice:

(1) mass demonstrations and picketing
(2) work strikes
(3) appeal to United Nations

Recognizing the possibilities of wide-spead violence existing in the South, the delegates of the Convention direct the executive staff, the National Action Committee and the officers of CORE to initiate planning and program in cooperation with other groups appropriate to the situation.

CORE PINS OR BUTTONS: A motion to develop a pin or button that would identify CORE members was adopted.

APPRECIATION FOR LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS: A motion to commend the Roosevelt Hotel and St. Louis CORE for their hospitality carried unanimously. Both the National Office and St. Louis CORE were directed to write a letter of thanks to the management of the Roosevelt Hotel.

Respectfully submitted,

Anna Holden

MINUTES OF THE 1960 NATIONAL CONVENTION
Roosevelt Hotel, St. Louis, Mo.
July 1-3, 1960

The first session of the 1960 Convention opened at 8:05 pm., Friday, July 1. Attendance included:

VOTING DELEGATES:

James Lane, Boston, Mass.
Rae Alexander, Boston, Mass.
Jean Mann, Boston, Mass.
Richard Mann, Boston, Mass.

Cynthia Burke, Charleston, W. Va.

Kay and Fred Fields, Chicago, Ill.
Sterling Stuckey, Chicago, Ill.
James Wagner, Chicago, Ill.
Gertrude Belamonte, Chicago, Ill.
[redacted]

Al Abram, Columbia, Mo.
Delores Daniel, Columbia, Mo.
Paul Green, Columbia, Mo.
Wilbur Thomas, Columbia, Mo.
Justine Williamson, Columbia, Mo.

Arbon Hairston, E. St. Louis, Mo.
Katherine Hairston, E. St. Louis, Mo.
Lula M. Dickerson, E. St. Louis, Mo.
Homer G. Randolph, E.St. Louis, Mo.
Barry J. Henderson, E. St. Louis, Mo.

Julia Lewis, Lexington, Ky.
Dan Garrison, Lexington, Ky.

Sayuri Buell, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. S. [illegible], Los Angeles, Calif.
Earl and Mildred Walter, Los Angeles, Calif.

Evelyn Rich, New York, N. Y.
Al Ettinger, New York, N. Y.
Genevive Hughes, New York, N. Y.
Virginia Hughes, New York, N. Y.

Mary Lee Murphy, St. Louis, Mo.
Jean Nunaley, St. Louis, Mo.
Joan Tournour, St. Louis, Mo.
Herman Thompson , St. Louis, Mo.
Molly Schlafman, St. Louis, Mo.

Alfred Glover, Sumter, S. C.

Patricia Stephens, Tallahassee, Fla.
Priscilla Stephens, Tallahassee, Fla.
Richard Haley, Tallahassee, Fla.
Bob Armstrong, Tallahassee, Fla.

Paul Bennett, Washington, D. C.
Caroline Bennett, Washington , D. C.
Charles N. Mason, Jr., Washington, D. C.

ALTERNATES: Stan Matoren, Columbia, Mo.
Shirley Word, Columbia, Mo.
John Schopp, Columbia, Mo.

Marian Oldham, St. Louis, Mo.
Wanda Penny, St. Louis, Mo.
James Moore, St. Louis, Mo.

NATIONAL OFFICERS: (Voting) Charles Oldham, St Louis, Mo., Chairman
Henry Hodge, Los Angeles, Calif., Vice-Chairman
Anna Holden, Ann Arbor, Mich., Secretary
Lula Farmer, New York, N. Y., Treasurer

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE: Walter Hayes, St. Louis, Mo.

STAFF: James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary, ~~New York, N. Y.~~
Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director, ~~New York, N. Y.~~
Field Secretaries: Darwin Bolden, ~~Robert E. Boyd~~, ?
~~Gordon R. Carey~~, Major Johns, James T. McCain,
Ulysses Prince, Marvin Robinson

VISITOR: David Cowen, ~~Philidelphia~~, Pa.

MINUTES of the Council meeting, held in January, 1960, were unavailable for distribution, as they were misplaced ~~en route to St. Louis~~.

AFFILIATION: Chicago. Gordon Carey reported the Chicago group was organized in January ~~by~~ with the assistance of James McCain. ~~and Gordon Carey~~. The group has been active in the Woolworth boycott, along with other projects. Affiliation was recommended by the National Action Committee. Information has been previously circulated. Richard Mann moved the Chicago CORE be affiliated. D. S. Nelsom seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Tallahassee. McCain reported that he and Gordon Carey have worked with the Tallahassee group and recommend its affiliation. Information was circulated prior to the convention. Lula Farmer moved the Tallahassee group be affiliated. A. Glover seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

Columbia, Mo. Ulysses Prince noted the group has been working actively with the Tiger Inn and Minute Inn. He recommended affiliation. Homer Randolph moved the Columbia group be affiliated. Al Ettinger seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

TREASURER'S REPORT: Lula Farmer made a provisional report which covers income and distributions recorded up to the time she left for the convention. The office is behind in recording due to inadequate staff. The final auditor's report, which will be sent later, may differ somewhat as to totals in each area, but will show approximately the same distributions.

Lula commented that union contributions, which were not recorded separately during the first part of the year, actually total about

$6,400. Holiday cards still show a deficit, but introduce many people to CORE and pay off in contributions that do not show in the Holiday card account. Income from chapters is better but still not good from the national office's point of view.

Proposed budget: Equipment expenses will be three times as big since the office will be moving to larger quarters and new equipment will have to be purchased. There is also an increased Legal Defense Fund for CORE members arrested. At present CORE has access to a special bail fund of $5,000 for loan in emergencies. The Increase in new contributions expected in 1961 is contingent on the hiring of a fund-raiser and use of devices such as special , luncheons to cultivate interest in the organization.

The deposit in Fidelity Federal Savings & Loan Bank in Glendale Calif., will be closed out because of its lily-white policies.

Travel Fund money from all the chapters is not included.

LOCAL ACTION PROJECT: Wanda Penny reported that the action project planned by St. Louis CORE could not be carried out. Her committee suggested that Clayton, Mo. restaurants be tested as a substitute. Jean Mann moved that the substitute action be adopted. Walter Hayes seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

STRATEGY COMMITTEE: Charles Oldham appointed the following committee to set up plans for continuation of direct student action in the South: Darwin Bolden, Major Johns and Pat Stephens (chairman). The committee was instructed to make recommendations to the group during the convention.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT: Jim Robinson submitted a written report, which was circulated among the delegates.

Evelyn Rich raised the question of Leonard Holt's separation from the staff. Jim Robinson stated Holt was hired as a field secretary [illegible] with the understanding that he would not be employed as a permanent staff member. Holt was good on public relations and dedicated, but was not good in terms of organizational relationships. He antagonized local groups by his aggressive presentation of CORE, failed to see people suggested and did not follow [illegible] When he showed improvement after [illegible] were brought to his attention he resigned. David Cowh[illegible] he had heard he was dismissed because of his political affiliations. [illegible] CORE was definitely not related to any political affiliations.

Henry Hodge proposed that the national staff spend more time with the new field secretaries, orientating them to the purposes and methods of CORE. Otherwise, sending out people who have not become fully acquainted with the organization, may cause problems for the locals.

The Friday night session adjourned at this point.

CLOSED SESSION: The Saturday morning session began at 9:50 am with a session limited to delegates only, for further clarification of Leonard Holt's separation from CORE.

Jim Robinson explained that the hiring and firing of staff is done by the National Action Committee. Conventions can give recommendations or advice, but the decision-making power rests in the National Action Committee. Charles Oldham read the section from the constitution describing the duties and composition of the NAC.

Sayuri Buell asked why the NAC include[illegible] a person fired from the field staff. [illegible] suggested that the composition of the NAC needs to be revised. It should be made up of people active in locals, rather than people who have severed connections with action at the local level.

Jim Robinson listed the following reasons for Lynn Holt's separation from CORE: (1) failure to follow schedules and inform both the staff and locals of changes in his travel plans; (2) failure to work through organizational channels (work with appropriate staff person on his various assignments); (3) failure to follow organizational policy re criticism of other organizations in the field, such as the NAACP; and (4) failure to follow the Gandhian spirit of truth.

Jean Mann suggested that in future skeleton information re such action by the national office be sent in confidence to officers and chairmen of locals, with the indication that there would be discussion at the next meeting. Dick Mann said it appears to him the decision-making process within CORE needs to be evalated. Charles Oldham concluded the discussion by suggesting that the hiring and firing policy be re-evaluated.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT, CON'T. Jim Robinson recommended that the national office be authorized to engage the Harold Oram firm for fund-raising, if they see fit to do so. The Oram firm now handles fund-raising for such organizations as the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the American Association for United Nations, the American Committee on Africa and the National Sharecropper's Fund. Engaging this firm would give CORE access to lists from these organizations.

Dick Mann moved that the convention authorize the national office to hire a fund-raising organization. James Lane seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

Jim Robinson noted that CORE has made a request for tax (federal) deductability which has been been under consideration for one year. He does not know what the outcome will be; income tax deductibility will help in gaining foundation funds.

NATIONAL MEETINGS: The group agreed to continue the present pattern of meeting twice per year. Suggestions for the 1961 Council meeting include: Tallahassee, Fla., Lexington, Ky. and New York City. Suggestions for the 1961 Convention were New York City and a camp site near Milwaukee (University College Camp, Williams Bay, Wis.)

Charles Mason moved that the 1961 Convention be held in a camp in preference to a city hotel. Dick Mann seconded the motion. The resolution passed unanimously. Marion Oldham suggested that

those making the arrangements get a commitment in writing from the camp.

It was agreed by common consent that the 1962 convention site should be selected by the staff. soon ?

Charles Oldham noted that the Gandhi Award was the incentive for having national meetings where a large public meeting could be held. The award need not be given at the national convention, however; it could be given at a separate meeting.

FIELD DIRECTOR'S REPORT: Gordon Carey submitted a written report which was circulated among the delegates. In the discussion following, the question of organization of more than one group per city was raised. Carey said there are no restrictions as to the number of groups which can be organized. Delegates also inquired as to policy concerning names, action and the desirability of campus chapters. Carey said the groups do not have to be named "Committee on Racial Equality" but it is desirable for publicity purposes to maintain either the name or the initials CORE. Under the constitution groups must be primarily action-oriented to qualify for affiliation. As for campus groups, there is no feeling against campus groups as such, but there has not been sufficient staff time to focus on this. Al Ettinger and Rae Alexander both raised the question of a slowing down of progress in organizing chapters. Rae suggested regional organizations might hold meetings in addition to the national organization. Gordon noted that the staff is open to service local groups and would be available for regional meetings.

FIELD SECRETARIES' REPORTS: Major Johns read a written report which was circulated among the delegates. His speaking engagements, described in the report, were primarily for public relations. Johns travelled with McCain in South Carolina to learn something about organizing and working with organized groups; has done some organizational work.

Darwin Bolden also submitted a written report, and made some additional comments regarding his work with New York picketing. The New York boycott has not been effective and he suspects it has not been in other places as well. There has not been full-scale use of the CORE pledge cards or sufficient utilization of those picketing. He suggests capitalizing on the interest in picketing to move into other areas.

The Saturday morning session adjourned at 12:10.

RESOLUTIONS: During the lunch hour, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

(1) South Africa--

(2) Jail--

(3) Support of picketing--

(4) Criticism of College [redacted] Presidents--

This resolution (college presidents) is to be sent to the presidents involved of the appropriate student bodies, as well as the press.

Resolutions concerning cooperation with other organizations and support of the marches on the Democratic and Republican conventions were sent back to the Resolutions Committee for revision.

TRAVEL POOL COMMITTEE: Lula Farmer announced that travel pool money is in, or committed, from the following groups: Tallahassee, E. St. Louis, Columbia, Mo., St. Louis, Boston, Washington, D. C. and New York City.

Saturday afternoon was devoted to the local action project, testing Clayton restaurants, and recreation. The Saturday night session resumed at 7:45 pm.

FIELD SECRETARIES REPORTS: Ulysses Prince III and James McCain circulated written reports, their comments did not go beyond the substance of the written reports.

Marvin Robinson reported orally. Robinson began working with CORE in June. He was first sent to New Orleans June 16 to work with Louisiana Southern students. Many were away, but he has worked with the Consumers' League, which is picketing Dryad Street. He also visted a mass meeting, held in connection with the wade-in at Biloxi, Miss., and has formed an action group who rode the trolleys on an integrated basis in New Orleans. Thus far the group interested in the trolley situation is all Negro (about 30), they have not been able to get whites to participate.

NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE: [redacted] Sayuri Buell presented the following slate of officers on behalf of the nominating committee:

Chairman, Charles Oldham; Vice-chairman, Henry Hodge; Secretary, Anna Holden; Treasurer, Lula Farmer;

Regional representatives: Northeast, Michael Rice; New York, Joseph Kaye, Evelyn Rich, Bernadine Wesley, Genevive Hughes and Gladys Harrington; South Carolina, Frank Robinson; Florida, Bob Armstrong, William Larkins; Kentucky, Julia Lewis; West Coast, Earl Walter; and St. Louis, Walter Hayes.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS DIRECTOR: Marvin Rich's remarks were confined primarily to material covered in the written report, which he circulated. Following his report there was some discussion of locals applying for tax deductibility. The staff suggested that it would probably be better for locals to wait until some action is taken on the national organization's application.

Charles Oldham asked Marvin Rich to prepare a statement re setting up a separate organization in CORE to organize and finance the Action Institute, publications, and other activities that would be clearly tax deductible.

LOCAL ACTION REPORT: Reports on the afternoon's testing in 14 Clayton restaurants were made by Wanda Penny, Lula Farmer, Evelyn Rich, Jim Lane, Herman Thompson, Edgar Poindexter and Mary Lou Murphy. CORE members were served in 9 restaurants; 5 refused service. restaurants

VICE-CHAIRMAN'S REPORT: Henry Hodge noted that the Richmond, Calif. CORE has been activated since his written report was prepared. Hodge also added a report on Las Vegas, where he spent three days with a dentist who has spearheaded a move to open restaurants and clubs on the strip. Hodge suggested that they use CORE techniques and the possibilities look good. Information on housing testimony which Marvin Rich circulated has helped CORE on the West Coast.

Charles Oldham commended Hodge for doing so much work on his own time, much of it at his own expense.

RESOLUTIONS, CONTINUED: The resolutions committee reported additional information on the Chicago marches on the Republican conventions: (1) the marches will not be all-Negro, either in participation or sponsorship; (2) the organization [illegible] only on the conventions; (3) national and local NAACPs are participating. march on the

Jean Mann moved that the resolution supporting the conventions be adopted. Paul Green seconded the motion. Green moved that the motion be amended to add the names of King, Randolph and Wilkins to the resolution. Dick Mann seconded the amendment to the motion. Both the amendment and the motion passed unanimously.

Al Ettinger called for active support of the marches. D. S. Neuson pointed out that the LOS Angeles NAACP is holding a mass rally the Sunday before the convention and will conduct picketing all during the convention.

NATIONAL ACTION INSTITUTE: Marvin Rich requested authorization for a separate organization for special projects such as the Miami Action Institute, in the event that the whole organization does not qualify for tax deductability. Dick Mann moved that the national staff be authorized to set up a separate organization such as the National Action Institute for purposes of tax deductability, in the event that the staff deems it advisable. Caroline Bennett seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE: The following names were recommended for the National Advisory Committee: Homer Jack; Rev.J. Herbert Nelson, South Carolina; Harold Fey; Martin E. Marty, Christian ~~Science Monitor~~ Century (?), John A. Johnson, Johnson Publications; Herman Long, Fisk University Race Relations Institute; Ralph Abernathy, Montgomery, Ala; E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Maceo Walker, Memphis, Tenn.; Septima Clark, Highlander Folk School; Thomas Pettigrew, Harvard University; John Morris, Atlanta, Ga.; Mordecai Johnson, Howard University

~~SOUTHERN~~ STUDENT STRATEGY COMMITTEE: Dick Mann reported the following recommendations from the Committee on Strategy for the Student Movement:

(1) Non-cooperation in Jail--CORE should consider a policy of non-cooperation with local officials in jail: not work on the road or take part in other segregated activities in the jail. Pleas should indicate non-cooperation ~~(not plead guilty or not guilty, but~~ (enter no plea or a plea of non-cooperation). CORE should not assume all are ready for jail, but should encourage it where possible as a means of arousing community sympathy and dramatizing the issues.

(2) Southern college representatives will try to get direct action going by October 8-15. They will communicate with other groups and try to coordinate activities. William Larkins of Fla. A&M is recommended as a coordinator, to whom all groups can give information of activities.

(3) Northern students should coordinate activities through the national office of CORE. Someone should be appointed to handle this. The committee also recommends that Northern and Southern groups "adopt" each other and exchange news of their progress. William Larkins could be coordinator for this, also.

(4) A newsletter (The Sit-Down) communicating activities and beliefs of students active in demonstrations should be continued and circulated to all Southern students.

(1)
Al Ettinger suggested that/CORE emphasize organizing student groups (2) field secretaries be assigned to groups within regional areas so that they can establish continuing relationships with ~~students and other persons in~~ the locals.

James Lane suggested that CORE keep in close touch with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee organized at the Raleigh, N. C. meeting.

Gordon Carey raised an objection to thinking of the sit-in movement as an exclusivly student movement when, in fact, it is not. He also felt the national organization could not make a firm decision

as to individuals going to jail. Carey also voiced opposition to too much emphasis on coordination. He would prefer emphasizing

The committee's report was accepted by common consent. (?)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS: (notes already sent in)

The Saturday night session adjourned at approximately 1:00 am Sunday morning. Sessions resumed at 9:00 Sunday.

INTERNATIONAL FRATERNAL AFFILIATIONS: CORE has had a request for affiliation from a race relations group in Nigeria. Al Ettinger moved that the office and the National Action Committee be authorized to investigate and establish fraternal relationships with race relations groups outside the continental limits of the United States. Bob Armstrong seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

CORELATOR: Genevive Hughes suggested that the CORElator keep a month-by-month tabulation of progress in desegregation of lunch counters, placed prominently on the front page. Caroline Bennett recommended using a "What you can do" box similar to that in the last issue regularly.

Charles Oldham urged groups to get their news in on time. Al Ettinger moved that Jim Peck be commended for his fine work on publications, particularly for editing the CORElator. The motion passed unanimously.

Jim Robinson reminded locals to send pictures for feature stories

INCORPORATION: Al Ettinger moved that CORE be incorporated in the state of New York. Dan Garrison seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously. (Now incorporated in Ohio)

LOCAL-NATIONAL RELATIONS: Gordon Carey recommended (requiring an) annual report from locals as a means of getting information, the report to include an account of finances to serve as a basis for tax assessment. There was some discussion of the role locals could play in encouraging other locals to attend national meetings.

Schlatterman

Molly moved that the national staff be directed to prepare report forms to be gotten to locals before the next national convention; that locals' obligation to pay the 10% tax to the national be emphasized; and that the convention go on record to encourage local groups to make every effort to send representation to the next national meeting. Gordon Carey seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.

MIAMI ACTION INSTITUTE: Locals were urged by Jim Robinson to send in applications to the Institute. He announced that complete and partial scholarships are still available, but that locals must get their applications in right away.

Also Corelator
And Human Relations

Marvin Robinson emphasized the importance of getting Southern students from the sit-in movement to the Miami Institute. Paul Green also stressed the importance of training student leaders in Miami.

It was agreed by common sonsent that travel subsidy ~~from the xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to help Southern students attend the Institute would be desirable in special circumstances. The national staff is directed to give help in those circumstances where students could not otherwise attend. ~~xGxxxxxx~~ Genevive Hughes moved that pledges from local groups be taken at the convention to help Southern Students attend the Miami Institute and that this money be administered by the National office. The motion passed 11 to 3.

1961 CONVENTION SITE: Jim Lane reported ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ facilities at College Camp, ~~Lake Geneva,~~ Wis. would be ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ available to CORE June 28-July 2, 1961, if the group wishes to meet there. Lula Farmer moved that arrangements ~~xx~~ be made to ~~xxxxx~~ hold the 1961 convention at the University College Camp, Williams Bay, Wis., June 28-July 2, 1961. The motion passed unamimously. ~~Lane reported the name of the director as Harold Barner; the phone, Circle 5-5531.~~

1962 CONVENTION: Carolyn Bennett moved that we have a comparable date for meeting in 1962 (June 28-July 2). The motion passed 18 to 9.

PREPARATION FOR VIOLENCE IN SOUTH: Sayuri Buell introduced discussion as to the need for ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ CORE as an organization taking steps to deal with possible violence in the South. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, CON'T: (already sent in)
The morning session adjourned for lunch about 12:30. The afternoon meeting resumed at approximately 1:30 pm.
PROPOSED BUDGET:: It was moved and seconded to adopt the proposed budget presented earlier in the convention by Lula Farmer. The proposed budget was adopted.

1961 COUNCIL MEETING: The convention voted to hold the 1961 National Council meeting in Tallahassee, Fla. as a first preference. Lexington, Ky. was agreed on as a second preference if the meeting cannot be held in Tallahassee.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: The four officers presently serving were ~~accepted as the sole nominees and~~ reelected ~~for another term~~ by acclamation.

Regional Representatives: A motion to limit regional representatives to one per region was defeated by a 15 to 13 vote. It was agreed that states can have no more than two representatives for their region.

Al Ettinger asked that Joseph Kay's and Bernadine Wesley's names be removed from the ballot as candidates for regional representatives, ~~since he did not feel they were fully qualified.~~ Yvonne Stephens' name was added as a candidate for regional representative in the Chicago area.

The following regional representatives were elected by secret ballot: (2/3 vote required for election)

New York -- Evelyn Rich and Gladys Harrington
South Carolina -- Frank Robinson
Florida -- William Larkins
St.Louis -- Walter Hayes
West Coast -- Earl Walter
Chicago (Midwest) -- Sterling Stuckey

BRANCH OFFICES: It was moved and seconded that the convention authorize the National Action Committee to set up branch offices as the need arises, with the advice of representatives chosen by the region under consideration. First consideration in setting up a branch office should be given to the West Coast. Motion carried.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE ACTION: The convention recommends future action to advance the cause of racial justice in the form of:
(1) mass demonstrations and picketing
(2) work strikes
(3) appeal to United Nations

Recognizing the possibilities of wide-spread violence existing in the South, the delegates of the convention direct the executive staff, the National Action Committee and the officers of CORE to initiate planning and program in cooperation with other groups appropriate to the situation.

CORE PINS OR BUTTONS: A motion to develop a pin or button that would identify CORE members was adopted.

APPRECIATION FOR LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS: A motion to commend the Roosevelt Hotel and St. Louis CORE for their hospitality carried unanimously. Both the national office and St. Louis CORE were diredted to write a letter of thanks to the management of the Roosevelt Hotel.

Respectfully submitted, Anna Holden

RR2

National Action Committee
July 19, 1960

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

MINUTES

Present: Lula Farmer, Evelyn Rich, Val Coleman (appointment not yet approved) James R. Robinson, Gordon Carey, Marvin Rich, Darwin Bolden (not voting).

Absent: James Peck, James Farmer, Gladys Harrington and Tom Roberts.

1. Personnel - Members of the National Action Committee agreed to make arrangements to see Robert Boyd separately and at length. Boyd, a former member of the Faculty at Kentucky State College, has been doing volunteer field work for CORE in Kentucky and Tennessee. He will stay in the office for approximately a week for training. The Action Committee will make a decision on hiring him as a field secretary after the interview and the evaluation.

We have not yet heard from Richard Haley as to whether or not he will accept our offer. Haley has indicated that we shall hear from him within the month. Agreed to call him if we have not heard shortly.

Charles Walker, for 12 years a field secretary for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has been interviewed. Walker is interested in making a change because the FOR's new set-up would require him to move his home. Agreed to authorize his travel and expenses for the Action Institute where he would be observed.

2. Miami Action Institute - Business arrangements have been completed. We have opened an account at the Industrial National Bank, have reached an agreement with the Sir John Hotel, and with the restaurant where the participants will eat.

Tenatively action projects will include 1) restaurant service 2) employment in supermarkets 3) Theatres 4) Beaches and 5) Voters registration. Preliminary work has been done on these. More will be done by Miami CORE and by staff in the week preceding the Institute.

Staff for the Institute will be James R. Robinson, Gordon Carey, James T. McCain, Charles Walker and Marvin Robinson. Darwin Bolden and Marvin Rich will be available for a short period.

3. Finances - Income for June was about $15,000. We have had to withdraw $1,300 from our reserve account. This closes out the Glendale Savings & Loan account. Much of the June income has been from special fund raising.

4. Holiday Cards - We need a conventional design in addition to present cards for wide appeal. Present cards are too esoteric for many of our supporters. Looked at a number of samples and found one that might do. Will ask artist to work out variation.

5. Regional Offices - Convention authorized the Action Committee to establish regional offices if necessary. Number of questions including relative needs of the South and West Coast? Is west coast office essential to survival of existing groups? Will enough new groups be organized to justify expenditure of time and money that might be spent elsewhere? Can such an office help finance itself? Agreed to write to Los Angeles for further clarification of these questions and of their ideas. Will also write to Berkeley.

URC

National Action Committee
July 25, 1960

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

MINUTES

Present: Tom Roberts, Val Coleman, Gladys Harrington, Evelyn Rich, Lula Farmer, James R. Robinson, Gordon Cary, Marvin Rich, Darwin Bolden (not voting) and Robert Boyd (not voting).

Absent: James Farmer and James Peck

1. Holiday Cards - Three samples shown but none were approved. Lula Farmer and Jim Robisnon will select the additional card needed. We must have them by August 3 to meet printing schedules.

2. Personnel - Robert Boyd will be continued as acting field secretary until after the Miami Action Institute when a more complete evaluation of his work can be made. (Note: Boyd has been sent to Greenville, South Carolina to work with Rev. Hall). Richard Haley has agreed to attend the Institute and he will make his decision as to whether or not to accept a field secretary job at that time. Charles Walker is not interested in working permanently in race relations and thus will not attend the Institute and is no longer under consideration.

3. Gandhi Birthday Celebration - Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869. Suggest that CORE commemorate through proclamations by Governors and Mayors; through possible nationwide TV program; through picket lines with Gandhi symbols, special literature, etc. Marv Rich, Val Coleman, Darwin Bolden and Evelyn Rich to plan.

4. Miami Action Institute - Quality of applicants seems to be quite high. Of those accepted about 1/3 are white, 1/3 are women, and most are young. We have sent to those accepted Cracking The Color Line, Louis Fischer's Gandhi, and Gandhi's My Experiments With Truth for study before the Institute.

5. Other Workshops - A workshop on housing in New York City is scheduled for August 12 and 13. Madison Jones will keynote and a representative of Boston CORE will attend. Boston CORE has done excellent work on housing. Of special interest is a recent sit-in in a housing development sales office. Other possible workshops for the fall include New Orleans at Thanksgiving. Authorized staff to plan regional workshops in southern states.

6. A special meeting of the Action Committee on what we can expect in the fall was scheduled for the evening of August 8. Consultants will be asked to assist us at this meeting.

7. Convention Follow-up - Involves greater communications with groups. Memos to groups on problems such as housing, voters registration, public relations, Gandhi week, lunch counter progress, etc. Send all staff members into the field periodically. At least two annual staff meetings to be scheduled.

2_

NAC Minutes

National Action Committee
5:30 P. M. Sept. 9, 1960

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

TO: CORE groups, national officers, national advisory committee
FROM: James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary

MINUTES

1. Variety Store Negotiations: A significant number of replies have come in from members of the National Advisory Committee and from the local groups in response to Charles Oldham's request for opinions on the boycott. On the basis of these replies, the status of desegregation in various Southern states, and our expectations for action in the fall, the following program was suggested for the national office and the local groups:

A. Picketing and boycott to be continued at full strength in the North.
B. Negotiations at the national level to call for:

1. Immediate desegregation of lunch counters in all stores in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Arkansas, and Florida. These are states in which there has already been some successful desegregation.

2. Plans for testing program at lunch counters in major communities of states where there has been no integration as yet.

3. Maximum efforts by the national chains to have charges against those arrested in the sit-ins dropped. In many cases the arrests were ordered not by the store managers but by local officials. Nonetheless, the influence of the chains might well be decisive in dropping legal action against the students.

2. Miami Action Institute: Extensive discussion to be postponed so as to secure greater perspective. However, the Institute was generally very successful. The chief weakness was in the theoretical discussions.

3. Field Plans: Gordon Carey reported on organizing situations that should be developed. Jim McCain is now in New Orleans working with our group there. (Seven members were arrested on charges of "criminal mischief." The group - five Negroes and two whites - is being represented by the ACLU. Three had attended the Institute in Miami.) Affiliation has been requested by a Detroit group which has not been visited by a field secretary. Huntington, West Virginia, Orlando and St. Petersburg, and Cincinnati are prospects which should be visited soon. This is dependent upon securing adequate field staff.

Carey and possibly one other Field Secretary will serve at October meeting of Southern Student Coordinationg Meeting in October.

4. Personnel: Marvin Robinson to return to school. His performance was excellent and Jim Robinson recommeded that he be granted an extra week's pay. Agreed. Robert Boyd left the staff the week before Labor Day; it was agreed to pay him through September 5. Major Johns' experiment in forming small groups of dedicated satyagrahi's has not succeeded. Decided to terminate the project as of September 7.

Possible new field secretaries are Joseph Perkins and Thomas Gaither. Perkins was present and spoke briefly. (Tom Gaither arrived the following day.) Both are to meet with members of the Action Committee and the staff for discussion and evaluation. The Action Committee will meet again on September 15 to make final decision. Perkins, who graduated from Kentucky State (Bachelor's degree Chemistry and Biology) studied music at Howard and University of Michigan where he was a member of the Direct Action Committee of the University of Michigan. Gaither was active in the Orangegurg sit-ins and voter registration work. He was chairman of the South Carolina Student Movement Association. Both participated in the Action Institute and served the full 10 days in jail rather than accept bail.

Appointed committee consisting of James Robinson, Tom Roberts, and Val Coleman to negotiate contract with Community & Social Agency Employees #1707 which represents the staff. The present contract expires November 1.

5. Finances: In the first quarter of our fiscal year, i.e. from June 1 through August 31 our income was $39,000 and our expenses were $49,500. The income represents 15% of the budgeted figure whereas the income for the same period last year was 11%. The expenses represent 21% of the budgeted figure as against 12% for the same period last year.

We have withdrawn $8,100 from reserves.

JRE

National Action Committee July 26, 1961
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

MINUTES

Financial Report - Jim Robinson reported on the latest mail appeals: The letter sent out over Harry Belafonte's name in May, at a cost of approximately 8¢ each, has brought in $18,678.09 from 2775 responses. His prediction is that this mailing will reach 3000 responses. An additional mailing to a total of 140,000 prospects had, as of July 25th, brought in 1975 responses with a total of $14,140.84. Initial deposits on the Freedom Ride mailing are good but it is too early to judge final results. This mailing has brought in several contributions of stock and it is believed that the stock idea is producing good results. Some inquiries have been received on how to include CORE in wills. A late August mailing is planned on the Freedom Rides, using essentially the same material as went to the CORE list. The results of this mailing are doubtful because of a lack of good lists. It is felt that our mailing lists should be increased at this time and that we should try to hit the 30,000 mark. The possibility of having contributors use their own stamps, to save mailing costs, is felt too risky because of delayed replies.

New Personnel:

Assistant Membership Director: Person chosen to fill this job must be someone with executive ability but who can also follow through on detail. Much of the work, particularly in the beginning, would be clerical - holiday cards, mailings, labels, ~~[illegible]~~ However, job would also involve checking complaints, writing necessary letters, etc. It was agreed to hire someone on a temporary basis, to handle the holiday cards and if this person proved satisfactory the job would become permanent. Starting salary would range between $80.00 - $85.00 weekly, with overtime.

Assistant to Community Relations Director: William Larkin was hired for this job on recommendation of Marvin Rich under whom he will work and Attorney Carl Rachlin, one of the members of CORE's Personnel Committee who interviewed Larkin. A starting salary of $90.00 per week was approved by the Action Committee, $10.00 more than the original request, because of necessary irregular hours and the fact that Larkin will not draw overtime or ~~receive an~~ expense account.

Assistant to Field Director : Person under consideration for this job is Fredericka Teers who has been interviewed by Carl Rachlin and Gordon Carey. Further action was suspended until the next Action Committee Meeting when the matter will be more thoroughly discussed.

Field Secretaries:

Henry Thomas: Age 19 - three semesters Howard University. Freedom Rider. Experience with civil rights groups. Because of experience and devotion to cause, it is felt that his youth will not stand in way of his performance. Starting salary $80.00 per week.

MINUTES cont.

Ed Blankenheim: Age 28. Member of CORE for several years. Freedom Rider. Experience in variety of jobs and with various civil rights organizations. Past performance indicates sincere belief in principles for which CORE stands. Starting salary $80.00 per week. (Excellent in fund-raising and it is felt he will be able to help a local CORE groups with this phase of their activity)

Elton Cox: Age 30. College graduate, Minister. Considerable discussion produced the consensus that Cox can be very valuable to CORE, particularly in the area of the churches, and that his ability and experience should be very worthwhile to the organization. Starting salary $5000.00 per year.

CORE Personnel Committee: This Committee, one or all of whom will interview prospective CORE employees, is composed of Carl Rachlin, Jim Peck and Leroy Carter, with Tom Roberts as alternate.

Minutes of the 1961 CORE National Convention

September 1-4, 1961 — All Souls Unitarian Church, Washington, D. C.

Prior to the formal opening of the business sessions, delegates were greeted by Julius Hobson, Chairman, Washington CORE. Mr. Hobson welcomed CORE delegates to a city with many social problems yet unsolved and announced a picketing of the local police precinct on the afternoon of Monday, Sept. 4.

Pat Stevens, one of the winners of last year's Gandhi award, [redacted] presented the 1961 Gandhi award to Jim Peck, "a man who has for years participated in the struggle for human dignity... who believes no man is free until all men are free."

James Farmer, national director, discussed CORE's responsibility to the civil rights movement as twofold; (1) to maintain the thrust, symbolic of CORE, given to the movement by the Freedom Rides; and (2) to give the leadership, spirit and drive the civil rights movement needs. He stated that CORE groups in the North cannot exist on sympathy action with the South, but must expand their activities in housing, education and employment. With the spotlight of publicity on CORE, chapters are no longer acting in isolation. Local action takes on a new importance. CORE has not as yet devised enough techniques or used enough imagination in dealing with racial problems. "Our goals are part of the goals of the nation, and we must work toward them with renewed dedication," Farmer stated.

The first business session of the convention was called to order by Charles Oldham, National Chairman, at 9:00 am, Sept. 2. Attendance included:

GROUP DELEGATES (93)

Arizona, Tuscon
Chet Wilson

California, Berkeley
Anthony Salotto
Thomas Roland
Susan Roland
Fritz Muntean
Inge Powell

California, Los Angeles
Bill Green
George Jones
Paul Jackson
Mattie Jackson

California, San Jose
Wester Sweet

District of Columbia
Nan Porter
Richard Anderson
Carrie Bennett
Nathaniel Farmer
Charlie Mason

Alternates, District of Columbia
Julius Hobson — Ernest Porter
Reginald Webb
Don Wasserman
Raoul Kulberg
Hilda Caple

Florida, Miami
Albert D. Moore

Florida, Tallahassee
Patricia Stevens

Illinois, Alton
James Caldwell

Illinois, Chicago
Kay Fields
Lucille Williams
Fred Fields

Illinois, East St. Louis
Homer G. Randolph
Roseland Johnson

Jo Ann Moss

Kentucky, Lexington
Julia Lewis
Dan Garrison
James O'Rourke

Kentucky, Louisville
Lynn Pfuhol

Kentucky, Madison County
Beatrice Huguely

Kentucky, Northern
Edgar Gray
Joseph Garr

Louisiana, New Orleans
Rudolph Lombard
Betty Daniels
Jean Thompson
Barbara Ruffin
Lolis Elie
Alternates
Robert F. Collins

Louisiana, Shreveport
Dave Dennis

Maryland, Baltimore
Charles Brown
Joseph Sheehan
Mae Gellman
Adele Potash
Rikki Rosenthal

Massachusetts, Boston
Alan Gartner
Stanley ~~Selotte~~ Salett

Michigan, Detroit
Isaac Reynolds

Missouri, Columbia
Malvin West
Jack Logsdon
Carolyn Neal
James Nunnely

Missouri, St. Louis
Vera Williams
Marian Oldham
Mary Lu Murphy
Edgar Poindexter
Ray Howard
Alternates
Conway Eason
William Clay

Missouri,
St. Louis County
George Davis
Doris Hollis
Robert Hollis
Ralph Washington
Frances Weinhold

New Jersey, Newark-Essex
Rev. Joseph R. Randall
Lloyd M. Henry

New York, Brooklyn
Dr. Robert Palmer
Dorothy Thorne
Ben Brown
Dorothy Spells
Selma (Eds) Hefling

New York, C. C. N. Y.
Bob Atkins

New York, New York
Buddy Franklin
Darwin Bolden
Joan Giarrusso
Bernadine Wesley
Tom Roberts
(Alternate) Edward Mollette

New York, Long Island
Mark Dodson
Jo Dodson
Lincoln Lynch

New York, Rochester
Flora Harris
Norma Wagner
Milton Wagner

Ohio, Cincinnati
Garnell Rosemond
Jean Timberlake
Shirley Callaway
Bill Hanson

Ohio, Columbus
Gerald Zeller
Kay Buchanan
Ben Sheerer
Joseph Colucci
Esther Pressell
Alternates
Bill Buchanan
Martha Dillard
Janice Colucci

Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Louis Smith
Dave Fineman
Beryl Rachlin
Bill Kurland
Anne Linda Reiseh

Tennessee, Memphis
Carl Bush

NATIONAL OFFICERS: Charles Oldham, St. Louis, Mo., Chairman
Henry Hodge, Los Angeles, Vice-Chairman
Anna Holden, Ann Arbor, Mich., Secretary
Lula Farmer, New York, N. Y., Treasurer
Gladys Harrington, New York, N. Y.; Evelyn Rich, New York, N. Y.; Sterling Stuckey, Chicago, Ill; and Earl Walters, Los Angeles; Regional Representatives; James Peck, Editor, CORElator

STAFF: James Farmer, National Director
Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director
Gordon Carey, Field Director
James Robinson, Membership Director

Field Secretaries: James McCain, Richard Haley, Genevieve Hughes, Thomas Gaither, Ed Blankenheim, Rev. Elton B. Cox, Henry Thomas, William

Assistants: ~~Bill~~ Larkins, Assistant to Marvin Rich, Fredrica Teer, Assistant to Gordon Carey

General Counsel: Carl Rachlin

NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE: LeRoy Carter, Val Coleman

VISITORS: Aaron Gurwitz, Long Island Student CORE
Frances and Walter Bergman, Metropolitan Detroit CORE
Nora Mills, Metropolitan Detroit CORE
Joseph Steinfeld, Suffolk County, L.I. CORE
Ada K. Jenkins, Baltimore, Md.
Marion Barry, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Atlanta, Ga.

MINUTES of the 1961 Council meeting were enclosed in each delegate's folder.

AFFILIATION: Madison County, Ky.--Madison County, Ky. CORE was organized ~~[illegible]~~ September (a year ~~ago~~). Their current project is a city park with a restricted clause in the will giving it to city. They have integrated the ten cent store and one restaurant. Gordon Carey recommended affiliation, noting Madison County CORE is a "tremendous force". Dan Carrison moved Madison County be affiliated. Darwin Bolden seconded the motion, which carried unanimously.

St. Louis County, Mo. Ralph Washington reported that St. Louis County CORE was organized December, 1960. Its projects include

employment and public accommodations. Washington noted [illegible] they are now one city--Webster Groves--from complete restaurant integration. Gordon Carey recommended their affiliation. Edgar Poindexter moved St. Louis County CORE be affiliated. William Clay seconded the motion, which carried unanimously.

Cincinnati, Ohio. Cincinnati CORE was organized September, 1960. They have opened four restaurants and three swimming pools and are working on discrimination in bowling alleys and discriminatory newspaper advertisements. Gordon recommended their affiliation. Ben Sheerer moved Cincinnati CORE be affiliated. A. D. Moore seconded the motion, which carried unanimously.

Philadelphia, Pa. Louis Smith reported Philadelphia CORE was reorganized in November of 1960. They are working with restaurants, banks and have test cases in housing under the new fair housing law. Gordon recommended their affiliation. Alan Gartner moved Philadelphia CORE be affiliated. Buddy Franklin seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Long Island Student CORE. Long Island Student CORE was formed in March by the adult group. It has worked with the adult group and has had difficulty carving out projects of its own, in view of the complexity of discrimination in the area. They are now considering working with the migrant farmers in the area.

Discussion regarding the affiliation of Long Island Student CORE centered around the need for a general policy regarding recruitment and organization of high school-age students. Alan Gartner moved that affiliation of this group be referred to a committee to discuss their problem and the general problem of student CORE groups. Homer Randolph seconded the motion. Darwin Bolden amended the motion to provide for the inclusion of the two New York regional representatives, the Field Director and two other appointees chosen by the chairman. Dave Fineman offered a second amendment which would provide for a committee of ten with broad representation (geographic and age) to discuss the whole problem of policy regarding students. Vera Williams seconded Fineman's amendment.

After lengthy discussion, which included airing of different points of view as to the desirability of student representation on the committee, the motion to have a committee of ten with broad representation study the question of youth group affiliation passed by a majority vote. Affiliation of the Long Island group was referred to this committee.

Rochester, N. Y. Flora Harris reported that Rochester CORE began in April, 1961, to give local support to the Lexington, Ky. theater project. (Headquarters for the Schine Theater Chain are located in Rochester.) The group has worked on police authority and migrant workers. They plan to work on the national office of Neisner's Ten Cent Store chain, which is located in Rochester. Gordon Carey recommended their affiliation. A. D. Moore moved that Rodhester be affiliated. Buddy Franklin seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Suffolk County, Long Island. Joseph Steinfeld reported that Suffolk County CORE was organized this summer to support the Freedom Rides.

They have an educational camgaign with teachers and have sent out 4,000 mailings to teachers. They hope to work on housing and [redacted] employment placement. Buddy Franklin moved that they be affiliated. A Baltimore delgate seconded the motion. Gordon Carey was then called on to comment on their affiliation. Gordon felt their affiliation was out of order since they had not complied with the constitutional requirements. Robert Palmer moved that their affiliation be referred to a committee to determine if the constitutional requirements had been met. Ralph Washington seconded the motion. The original motion was withdrawn. The motion to refer the matter to a committee passed by a plurality of votes.

It was agreed by common consent that all unaffiliated groups that have problems regarding constitutional requirements be examined by a committee who will make recommentions to the convention.

Charles Oldham appointed the following committees:

(1) Affiliation of Student Groups: Gordon Carey (Advisor), Carolyn Neal, Gladys Harrington, Evie Rich, Dave Fineman (Chairman), Inge Powell, Jo Dodson, Betty Daniels, Jo Ann Moss and Paul Jackson.

(2) Credentials: Nan Porter (Chairman), Ralph Washington, Jean Timberlake, Joseph Garr, Bernadine Wesley, Anna Holden and Gordon Carey (Resource).

(3) Nominating: Jim Peck (Chairman), Buddy Franklin, Tom Roland, Lolis Elie, Alan Gartner, A. D. Moore, Carrie Bennett, Vera Williams and Beryl Raldin. Radin

(4) Constitution: Carl Rachlin (Advisor), Hester Sweet (Chairman), Kay Fields, Henry Hodge, Homer Randolph, Mark Dodson, Gerald Zeller and Doris Hollis.

(5) Finance: LeRoy Carter (Advisor), Rudy Lombard (Chairman), James Robinson, Joe Sheehan, Edgar Gray, William Green, Lula Farmer and Julia Lewis.

(6) Resolutions: Val Coleman (Advisor), Stan [redacted]te, Beatrice Huguely, Frances Weinhold, Adele Potash, Pat Stevens, Bill Buchanan (Chairman), Tom Roberts, Chet Wilson and Robert Palmer.

MEMBERSHIP DIRECTOR: Jim Robinson circulated a written report, which was amplified by comments, picking up highlights of the report. He noted, for example, that growth in CORE's membership has been better than that of comparable organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union and CORE can now get a profitable response from mailings to lists of liberal organizations outside the specific area of race relations. Holiday cards are valuable primarily for the new contributors they bring in. They are not yet a source of income in themselves, but can become so if volume increases sufficiently.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS DIRECTOR: Marvin Rich circulated a written report and pointed out that community relations and action go together; community relations in CORE depends on action. Locals do or should do most of

the community relations work. The locals have improved in interpreting their action to the press; they can be put on the news release mailing list if they would like to see the kind of press releases sent out by the national organization. National CORE has increasing rapport with TV newsmen, and speaking engagements have been important in interpreting CORE--representatives of national CORE have spoken to over 500 different groups this year. CORE now needs to emphasize interpretation of its philosophy and to develop pamphlets on housing, employment and jail discipline. Rich is now trying to get articles in national magazines interpreting CORE's philosophy.

FIELD DIRECTOR: Gordon Carey's written report was circulated. He reminded the delagates that the functions of the field staff are fourfold: (1) organizing new chapters; (2) servicing old chapters; (3) representing CORE in the field; and (4) planning national projects and workshops. All servicing of locals was stopped in May as a result of the Freedom Rides. Gordon recommended (1) establishing regional offices, to which one field secretary each would be assigned, locating them in the following areas as soon as possible: South Carolina, New Orleans, West Coast, MidWest, and East Coast; (2) opening the Southern office authorized by the Council meeting as soon as possible, (3) utilizing field secretaries not attached to regional offices as specialists in certain areas of skills. Gordon asked the convention to authorize the establishment of regional offices and investigation of New Orleans as the location for the Southern office. He noted that the National Action Committee has already approved both these moves.

Gladys Harrington questioned the report that the National Action Committee has approved the opening of five offices in the areas designated. Bernadine Wesley noted that minutes of the National Action Committee are no longer mailed to the contact list, or to persons serving on the NAC.

Gordon's statement was clarified by James Farmer, who stated that the NAC has approved ~~that five of the field staff be placed in five different geographic areas, while five will be used as needed without being attatched to a geographic area. The NAC has not approved the locations for them~~ expansion of the field staff to ten, allowing five field secretaries available for travel to any location, and five in regional offices. ~~to be located in the Deep South (3), the Upper South (1),~~ Farmer stated that the regional offices locations designated by Gordon are his recommendations and not those of the NAC. Gerald Zeller moved that the report be accepted. Raoul Kulberg seconded the motion, which passed.

NATIONAL DIRECTOR'S REPORT: See Insert A, next page

TREASURER'S REPORT: Lula Farmer called attention to the written report in the delegates' folder and summarized the financial picture facing CORE at the present moment. The income since June has been $228,000. $213,000 has already been spent, plus an additional $13,895. CORE now has about $5,000 cash on hand and $42,000 in bills outstanding as of September 1.

The convention was recessed for lunch at 12:30 and resumed at 2:00 pm, with Charles Oldham presiding.

AFFILIATIONS, CONTINUED: San Fernando, Calif. Ed Blankenheim reported on San Fernando CORE and recommended its affiliation. Lincoln Lynch moved San Fernando be affiliated and Inge Powell seconded the motion, which passed.

6 A

INSERT A

NATIONAL DIRECTOR'S REPORT: James Farmer urged the Convention to consider CORE's new opportunities, with its new status in the civil rights movement, as well as the serious problems that face CORE as an organization. CORE has a repponsibility to build its own organization, but also to provide imaginative and creative leadership in the total fight for equality. The "growing pains" which manifest themselves in internal conflict must be recognized as such and faced [redacted]. A solution to one of these problems--a need for increased efficiency in the National Office--is being sought in consultation with an expert on voluntary organizations. CORE must map nonviolent direct action strategies in areas such as housihg, employment, schools and voter registration.

Memphis, Tenn. Susan Roland moved that Memphis CORE be affiliated. Raoul Kulberg seconded the motion, which passed.

Staten Island, N. Y. Edward Mollette moved that Staten Island be affiliated. Ray Howard seconded the motion, which passed.

Kansas City, Mo. Stan Selette moved that Kansas City CORE be affiliated. James Nunnelly seconded the motion, which passed.

CCNY, N. Y. Bob Atkins reported on the CCNY CORE group. Lincoln Lynch seconded the motion to affiliate CCNY CORE, which passed.

Shreveport, La. Norma Wagner moved Shreveport CORE be affiliated. Jo Dodson seconded the motion, which passed.

Dayton, Ohio. Gerald Zeller moved that affiliation of Dayton CORE be deferred until the Council meeting. Ed Gray seconded the motion, which passed.

SEE Insert B, next page

TREASURER'S REPORT, CONTINUED: Lula noted that fund-raising lagged during the first part of the year before the Freedom Rides, but there has been a tremendous pick up since the Freedom Rides.

Raoul Kulberg moved the Treasurer's report be accepted. Bill Hanson seconded the motion, which passed. Charles Oldham recommended that the contents be discussed by the Finance Committee scheduled for the afternoon.

Gladys Harrington suggested that the workshops be dropped from the agenda. Norma Wagner moved that the agenda be adopted, including the workshops. The motion was seconded and passed by a majority vote.

WORKSHOPS on housing, employment, voter registration, public accommodations and Education met from approximately 4:15 to 5:05, when reports were given.

HOUSING WORKSHOP: Alan Gartner, ~~Bill~~ William Larkins, Resource Persons. Alan Gartner reported that a good deal of time was spent describing the types of housing problems local groups face. He noted an objection registered by some participants to the CORE technique of testing used in Boston, where white controls lie in talking to real estate men, in order to have the same background as the Negro testers. The housing workshop recommends that CORE go on record supporting a "Freedom Dwelling" situation.

EMPLOYMENT WORKSHOP: Julius Hobson, Genevieve Hughes and Marian Oldham, Resource persons. Evie Rich reported major conclusions, including recommendations that (1) priority in selecting projects be given to companies where there is a chance of succeeding; and (2) a great deal of time and thought be given to ways of solving the problem of token employment, which is a serious problem.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS: William Clay and Ed Blankenheim, Resource Persons. Bill Clay reported that the workshop discussed the role of lobbying, creation of a favorable climate, voter registration and voter education in passage of a public accommodations law. The group was divided as

Insert B

TREASURER'S REPORT, CONTINUED: Lula summarized income and expenditures for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1961. CORE s income for 1961 totaled $239,780 and expenditures totaled $229,300. Major sources of income included: contributions from mail appeals (159,366), special fund raising (39,677), and unions (13,510). Major distribution of funds included: membership maintenance and recruitment (57,076); administration (32,017), public information and education (41,039), xxx projects (58,005), and Action Institutes (12,680).

to the type of action CORE should take when there is a public accommodations law, some feeling direct action should be taken and others, that the lengthy course of the law should be followed. The public accommodations workshop recommended that a national project focusing on integration of the YMCA and YWCA be adopted.

VOTER REGISTRATION: Lolis Elie, Tom Gaither and Jim McCain, Resource Persons. The voter registration workshop drafted a resolution requesting CORE to initiate a non-partisan voter registration campaign, including stand-ins, preparation of leaflets and demonstrations in support of this drive. The report was given by Rudy Lombard.

EDUCATION WORKSHOP: Robert Palmer and Richard Haley, Resource Persons. Inge Powell stressed two important goals agreed on by the education workshop: (1) a conscious policy of integration on the part of the city school system; and (2) integration of extra - curricula activities. Saturday evening Robert Palmer supplemented this report with a statement stressing the importance of integration in education to the CORE program. He noted that most schools now have token desegregation, not integration, and that Northern communities have as much segregation in education as Southern communities. Education is the key to progress in employment and has ramifications for community relations. Drop-outs and employment placement are two major problems that must be tackled. CORE groups should work for integrated education using direct, non-violent techniques.

The meeting adjourned and reconvened at 8:00 pm. Following Lillian Smith's address on the "Significance of the Freedom Rides," delegates met in four workshop sessions: legal developments and problems, jail discipline (two sessions) and evaluation of Freedom Ride experience.

LEGAL DEVELOPMENT AND PROBLEMS: Carl Rachlin, chairman, introduced the recommendations of the workshop with the comment that CORE-type activity creates problems for lawyers that are not routine--for example, going to jail without appeal. He noted that attorneys are not allowed to treat guilt or innocence in a mass sense; part of their ethics is to try individuals. The legal development workshop recommended that:

(1) The General Counsel of CORE serve as a central point for all attorneys involved in CORE problems (a) to obtain assistance in preparing briefs; (b) to offer assistance on unique points of law which may be of interest to other attorneys; (c) to be a repository of briefs and memoranda that could be shared with all attorneys; (d) to pass on all attorneys' problems and offer solutions based on common experience; and (e) to be available for consultation at the request of local counsels.

(2) All legal counsel meet at least once per year to discuss common problems and possible solutions.

(3) CORE endeavor to develop a close legal relationship with the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP and the ACLU.

(4) As ofen as possible lawyers should be called in to advise

as part of the training for CORE activity.

(5) Before mass pleading of guilt is made, local counsel should be called in for consultation as to the ethical problems involved, since mass pleading may deny the important principle that innocence or guilt is individual.

(6) More strenuous efforts should be made to obtain tax exemption for contributions, with adequate consideration of a dual organization with a separate unit to handle legal defense and education.

JAIL DISCIPLINE # 1 (Long-term Jail): Frederick Muntean reported the following recommendations for preparation for long-term jail-ins of the Parchman, Miss. type:

(1) Pre-determination of leadership for the four groups of prisoners (white and Negro men and women) prior to the jail-in. Leadership should be capable of (a) maintaining "growth activities"; (b) caring for the psychological needs of participants; and (c) maintaining CORE discipline.

(2) Agreement on objectives of the jail-in prior to entering jail. These objectives should include (a) agreement not to harrass jailers and wardens, but rather to treat them as confused, potential friends whose support can be won; and (b) agreement to bear witness to the cause of integration, and to refrain from prison reform.

(3) Extensive education of participants, including (a) preparation for dealing with non-physical violence; (b) training in living without the "essentials" of normal living; (c) reading and study of similar situations, e.g., Gandhi and Thoreau should be compulsory reading; and (d) utilization of reports of conditions of the particular prison in question.

JAIL DISCIPLINE # 2 (Community Jails): Thomas Gaither summarized the following conclusions of the workshop on community-type jail-ins, such as the jail-in in Rock Hill, SC:

(1) Effectiveness--Effectivness of the jail-in is dependent on the ability of the group to touch the conscience of the community and continually dramatize the injustice by their witness in jail. This requires knowledge of the implications, a public appeal that will crystalize public opinion.

(2) Preparation--On any nonviolent project, participants should always be prepared for violence and jail. Both participants and parents should be psychologically adjusted before the jail-in, so that parents can help with morale. Provision for continuation of work outside jail should be made, since this keeps up morale inside. Participants should understand the philosophy of going to jail.

(3) Jail regulations and behavior-- Face realities of jail life, and expect to obey regular rules. Be courteous to jailers and have unified protests of the big things only. Expect violence in the jails.

(4) Parents--Moral support from parents is important. Parents should be prepared and participants should report to friends who can "stand guard" over parents. ?

EVALUATION OF FREEDOM RIDES: Richard Haley and Dave Dennis, Resource persons. Richard Haley reported three conclusions from the Freedom Rides workshop:

(1) For projects like the Freedom Rides, the sponsoring group should weigh the advantages of small, well-trained groups versus large, mass groups.

(2) People who have not had jail experience should be trained by people who have had jail experience, and it would be an advantage to have persons with jail experience in each group going into jail.

(3) It is important to have responsible leadership in the jail group. Whether organization officials should go into jail may vary with the project.

Marion Barry (?) of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was introduced and welcomed to the convention.

The Saturday night session adjourned at approximately 11:30 pm. The Sunday morning convention resumed business at 9:15 AM, with Henry Hodge presiding.

Henry Hodge, CORE Vice-Chairman, circulated a written report on his activities of the past year, which included the announcement that Los Angeles CORE has opened a local office, which will serve as the West Coast regional office. It also mentioned the second West Coast CORE conference, held since the Council meeting.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT: Nan Porter reported recommendations of the Credentials Committee. Action taken on each redommendation is reporded following the recommendation.

(1) Newark-Essex, N. J. The committee found no constitutional impediments to affiliation and recommended affiliation of the group. Selma Hefling moved that Newark-Essex CORE be affiliated. Vera Williams seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

(2) Suffolk County, Long Island. The committee ~~recommended that no action be taken on affiliation at the convention~~ found that all constitutional requirements for affiliation had been met, except for a visit by a representative of national CORE and a report on this visit. It therefore recommended that no action be taken during the convention, but that, upon fulfilment of all the constitutional requirements, the National Action Committee be empowered to act favorably upon a recommendation from the Field Department that Suffolk County be affiliated. This involves suspension of the constitution and would not permit the NAC to reject their application.* Action on the motion was tabled until the Suffolk County delegate [redacted] joined the meeting. Upon his arrival Alan Gartner made a substitute motion that the constitutional requirement for a visit [redacted] from the national office be suspended. Stan S. [illegible] seconded the motion, which Alan withdrew after further discussion

* The Committee's recommendation was moved and seconded.

of the Suffolk situation. The original motion to permit the NAC to act favorably on a recommendation to affiliate Suffolk passed unanimoudy.

(3) Detroit Metropolitan CORE. The committee found that Detroit Metropolitan CORE had not met three of the constitutional requirements for affiliation and recommended that their affiliation be referred to the National Action Committee for investigation. Walter Bergman, a representative of Detroit Metropolitan, appealed to the floor to refer the question to the NAtional Action Committee, with authority to act when all the constitutional requirements have been met. He explained that officers and members of the Metropolitan group originally held offices and were active in the Detroit CORE group from which they split two weeks ago. A motion to this effect was made and seconded. William Clay offered a substitute motion that the National Action Committee be authorized to investigate the matter and make a recommendation to the Council concerning the affiliation of Detroit Metropolitan CORE. Carolyn Neal seconded the motion. The motion to carry the substitute motion and the substitution motion passed.

(4) Seating of Bob Atkins. The committee recommended that Bob Atkins be seated as a delegate of CCNY CORE, which was affiliated at yesterday's session, and that Joan Giarrusso replace him as a delegate of New York CORE. Milton Wagner moved adoption of the recommendation. Bernadine Wesley seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

STAFF RECOMMENDATIONS ON [redacted] FREEDOM RIDE PROJECT: James Farmer, National Director, described the background of [redacted] and [redacted] the first Freedom Ride, which consisted of a small group of carefully selected, well-trained persons who were committed to accept jail sentences. When the first Ride could not continue because no drivers would take the buses from Birmingham, the Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement continued the Ride with the sanction of CORE and CORE's agreement to help with finances and legal help, if such help were necessary. After the first Jackson arrests "events took over." A decision to fill the jails was made and recruitment and training suffered from the expansion. Now the majority of the Riders are out on bail and the initiative is in the hands of Mississippi. The problem is for CORE to take back the initiative. The staff thus recommends that:

(1) All bonded Freedom Riders withdraw bond and return to jail; after intensive training and preparation for behavior in jail;

(2) CORE ask to get the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund to handle the cases of those Riders that cannot return to jail;

(3) CORE recruit a select group of well-trained persons committed to stay in jail for the maximum sentences (six months, five days), and send them to Jackson as soon as is feasible;

(4) The convention adopt a policy of "jail without bail" for future Freedom Rides;

(5) CORE work to develop a strong non-violent movement in Jackson made up of local people who would stay in jail.

Charlie Mason moved that the staff recommendation be adopted. The motion was seconded and passed.

Suggestions from the floor included (1) national demonstrations on the day the Riders go back to jail in a group; (2) that the jumping off point for the return to jail be Washington, D. C. , with Riders taking some time to picket the Attorney General's office, pointing out that they are returning to jail because the federal government will not protect their rights; and (3) Freedom Rides in areas other than Jackson.

Alan Gartner moved that the national staff be commended for their activities to date in carrying out the Freedom Rides. The motion was seconded and passed.

FINANCE COMMITTEE: Rudy Lombard, Chairman, presented the 1962 budget which projected an income of $570,000 for the coming year, and expenditures totaling $550,100, plus an additional $89,000 for bail bond. This would bring total expenses to $639,100, but the $89,000 budgeted for bail and bond would presumably be returned. Major expenses budgeted were listed as follows (1961 expenses in parentheses for comparison): Freedom Ride, $100,000 (1961 expenses not itemized); Travel, $75,000 (1961, 24,204.84); Mimeo and Mail, $72,000 (1961, 49,536.29); Legal Expense, $30,000 ($1,571.50); Salaries, $133,500 (70,502.81); Meetings, $20,000 (1,161.12); Publications, $20,000 (18,130.43); Stationery and Supplies, $20,000 (13.670.66) and Regional Offices, $10,000 (no 1961 offices).

The Finance Committee proposed the following action regarding immediate financial problems: (1) Acceptance of a $25,000 thirty-day demand note, acceptance to take place on Sept. 30 (offered by an annonymous donor who would pay interest on the loan); (2) authorization to replace the regular budget appeal with a special appeal highlighting the return to jail of Freedom Riders; (3) recommendation that local groups immediately initiate fund-raising campaigns using such devices as door-to-door canvasing, letters to local newspapers and prison-fare dinners with high charges per plate; (4) deferment of salaries for one month; and (5) if the present financial situation continues for more than one month or a month and a half, postponement of plans for regional offices. During the month of September, CORE needs an additional $1,000 per day income.

Discussion of the financial report covered the following points: (1) questioning of the policy of accepting loans and money from anonymous donors, which CORE has followed in the past; (2) questioning of the advisability of postponing action on the Southern regional office; and (3) a recommendation that work be done to secure tax exemption.

Nan Porter asked that salaries be itemized. Raoul Kulberg moved that the Treasurer list present salaries of the staff. Buddy Franklin seconded the motion, which passed. Lula Farmer listed salaries as follows: National Director, $10,000; Membership Director, $9,300; Community Relations Director, $9,000; Field Director, $7,500; Office Manager, $4,992; Secretary to National Director, $4,300; Field Staff, $4,160 to $6,700 (most field secretaries @ 4,160); Assistant to Membership Director, $4,160; Clerks, $3,120 to $3,750; and Treasurer, $2.50 per hour, with $3,250 budgeted for 1962.

The Finance Committee's report carried a motion to adopt. Selma Hefling seconded the motion, which was adopted by a majority vote.

Milton Wagner suggested that local trade union councils be contacted for contributions from both the councils and affiliated unions.

Gladys Harrington endorsed the idea of prison-fare dinners and suggested that the idea be extended to inviting guests to wear prison clothes. She asked the National Action Committee to consider raising the salaries of the field staff, noting that they are too low for the magnitude of the job. She pointed out that most field secretaries make less than the office manager, although they are out risking their lives daily.

The meeting adjourned for lunch and reopened at approximately 2:00, with Charles Oldham presiding.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE: Wester Sweet, Chairman, reported the Constitution Committee's recommendation that the revised constitution be read, discussed and adopted article, by article, and section, by section. The report carried a motion to adopt. The motion was seconded and passed.

A copy of the revised constitution is appended. Action on proposed amendments are summarized as briefly as possible below. Where the proposed revisions were adopted with no changes, the text of the articles (or sections) are not quoted in the minutes, but may be found in the revised constitution.

The convention took the following action on proposed revisions:

Article I. Name. The proposed article passed unanimously.

Article II. Purposes and Nature. ~~Sections 1 and 2 of~~ The proposed article passed unanimously.

Article III. Membership. The committee proposed that Section 1 read, "Any person who joins and actively participates in the affiliated local group, all National Officers and members of the National Action Committee are active members."

Section 1, ~~as~~ amended to read, "Any person holding active membership in any affiliated local group, all National Officers and members of the National Action Committee are active members," passed unanimously.

The committee proposed that Section 2 read, "Any person who supports CORE financially is an associate member."

Section 2, as proposed, was amended several times, and finally referred to the committee for rewording. The revised wording of Section 2, "Any person who supports national CORE financially is a national associate member, unless he wishes to be considered only a contributor," passed, ~~by a majority vote.~~

Section 3, as proposed by the committee, stated: "Membership shall not be available to any individual who persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or who attempts to subvert the CORE group

through allegiance to other groups or organizations." Selma Hefling moved to adopt Article III, Section 3 as proposed. Nan Porter seconded the motion.

Tom Roland proposed the following substitute amendement, which was seconded by Fritz Muntean: "Membership shall not be available to any individual who persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or (b) who associates himself with any other group or organization, either by membership or continual activities, which espouses a philosophy in contradiction with the democratic and nonviolent principle of CORE."

Ray Howard moved that Article III, Section 3 be further amended to bar from membership "anyone who attempts to subvert the constitution of the United States." This amendment died for lack of a second.

The Roland amendment was defeated by a vote of 43-26.

Alan Gartner moved that the proposed Article III, Section 3 be amended to read, "Membership shall not be available to any person who (a) Active associates himself with any other group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE; (b) persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or (c) attempts to subvert the CORE group through allegiance to other groups or organizations." The motion was seconded and the amendment received a vote of 45, for; 28, opposed.

When it was called to the chair's attention that amendments require a two-thirds vote to pass, the chair ruled that the vote was on the amendment to the amendment, not the substantive issue of the section itself. Section 3 as amended by Gartner, was then voted on by a show of hands. The count, 46, for; 26, opposed, was challenged, and a roll call vote was taken. The roll call vote was 54 for the amended Section 3; 23, opposed; 4, abstaining. The amended section passed by a two-thirds majority .

Section 4 of Article III as proposed by the Constitution Committee passed unanimously.

Article IV. Affiliations. Alan Gartner moved that Section 1 as proposed by the committee be amended as follows: "Each affiliating group shall be known as Committee of Racial Equality and shall be abbreviated as CORE, or as a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and each group must accept . .." Norman Wagner seconded the amendment, which passed.

Section 2. The committee proposed that Section 2 read, "CORE may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any other organizations." Section 2 was amended to read, "National CORE or any of its affiliated chapters may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any organization whose requirements stipulate relinquishing its authority." Section 2, as amended, passed.

Joe Steinfeld pointed out that there are no constitutional requirements for using the name of CORE, and suggested adding requirements for use of the name of CORE by non-affiliated groups.

The meeting adjourned for supper and reconvened approximately an hour and a half later with Charles Oldham presiding.

AFFILIATIONS, CONTINUED. Alton, Ill. Charles Oldham reported that he and other members of St. Louis CORE have visited the Alton group and that other constitutional requirements have been met. Activities to date include a Freedom Walk of one hundred persons to St. Louis. They have opened all the restaurants in Alton and have done some fund raising. The group has been in existence two and one-half months. Alton CORE was affiliated by a unanimous vote.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, CONTINUED. Article V, Disaffiliation. Article V passed in the form proposed by the committee.

Article VI. Officers and Duties. Section 1 passed as proposed by the committee, 63 to 15.

Gladys Harrington moved that Section 2 be amended as follows: the words "and the National Action Committee" should be inserted in (e) Regional Officers, to read, "They shall have a vote at the Convention and at the National Action Committee and shall be privileged to attend National Council meetings." The amendment was seconded but defeated by a 46-27 vote.

Section 2, as proposed, passed.

Article VII. Nominations and Elections. Article VII, passed as proposed by the Committee, passed unanimously.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: William Clay moved that elections be held following a short recess. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously. The chairman appointed a teller's committee consisting of Frances Weinhold (chairman), Jean Thompson, Bill Green and Fritz Muntean.

The following officers were elected by a unanimous vote: Charles Oldham, Chairman; Rudy Lombard, First Vice-Chairman; Anna Holden, Secretary; A. D. Moore, Treasurer; and Wester Sweet, Regional Officer for the West. The remaining officers were elected by secret ballot: Henry Hodge, Second Vice-Chairman; Dave Dennis, Regional Officer for the South; Julius Hobson, Regional Officer for the East; and Dan Garrison, Regional Officer for the Midwest.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, CONTINUED: Article VIII. The Convention. Article VIII, as proposed by the Committee, passed unanimously.

Article IX. National Council. Sections 1 and 2, as proposed by the committee, passed unanimously.

Norma Wagner moved that the following be added to Section 3: "or one-third of the affiliated locals. The call must include reasons for calling the meeting, and a tentative agenda and must be issued at least

thirty days prior to the date of the meeting." The amendment was seconded and Section 3, as amended, passed.

Article X. National Action Committee. Alan Gartner moved that the words "in the area of the national office" be deleted from the first sentence of Section 1, as proposed, and that the second sentence be amended as follows: "Appointees shall serve for two years upon consent of two-thirds of the following... " The motion was seconded.

the following

Darwin Bolden offered a substitute motion, which was seconded by Raoul Kulberg: "The National Action Committee shall implement the decisions and policy of the annual convention and shall conduct the affairs of the organization between annual conventions and council meetings. The National Action Committee shall consist of all National Officers, the National Director, the Membership Director, the Field Director, the Senior Field Secretary and five persons appointed by the National Chairman from the active membership of affiliated local groups functioning in the area of the National office, by and with the consent of the active membership of the group in which the apointee is active. Appointees shall serve immediately upon appointment and confirmation for a term of one year or until a successor is appointed and confirmed, unless removed prior thereto by a majority vote of the annual convention."

The substitute motion was defeated.

Anna Holden proposed that Section 1, as amended, be further amended to read: "The National Action Committee shall consist of .... and not more than six persons appointed by the national chairman, including active members from affiliated groups within short travel distance from the New York area, wherever possible." Alan Gartner refused to accept the amendment.

Section 1 by a two-thirds vote.
~~xArticlexxx~~, as amended, passed. Section 2, as proposed, passed unanimously.

Article XI. National Advisory Committee. Article XI, as proposed, passed unanimously.

the meeting adjourned at approximately 1:00 am Monday morning and reconvened at 9:45.

Article XII. Staff. Sections 1 and 2, as proposed, passed unanimously. Section 3 was amended to read: "All other professional staff personnel ...." Section 3, as amended; and Section 4, as proposed, passed unanimously.

Article XIII. Parliamentary Procedure. Article XIII was amended to read: "All decisions at duly constituted meetings of the National Organization shall be by Roberts Rules of Order Revised, except as otherwise specifically modified in this Constitution, and the chairman shall appoint a parliamentarian at Conventions and Council meetings." Article XIII, as amended, passed.

Article XIV. Quorum. Article XIV was amended by the addition of the following sentences: "This rule may be suspended by the chairman. All business considered when this rule is suspended may be reconsidered by a simple majority vote when there is a regular quorum." Article XVI, as amended, passed.

Article XV. Finances. Article XV, as proposed, passed unanimously.

Article XVI. Amendments. It was moved and seconded that Section 1 of Article XVI be amended by adding the following sentence: "The Constitution may be changed by a three-fourths vote of the delegates at a Council meeting." The amendment was defeated. Article XVI, as proposed, passed.

Article XVII. Constitution of Local Groups. Alan Gartner moved that Article XVII be amended to read: "Section 1. Each local group shall operate under a constitution that may not be in contradiction with the national constitution. Section 2. Local constitutions shall define the process for granting active and associate membership. Active membership must be approved by not less than a majority of the members of a local group. An active member must have an understanding of the nature of CORE and Rules for Action." The amendment was seconded and Article XVII, as amended, passed.

Gladys Harrington then rose to a point of personal privilege and read a statement which included her intention to recommend that New York CORE disaffiliate itself from National CORE because of (1) her feeling that the national chairman and the national director had misrepresented the availability of Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth as a candidate for chairman of CORE and (2) her dissatisfaction with the present National Action Committee, which controls the national organization.

Following her statement, James Farmer, Julia Lewis, James McDonald, Evie Rich, Bernadine Wesley and others rose to report on facets of the situation regarding the effort on the part of New York CORE (or New York CORE delegates) to nominate Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth as chairman.

After lengthy discussion of the matter the convention voted to accept the whole incident as an honest misunderstanding based on misinformation, to cease discussion and continue with the business of the convention. It was also agreed (by vote) that this portion of the minutes would be stricken from the record, and not circulated outside the convention.

RESOLUTIONS: The following resolutions were adopted by the Convention:

(1) GENERAL--The Congress of Racial Equality, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirms its absolute and uncompromising commitment to bend all of its resources and efforts to end the evil of racial segregation in this nation by non-violent, direct action means.

We Do Resolve: (1) To vigorously attack discrimination based on skin color, race, religion or national origin on all levels, in all areas, throughout this land.

(2) To employ the techniques of stand-ins, wade-ins, kneel-ins, picketing, boycott, freedom rides, jail-ins, fasts and all other manner of non-violent actions to end these evils.

(3) To pledge ourselves to continue to teach and extend the principles and practices of non-violence throughout our national and local

groups in an effort to make sure that the fight for integration throughout this country will continue to be conducted with love and without malice and with the highest objectives of human dignity, individuality and freedom as its goals.

(4) To extend the fullest measure of cooperation to those other organizations which share our dedication to a responsible, non-violent means of attaining these goals.

(5) To commend the United States Government and its Department of Justice for its assistance at the time of CORE's greatest crisis in the Freedom Ride and to commend the recent specific Justice Department actions in regard to securing the freedom to travel for all Americans. And we urge the approporiate executive, judicial and legislative branches of the government to pursue more vigorously the means of preserving and enforcing the Constitutional rights of all Americans to live in a society free from the restraints and indignities of bigotry.

(6) To point the particular attention of this nation to the fact that the Freedom Rides represent far from a total victory over the forces of segregation, but the first step in an unremitting campaign that will be conducted by CORE to achieve freedom for all who wish to travel in this country.

(7) To continue to protest the abuse of authority by duly constituted officials who are deliberately violating the laws of this nation and of their own states in their assaults on human rights.

(8) To call upon all who feel that CORE's aims are morally sound and consistent with their own to give of their time, their money, and their active assistance to help CORE and other sister organizations in the pursuit of this struggle.

(II) HOUSING-- Whereas, housing is the most widespread area of overt racial discrimination in the United States, and whereas, the situation is growing steadily worse, CORE resolves to launch a nationwide campaign to secure unlimited opportunities for all Americans to obtain decent housing through: (1) education of the general public to the extent and gravity of the problem; (2) pressure for legal and legislative action to ensure fair housing practices; (3) support of and cooperation with government agencies and officials--local, state and national--who are working towards solutions of the problem; and (4) direct action in every community to open available housing to every member of the community.

(III) VOTER REGISTRATION--Whereas, the right to vote is fundamental to the American democratic process and individual dignity and is presently denied to a large segment of the population because of race; it is resolved that CORE will continue and intensify its non-partisan campaign for voter registration, employing non-violent direct action techniques, including: (1) a canvassing campaign to secure potential voters; (2) stand-ins at places of registration; (3) mass protest demonstrations in support of this drive; and (4) other direct action techniques that may be considered appropriate. This campaign will continue to be conducted in conjunction with our sister organizations.

(IV) EMPLOYMENT-- Whereas, CORE has found serious discriminatory employment practices in national retail chain stores; it is resolved that CORE initiate non-violent direct action techniques to obtain improved and integrated employment opportunities on all levels, up to and including the managerial levels. Particular emphasis shall be placed on Sears Roebuck, where negotiations have already begun, with generally unsatisfactory results.

(V) LABOR-- Whereas, it is obvious that racial segregation operates to the disadvantage and injury of organized labor, and of workingmen in general, in the North as well as in the South, and whereas, the Freedom Rides are one step in CORE's systematic program of integration, we therefore call on organized labor, national and local, for its moral and financial support of the Freedom Rides, and of the total CORE program.

Resolved that CORE commends organized labor for its efforts at integration, and urges that it continue and extend these efforts.

(VI) YMCA + YWCA -- Whereas, it has come to the attention of CORE that, contrary to the principles upon which they were founded, many YMCA and YWCA branches repeatedly deny the use of their facilities to individuals on the basis of race; therefore, CORE urges the YMCA to end these discriminatory practices, and pledges its support and vigorous application of non-violent direct action to eliminate the discrepancy between principle and practice which presently exists in these Christian organizations, with particular emphasis on the YMCA and YWCA. Specifically we urge the National Action Committee to give emphasis to the YMCA and YWCA.

(VII) THANKS TO HOSTS--Resolved that this convention express its gratitude for the hospitality extended it by Washington CORE, and by All Souls Unitarian Church.

Milton Wagner moved that this convention emphasize the need for each council and convention to include a session of the full assembly on our commitment to the principles of non-violence, with discussion from the floor. The motion, seconded by Norma Wagner, passed.

FINANCE COMMITTEE, CONTINUED: Bill Hanson moved that the budget presented by the Finance Committee be adopted, with correction of typographical errors. The motion was seconded and passed.

Sam Selette moved that each local CORE chapter be requested to send out a monthly newsletter to every other CORE chapter and that the national office expedite this by mailing out a list of the mailing addresses of all affiliated chapters. The motion, seconded by Bill Hanson, passed unanimously.

NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE: Henry Hodge moved that the national officers of CORE be authorized to make a study of the National Action Committee with a view toward changing it in some manner, so that it will allow more local group participation. The motion was seconded by Buddy Franklin. Evie Rich amended the motion as follows: that the national officers of CORE be authorized to constitute a committee to make a study of the National Action Committee and make recommendations to the convention, reporting prior to local groups prior to the next convention. The motion, as amended, passed unanimously.

STUDENT CORE GROUPS: Evie Rich reported the following recommendations from the committee on high school CORE groups: (1) The committee has no specific recommendations as to policy on high school CORE groups, since local problems are too diversified to set a national standard. (2) Local CORE groups should be authorized to establish high school-age groups at their own discretion and within their own framework upon consultation with the Field Director. The committee also reported that Long Island Student CORE has withdrawn its application for affiliation. The report was accepted by a unanimous vote.

JAIL DISCIPLINE: Fritz Muntean moved that the recommendations from the workshop on jail discipline be referred to the National Action Committee for study and consideration. The convention agreed to this proposal by common consent.

EDUCATION: Stan Selette asked that the final recommendations of the education workshop be referred to the National Action Committee for study and that the summary statement be mailed out to affiliated groups.

Raul Kulberg called the attention of the convention to the following articles and materials: (1) "Who Speaks for Birmingham?" CBS TV Network, Howard K. Smith, May 18, 1961. Script available from Howard K. Smith, CBS Reports, Broadcast House, Washington, DC. (2) Carleton Mabee, "Evolution of Non-Violence: Two Decades of Sit-Ins," Nation, August 12, 1961 and (3) Gollan, Antoni E., "At the Core of Racial Tension," The New Guard, Magazine of Young America for Freedom., August, 1961. Available @ .25 from 79 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y

The meeting was adjourned at approximately 3:30 pm, Monday, Sept. 4.

Respectfully submitted,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden, Secretary

MINUTES OF THE 1961 NATIONAL CONVENTION
All Souls Unitarian Church, Wasnington, D.C.
September 1-4, 1961

Prior to the formal opening of the business sessions, delegates were greeted by Julius Hobson, Chairman of Washington CORE. Mr. Hobson welcomed CORE delegates to a city with many social problems yet unsolved and announced a picketing of the local police precinct on the afternoon of Monday, Sept. 4th.

Patricia Stephens one of the winners of last year's Gandhi award, presented the 1961 Gandhi award to Jim Peck, "a man who has for years participated in the struggle for human dignity .... who believes no man is free until all men are free."

James Farmer, National Director, discussed CORE's responsibility to the Civil Rights movement as twofold: 1) to maintain the thrust symbolic of CORE given to the movement by the Freedom Riders; and 2) to give the leadership, spirit and drive the Civil Rights movement needs. He stated that CORE groups in the North cannot exist on sympathy action with the South, but must expand their activities in housing, education and employment. With the spotlight of publicity on CORE, chapters are no longer acting in isolation. Local action takes on a new importance. CORE has not as yet devised enough techniques or used enough imagination in dealing with racial problems. "Our goals are part of the goals of the nation, and we must work toward them with renewed dedication," Farmer stated.

The first business session of the convention was called to order by Charles Oldham, National Chairman, at 9:00 A.M., September 2nd. See Addendum for Attendance.

MINUTES of the 1961 Council meeting were enclosed in each delegate's folder.

AFFILIATION: Madison County, Ky. Madison County, Ky. CORE was organized September a year ago. Their current project is a city park with a restricted clause in the will giving it to city. They have integrated the ten cent store and one restaurant. Gordon Carey recommended affiliation, noting Madison County CORE is a "tremendous force." Dan Garrison moved that Madison County be affiliated. Darwin Bolden seconded the motion, which carried unanimously.

St. Louis County, Mo. Ralph Washington reported that St. Louis County CORE was organized December, 1960. Its projects include employment and public accommodations. Washington noted they are now one city---Webster Groves--from complete restaurant integration. Gordon Carey recommended their affiliation. Edgar Poindexter moved St. Louis County CORE be affiliated. William Clay seconded the motion, which carried unanimously.

Cincinnati, Ohio. Cincinnati CORE was organized September, 1960. They have opened four restaurants and three swimming pools and are working on discrimination in bowling alleys and discriminatory newspaper advertisements. Gordon recommended their affiliation. Ben Sheerer moved Cincinnati CORE be affiliated. A. D. Moore seconded the motion, which carried unanimously.

Philadelphia, Pa. Louis Smith reported Philadelphia CORE was reorganized in November of 1960. They are working with restaurants, banks and have test cases in housing under the new fair housing law. Gordon recommended their affiliation. Alan Gartner moved that Philadelphia CORE be affiliated. Buddy Franklin seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Long Island Student CORE. Long Island Student CORE was formed in March by the adult group. It has worked with the adult group and has had difficulty carving out projects of its own, in view of the complexity of discrimination in the area. They are now considering working with the migrant farmers in the area.

Discussion regarding the affiliation of Long Island Student CORE centered around the need for a general policy regarding recruitment and organization of high school-age students. Alan Gartner moved that affiliation of this group be referred to a committee to discuss their problem and the general problem of student CORE groups. Homer Randolph seconded the motion. Darwin Bolden amended the motion to provide for the inclusion of the two New York regional representatives, the Field Director and two other appointees chosen by the chairman. Dave Fineman offered a second amendment which would provide for a committee of ten with broad representation (geographic and age) to discuss the whole problem of policy regarding students. Vera Williams seconded Fineman's amendment.

After lengthy discussion, which included airing of different points of view as to the desirability of student representation on the committee, the motion to have a committee of ten with broad representation study the question of youth group affiliation passed by a majority vote. Affiliation of the Long Island group was referred to this committee.

Rochester, New York. Flora Harris reported that Rochester CORE began in April, 1961 to give local support to the Lexington, Ky. theater project. (Headquarters for the Schine Theater Chain are located in Rochester). The group has worked on police authority and migrant workers. They plan to work on the national office of Neisner's Ten Cent Store Chain, which is located in Rochester. Gordon Carey recommended their affiliation. A. D. Moore moved that Rochester be affiliated. Buddy Franklin seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Suffolk County, Long Island. Joseph Steinfeld reported that Suffolk County CORE was organized this summer to support the Freedom Rides. They have an educational campaign with teachers and have sent out 4,000 mailings to teachers. They hope to work on housing and employment placement. Buddy Franklin moved that they be affiliated. A Baltimore delegate seconded the motion. Gordon Carey was then called on to comment on their affiliation. Gordon felt their affiliation was out of order since they had not complied with the constitutional requirements. Robert Palmer moved that their affiliation be referred to a committee to determine if the constitutional requirements had been met. Ralph Washington seconded the motion. The original motion was withdrawn. The motion to refer the matter to a committee passed by a plurality of votes.

It was agreed by common consent that all unaffiliated groups that have problems regarding constitutional requirements be examined by a committee who will make recommendations to the convention.

Charles Oldham appointed the following committees:

1) Affiliation of Student Groups: Gordon Carey (Advisor), Carolyn Neal, Gladys Harrington, Evelyn Rich, Dave Fineman (Chairman), Inge Powell, Jo Dodson, Betty Daniels, Jo Ann Moss and Paul Jackson.

2) Credentials: Nan Porter (Chairman), Ralph Washington, Jean Timberlake, Joseph Garr, Bernadine Wesley, Anna Holden and Gordon Carey (Resource).

3) Nominating: Jim Peck (Chairman), Buddy Franklin, Tom Roland, Lolis Elie, Alan Gartner, A. D. Moore, Carrie Bennett, Vera Williams, and Beryl Radin.

4) Constitution: Carl Rachlin (Advisor), Wester Sweet (Chairman), Kay Fields, Henry Hodge, Homer Randolph, Mark Dodson, Gerald Zeller and Doris Hollis.

5) Finance: LeRoy Carter (Advisor), Rudy Lombard (Chairman), James Robinson, Joe Sheehan, Edgar Gray, William Green, Lula Farmer and Julia Lewis.

6) Resolutions: Val Coleman (Advisor), Stan Salett, Beatrice Huguely, Frances Weinhold, Adele Potash, Patricia Stephens, Bill Buchanan (Chairman), Tom Roberts, Chet Wilson and Robert Palmer.

MEMBERSHIP DIRECTOR'S REPORT: James Robinson circulated a written report, which was amplified by comments picking up highlights of the report. He noted, for example, that growth in CORE's membership has been better than that of comparable organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union and CORE can now get a profitable response from mailings to lists of liberal organizations outside the specific area of race relations. Holiday cards are valuable primarily for the new contributors they bring in. They are not as yet a source of income in themselves, but can become so if volume increases sufficiently.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS DIRECTOR'S REPORT: Marvin Rich circulated a written report and pointed out that community relations and action go together; community relations in CORE depends on action. Locals do or should do most of the community relations work. The locals have improved in interpreting their action to the press; they can be put on the news release mailing list if they would like to see the kind of press releases sent out by the national organization. National CORE has increasing rapport with TV newsmen, and speaking engagements have been important in interpreting CORE--representatives of national CORE have spoken to over 500 different groups this year. CORE now needs to emphasize interpretation of its philosophy and to develop pamphlets on housing, employment and jail discipline. Rich is now trying to get articles in national magazines interpreting CORE's philosophy.

FIELD DIRECTOR'S REPORT: Gordon Carey's written report was circulated. He reminded the delegates that the functions of the field staff are fourfold: 1) organizing new chapters; 2) servicing old chapters; 3) representing CORE in the field; and 4) planning national projects and workshops. All servicing of locals stopped after May as a result of the Freedom Rides. Gordon recommended 1) establishing regional offices, to which one field secretary would be assigned, locating them in the following areas as soon as possible: South Carolina, New Orleans, West Coast, Midwest, and East Coast; 2) opening the Southern office authorized by the Council meeting as soon as possible, 3) utilizing field secretaries not attached to regional offices as specialists in certain areas of skills. Gordon asked the convention to authorize the establishment of regional offices and investigation of New Orleans as the location for the Southern office. He noted that the National Action Committee has already approved both these moves.

Gladys Harrington questioned the report that the National Action Committee has approved the opening of five offices in the areas designated. Bernadine Wesley noted that minutes of the National Action Committee are no longer mailed to the contact list, or to persons serving on the NAC.

Gordon's statement was clarified by James Farmer, who stated that the NAC has approved expansion of the field staff to ten, allowing five field secretaries available for travel to any location, and five in regional offices. Farmer stated that the regional office locations designated by Gordon are his (Gordon's) recommendations and not those of the NAC. Gerald Zeller moved that the report be accepted. Raoul Kulberg seconded the motion, which passed.

NATIONAL DIRECTOR'S REPORT:

James Farmer urged the Convention to consider CORE's new opportunities, with its new status in the civil rights movement, as well as the serious problems that face CORE as an organization. CORE has a responsibility to build its own organization, but also to provide imaginative and creative leadership in the total fight for equality. The "growing pains" which manifest themselves in internal conflict must be recognized as such and faced. A solution to one of these problems -- a need for increased efficiency in the National Office -- is being sought in consultation with an expert on voluntary organizations. CORE must map nonviolent direct action strategies in areas such as housing, employment, schools and voter registration.

TREASURER'S REPORT: Lula Farmer called attention to the written report in the delegates' folders and summarized the financial picture facing CORE at the present moment. The income since June, $228,000, has already been spent, plus an additional $13,895. CORE now has about $5,000 cash on hand and $42,000 in bills outstanding as of September 1.

The convention was recessed for lunch at 12:30 and resumed at 2:00 pm, with Charles Oldham presiding.

AFFILIATIONS, CONTINUED: San Fernando, Calif. Ed Blankenheim reported on San Fernando CORE and recommended its affiliation. Lincoln Lynch moved San Fernando be affiliated and Inge Powell seconded the motion, which passed.

Memphis, Tenn. Susan Roland moved that Memphis CORE be affiliated. Raoul Kulberg seconded the motion, which passed.

Staten Island, N.Y. Edward Mollette moved that Staten Island be affiliated. Ray Howard seconded the motion, which passed.

Kansas City, Mo. Stan Selette moved that Kansas City CORE be affiliated. James Nunnelly seconded the motion, which passed.

CCNY, N.Y. Bob Atkins reported on the CCNY CORE group. Lincoln Lynch seconded the motion to affiliate CCNY CORE, which passed.

Shreveport, LA. Norma Wagner moved Shreveport CORE be affiliated. Jo Dodson seconded the motion, which passed.

Dayton, Ohio Gerald Zeller moved that affiliation of Dayton CORE be deferred until the Council meeting. Ed Gray seconded the motion, which passed.

TREASURER'S REPORT, CONTINUED: Lula summarized income and expenditures for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1961. CORE's income for 1961 totaled $239,780 and expenditures totaled $229,300. Major sources of income included: contributions from mail appeals (159,366), special fund raising (39,677), and unions (13,510). Major distribution of funds included: membership maintenance and recruitment (57,076); administration (32,017), public information and education (41,039), projects (58,005), and Action Institutes (12,680).

Lula noted that fund-raising lagged during the first part of the year before the Freedom Rides, but there has been a tremendous pick-up since the Freedom Rides.

Raoul Kulberg moved the Treasurer's report be accepted. Bill Hanson seconded the motion, which passed. Charles Oldham recommended that the contents be discussed by the Finance Committee.

Gladys Harrington suggested that the workshops, scheduled for the afternoon, be dropped from the agenda. Norma Wagner moved that the agenda be adopted, including the workshops. The motion was seconded and passed by a majority vote.

WORKSHOPS on housing, employment, voter registration, public accommodations and education met from approximately 4:15 to 5:05, when reports were given.

HOUSING WORKSHOP: Alan Gartner, William Larkins, Resource Persons.
Alan Gartner reported that a good deal of time was spent describing the types of housing problems local groups face. He noted an objection registered by some participants to the CORE technique of testing used in Boston, where white controls lie in talking to real estate men, in order to have the same background as the Negro testers. The housing workshop recommends that CORE go on record supporting a "Freedom Dwelling" situation.

EMPLOYMENT WORKSHOP: Julius Hobson, Genevieve Hughes and Marian Oldham, Resource persons. Evie Rich reported major conclusions, including recommendations that (1) priority in selecting projects be given to companies where there is a chance of succeeding; and (2) a great deal of time and thought be given to ways of solving the problem of token employment, which is a serious problem.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS: William Clay and Ed Blankenheim, Resource Persons.
Bill Clay reported that the workshop discussed the role of lobbying, creation of a favorable climate, voter registration and voter education in passage of a public accommodations law. The group was divided as to the type of action CORE should take when there is a public accommodations law, some feeling direct action should be taken and others, that the lengthy course of the law should be followed. The public accommodations workshop recommended that a national project focusing on integration of the YMCA and YWCA be adopted.

VOTER REGISTRATION: Lolis Elie, Tom Gaither and Jim McCain, Resource Persons.
The voter registration workshop drafted a resolution requesting CORE to initiate a non-partisan voter registration campaign, including stand-ins, preparation of leaflets and demonstrations in support of this drive. The report was given by Rudy Lombard.

EDUCATION WORKSHOP: Robert Palmer and Richard Haley, Resource Persons.
Inge Powell stressed two important goals agreed on by the education workshop: (1) a conscious policy of integration on the part of the city school system: and (2) integration of extra-curricula activities. Saturday evening Robert Palmer supplemented this report with a statement stressing the importance of integration in education to the CORE program. He noted that most schools now have token desegregation, not integration, and that Northern communities have as much segregation in education as Southern communities. Education is the key to progress in employment and has ramifications for community relations. Drop outs and employment placement are two major problems that must be tackled. CORE groups should work for integrated education using direct, non-violent techniques.

The meeting adjourned and reconvened at 8:00 pm. Following Lillian Smith's address on the "Significance of the Freedom Rides," delegates met in four workshop sessions: legal developments and problems, jail discipline (two sessions) and evaluation of Freedom Ride experience.

LEGAL DEVELOPMENT AND PROBLEMS: Carl Rachlin, chairman, introduced the recommendations of the workshop with the comment that CORE-type activity creates problems for lawyers that are <u>not</u> routine -- for example, going to jail without appeal. He noted that attorneys are not allowed to treat guilt or innocence in a mass sense; part of their ethics is to try individuals. The legal development workshop recommended that:

(1) The General Counsel of CORE serve as a central point for all attorneys involved in CORE problems (a) to obtain assistance in preparing briefs: (b) to offer assistance on unique points of law which may be of interest to other attorneys; (c) to be a repository of briefs and memoranda that could be shared with all attorneys; (d) to pass on all attorneys' problems and offer solutions based on common experience; and (e) to be available for consultation at the request of local counsels.

(2) All legal counsel meet at least once per year to discuss common problems and possible solutions.

(3) CORE endeavor to develop a close legal relationship with the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP and the ACLU.

(4) As often as possible lawyers should be called in to advise as part of the training for CORE activity.

(5) Before mass pleading of guilt is made, local counsel should be called in for consultation as to the ethical problems involved, since mass pleading may deny the important principle that innocence or guilt is individual.

(6) More strenuous efforts should be made to obtain tax exemption for contributions, with adequate consideration of a dual organization with a separate unit to handle legal defense and education.

JAIL DISCIPLINE #1 (Long-term Jail): Frederick Muntean reported the following recommendations for preparation for <u>long-term jail-ins</u> of the Parchman, Miss. type:

(1) <u>Pre-determination of leadership</u> for the four groups of prisoners (white and Negro men and women) prior to the jail-in. Leadership should be capable of (a) maintaining "growth activities"; (b) caring for the psychological needs of participants; and (c) maintaining CORE discipline.

(2) <u>Agreement on objectives of the jail-in</u> prior to entering jail. These objectives should include (a) agreement not to harrass jailers and wardens, but rather to treat them as confused, potential friends whose support can be won; and (b) agreement to bear witness to the cause of integration, and to refrain from prison reform.

(3) <u>Extensive education of participants</u>, including (a) preparation for dealing with <u>non-physical</u> violence; (b) training in living

without the "essentials" of normal living: (c) reading and study of similar situations, e.g., Gandhi and Thoreau should be compulsory reading; and (d) utilization of reports of conditions of the particular prison in question.

JAIL DISCIPLINE # 2 (Community Jails): Thomas Gaither summarized the following conclusions of the workshop on community-type jail-ins, such as the jail-in in Rock Hill, S.C.:

(1) Effectiveness --- Effectiveness of the jail-in is dependent upon the ability of the group to touch the conscience of the community and continually dramatize the injustice by their witness in jail. This requires knowledge of the implications, a public appeal that will crystalize public opinion.

(2) Preparation ---On any nonviolent project, participants should always be prepared for violence and jail. Both participants and parents should be psychologically adjusted before the jail-in, so that parents can help with morale. Provision for continuation of work outside jail should be made, since this keeps up morale inside. Participants should understand the philosophy of going to jail.

(3) Jail regulations and behavior --- Face realities of jail life and expect to obey regular rules. Be courteous to jailers and have unified protests of the big things only. Expect violence in the jails.

(4) Parents --- Moral support from parents is important. Parents should be prepared and participants should report to friends who can "stand guard" over parents.

EVALUATION OF FREEDOM RIDES: Richard Haley and Dave Dennis, Resource persons. Richard Haley reported three conclusions from the Freedom Rides workshop:

(1) For projects like the Freedom Rides, the sponsoring group should weigh the advantages of small, well-trained groups versus large, mass groups.

(2) People who have not had jail experience should be trained by people who have had jail experience, and it would be an advantage to have persons with jail experience in each group going into jail.

(3) It is important to have responsible leadership in the jail group. Whether organization officials should go into jail may vary with the project.

Marion Berry of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was introduced and welcomed to the convention.

The Saturday night session adjourned at approximately 11:30 pm. The convention resumed business at 9:15 Sunday morning with Henry Hodge presiding.

Henry Hodge, CORE Vice-Chairman, circulated a written report on his activities of the past year, which included the announcement that Los Angeles CORE has opened a local office, which will serve as the West Coast regional

office. It also mentioned the second West Coast CORE conference was held since the Council meeting.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT: Nan Porter reported recommendations of the Credentials Committee. Action taken on each recommendation is recorded following the recommendation.

(1) Newark-Essex, N.J. The committee found no constitutional impediments to affiliation and recommended affiliation of the group. Selma Hefling moved that Newark-Essex CORE be affiliated. Vera Williams seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

(2) Suffolk County, Long Island The committee found that all constitutional requirements for affiliation had been met, except for a visit by a representative of National CORE and a report on this visit. It therefore recommended that no action be taken during the Convention, but that upon fulfillment of all the constitutional requirements, the National Action Committee be empowered to act favorably upon a recommendation from the Field Department that Suffolk County be affiliated. This involves suspension of the constitution and would not permit the NAC to reject their application. The Committee's recommendation was moved and seconded. Action on the motion was tabled until the Suffolk County delegate joined the meeting. Upon his arrival Alan Gartner made a substitute motion that the constitutional requirement for a visit from the National Office be suspended. Stan Selette seconded the motion, which Alan withdrew after further discussion of the Suffolk situation. The original motion to permit the NAC to act favorably on a recommendation to affiliate Suffolk passed unanimously.

(3) Detroit Metropolitan CORE The committee found that Detroit Metropolitan CORE had not met three of the constitutional requirements for affiliation and recommended that their affiliation be referred to the National Action Committee for investigation. Walter Bergman, a representative of Detroit Metropolitan, appealed to the floor to refer the question to the National Action Committee, with authority to act when all the constitutional requirements have been met. He explained that officers and members of the Metropolitan group originally held offices and were active in the Detroit CORE group from which they split two weeks ago. A motion to this effect was made and seconded. William Clay offered a substitute motion that the National Action Committee be authorized to investigate the matter and make a recommendation to the Council concerning the affiliation of Detroit Metropolitan CORE. Carolyn Neal seconded the motion. The motion to carry the substitute motion and the substitute motion passed.

(4) Seating of Bob Atkins The committee recommended that Bob Atkins be seated as a delegate of CCNY CORE, which was affiliated at yesterday's session, and that Joan Giarrusso replace him as a delegate of New York CORE. Milton Wagner moved adoption of the recommendation. Bernadine Wesley seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

STAFF RECOMMENDATIONS ON FREEDOM RIDE PROJECT: James Farmer, National Director, described the background of the first Freedom Ride, which consisted of a small group of carefully selected, well-trained persons who were committed to accept jail sentences. When the first Ride could not continue because no drivers would take the buses from Birmingham, the Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement continued the Ride with the sanction of CORE and CORE's agreement to help with finances and legal help, if such help were necessary. After the first Jackson arrests "events took over". A decision to fill the jails was made and recruitment and training suffered from the expansion. Now the

majority of the Riders are out on bail and the initiative is in the hands of Mississippi. The problem is for CORE to take back the initiative. The staff thus recommends that:

(1) All bonded Freedom Riders withdraw bond and return to jail; after intensive training and preparation for behavior in jail;
(2) CORE ask the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund to handle the cases of those Riders that cannot return to jail;
(3) CORE recruit a select group of well-trained persons committed to stay in jail for the maximum sentences (six months, five days) and send them to Jackson as soon as is feasible;
(4) The convention adopt a policy of "jail without bail" for future Freedom Rides;
(5) CORE work to develop a strong non-violent movement in Jackson made up of local people who would stay in jail.

Charlie Mason moved that the staff recommendation be adopted. The motion was seconded and passed.

Suggestions from the floor included (1) national demonstrations on the day the Riders go back to jail in a group; (2) that the jumping off point of the return to jail be Washington, D. C., with Riders taking some time to picket the Attorney General's office, pointing out that they are returning to jail because the federal government will not protect their rights; and (3) Freedom Rides in other areas than Jackson.

Alan Gartner moved that the national staff be commended for their activities to date in carrying out the Freedom Rides. The motion was seconded and passed.

FINANCE COMMITTEE: Rudy Lombard, Chairman, presented the 1962 budget which projected an income of $570,000 for the coming year, and the expenditures totaling $550,100, plus an additional $89,000 for bail and bond. This would bring total expenses to $639,100, but the $89,000 budgeted for bail and bond would presumably be returned. Major expenses budgeted were listed as follows (1961 expenses in parentheses for comparison): Freedom Ride, $100,000 (1961 expenses not itemized); Travel, $75,000 (1961, $24,204.84); Mimeo and Mail, $72,000 (1961 $49,536.29); Legal Expense, $30,000 ($1,571.50); Salaries, $133,500 ($70,502.81); Meetings, $20,000 ($1,161.12); Publications, $20,000 ($18,130.43; Stationery and Supplies, $20,000 ($13,670.66) and Regional Offices, $10,000 (no 1961 offices).

The Finance Committee proposed the following action regarding immediate financial problems: (1) Acceptance of a $25,000 thiry-day demand note, acceptance to take place on Sept. 30 (offered by an anonymous donor who would pay interest on the loan); (2) authorization to replace the regular budget appeal with a special appeal highlighting the return to jail of Freedom Riders; (3) recommendation that local groups immediately initiate fund-raising campaigns using such devices as door-to-door canvassing, letters to local newspapers and prison-fare dinners with high charges per plate; (4) deferment of salaries for one month; and (5) if the present financial situation continues for more than one month or a month and a half, postponement of plans for regional offices. During the month of September, CORE needs an additional $1,000 per day income.

Discussion of the financial report covered the following points: (1) questioning of the policy of accepting loans and money from anonymous

donors, which CORE has followed in the past; (2) questioning of the advisability of postponing action on the Southern regional office; and (3) a recommendation that work be done to secure tax exemption.

Nan Porter asked that salaries be itemized. Raoul Kulberg moved that the Treasurer list present salaries of the staff. Buddy Franklin seconded the motion, which was passed. Lula Farmer listed salaries as follows: National Director, $10,000; Membership Director, $9,300; Community Relations Director, $9,000; Field Director $7,500; Office Manager, $4,992; Secretary to Nat'l Director, $4,300; Field Staff, $4,160 to $6,700 (most field secretaries @ $4,160); Assistant to Membership Director, $4,160; Clerks, $3,120 to $3,750; and Treasurer, $2.50 per hour with $3,250 budgeted for 1962.

The Finance Committee's report carried a motion to adopt. Selma Hefling seconded the motion, which was adopted by a majority vote.

Milton Wagner suggested that local trade union councils be contacted for contributions from both the councils and affiliated unions.

Gladys Harrington endorsed the idea of prison-fare dinners and suggested that the idea be extended to inviting guests to wear prison clothes. She asked the National Action Committee to consider raising the salaries of the field staff, noting that they were too low for the magnitude of the job. She pointed out that most field secretaries make less than the office manager, although they are out risking their lives daily.

The meeting adjourned for lunch and reopened at approximately 2:00, with Charles Oldham presiding.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE: Wester Sweet, Chairman, reported the Constitution Committee's recommendation that the revised constitution be read, discussed and adopted article by article, and section by section. The report carried a motion to adopt. The motion was seconded and passed.

Action on proposed amendments are summarized as briefly as possible below. Where the proposed revisions were adopted with no changes, the text of the articles (or sections) are not quoted in the minutes, but may be found in the revised constitution.

The convention took the following action on proposed revisions:

Article I. Name. The proposed article passed unanimously.

Article II. Purposes and Nature. The proposed article passed unanimously.

Article III Membership. The committee proposed that Section 1 read, "Any person who joins and actively participates in the affiliated local group, all National Officers and members of the National Action Committee are active members."

Section 1, amended to read, "Any person holding active membership in any affiliated local group, all National Officers and members of the National Action Committee are active members," passed unanimously.

The committee proposed that Section 2 read, "Any person who supports CORE financially is an associate member."

Section 2, as proposed, was amended several times, and finally referred to the Committee for rewording. The revised wording of Section 2, "Any person who supports national CORE financially is a national associate member, unless he wishes to be considered only a contributor, " passed.

Section 3, as proposed by the committee, stated: "Membership shall not be available to any individual who persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or who attempts to subvert the CORE group through allegiance to other groups or organizations." Selma Hefling moved to adopt Article III, Section 3 as proposed. Nan Porter seconded the motion.

Tom Roland proposed the following substitute amendment, which was seconded by Fritz Muntean: "Membership shall not be available to any individual a) who associates himself with any other group or organization, either by membership or continual activities, which espouses a philosophy in contra - diction with the democratic and nonviolent principle of CORE; or b) who persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action."

Ray Howard moved that Article III, Section 3 be further amended to bar from membership "anyone who attempts to subvert the consitution of the United States." This amendment died for lack of a second.

The Roland amendment was defeated by a vote of 43-25.

Alan Gartner moved that the proposed Article III, Section 3 be amended to read, "Active membership shall not be available to any person who a) associates himself with any other group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE; b) persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or c) attempts to subvert the CORE group through allegiance to other groups or organizations." The motion was seconded and the amendment received a vote of 45, for; 28, opposed.

When it was called to the chair's attention that amendments require a two-thirds vote to pass, the chair ruled that the vote was on the amendment to the amendment, not the substantive issue of the section itself. Section 3, as amended by Gartner, was then voted on by a show of hands. The count, 46, for; 26, opposed, was challenged, and a roll call vote was taken. The roll call vote was 54 for amended Section 3; 23 opposed; 4 abstaining. The amended section passed by a two-thirds majority.

Section 4 of Article III as proposed by the Constitution Committee passed unanimously.

Article IV. Affiliations. Alan Gartner moved that Section 1 as proposed by the committee be amended as follows: "Each affiliating group shall be known as Committee of Racial Equality and shall be abbreviated as CORE, or as a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and each group must accept . . . " Norma Wagner seconded the amendment, which passed.

Section 2. The committee proposed that Section 2 read, "CORE may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any other organizations." Section 2 was amended to read, "National CORE or any of its affiliated chapters may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any organization whose requirements stipulate relinquishing its authority." Section 2, as amended, passed.

Joe Steinfeld pointed out that there are no constitutional requirements for using the name of CORE, and suggested adding requirements for use of the name of CORE by non-affiliated groups.

The meeting adjourned for supper and reconvened approximately an hour and a half later with Charles Oldham presiding.

AFFILIATIONS, CONTINUED. Alton, Ill. Charles Oldham reported that he and other members of St. Louis CORE have visited the Alton group and that other constitutional requirements have been met. Activities to date include a Freedom Walk of one hundred persons to St. Louis. They have opened all the restaurants in Alton and have done some fund raising. The group has been in existence two and one-half months. Alton CORE was affiliated by a unanimous vote.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, CONTINUED. Article V. Disaffiliation. Article V passed in the form proposed by the committee.

Article VI,. Officers and Duties. Section 1 passed as proposed by the committee, 63 to 15.

Gladys Harrington moved that Section 2 be amended as follows: the words "and the National Action Committee" should be inserted in (e) Regional Officers, to read, "They shall have a vote at the Convention and at the National Action Committee and shall be priveleged to attend National Council meetings." The amendment was seconded but defeated by a 46-27 vote.

Section 2, as proposed, passed.

Article VII. Nominations and Elections. Article VII, as proposed by the Committee, passed unanimously.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: William Clay moved that election be held following a short recess. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously. The chairman appointed a teller's committee consisting of Frances Weinhold, (chairman), Jean Thompson, Bill Green and Fritz Muntean.

The following officers were elected by a unanimous vote:
Charles Oldham, Chairman; Rudy Lombard, First Vice-Chairman; Anna Holden, Secretary; A. D. Moore, Treasurer; and Wester Sweet, Regional Officer for the West. The remaining officers were elected by secret ballot:
Henry Hodge, Second Vice-Chairman; Dave Dennis, Regional Officer for the South; Julius Hobson, Regional Officer for the East; and Dan Garrison, Regional Officer for the Midwest.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, CONTINUED: Article VIII. The Convention. Article VIII, as proposed by the Committee, passed unanimously.

Article IX, National Council. Sections 1 and 2, as proposed by the committee, passed unanimously.

Norma Wagner moved that the following be added to Section 3: " or one-third of the affiliated locals. The call must include reasons for calling the meeting, and a tentative agenda and must be issued at least thirty days prior to the date of the meeting." The amendment was seconded and Section 3, as amended, passed.

Article X. National Action Committee. Alan Gartner moved that the words "in the area of the national office" be deleted from the first sentence of Section 1, as proposed, and that the second sentence be amended as follows: "Appointees shall serve for two years upon consent of two-thirds of the following..." The motion was seconded.

Darwin Bolden offered the following substitute motion, which was seconded by Raoul Kulberg: "The National Action Committee shall implement the decisions and policy of the annual convention and shall conduct the affairs of the organization between annual conventions and council meetings. The National Action Committee shall consist of all National Officers, the National Director, the Membership Director, the Field Director, the Senior Field Secretary and five persons appointed by the National Chairman from the active membership of affiliated local groups functioning in the area of the National Office, by and with the consent of the active membership of the group in which the appointee is active. Appointees shall serve immediately upon appointment and confirmation for a term of one year or until a successor is appointed and confirmed, unless removed prior thereto by a majority vote of the annual convention."

The substitute motion was defeated.

Anna Holden proposed that Section 1, as amended, be further amended to read: "The National Action Committee shall consist of .... and not more than six persons appointed by the National Chairman, including active members from affiliated groups within short travel distance from the New York area, wherever possible." Alan Gartner refused to accept the amendment.

Section 1, as amended, passed by a two-thirds vote. Section 2, as proposed, passed unanimously.

Article XI. National Advisory Committee. Article XI, as proposed, passed unanimously.

The meeting adjourned at approximately 1:00 am. Monday morning and reconvened at 9:45.

Article XII. Staff. Sections 1 and 2, as proposed, passed unanimously. Section 3 was amended to read: "All other professional staff personnel...." Section 3, as amended; and Section 4, as proposed, passed unanimously.

Article XIII. Parliamentary Procedure. Article XIII was amended to read: "All decisions at duly constituted meetings of the National Organization shall be by Roberts Rules of Order Revised, except as otherwise specifically modified in this Constitution, and the chairman shall appoint a parliamentarian at Conventions and Council meetings." Article XIII, as amended, passed.

Article XIV. Quorum. Article XIV was amended by the addition of the following sentences. "This rule may be suspended by the chairman. All business considered when this rule is suspended may be reconsidered by a simple majority vote when there is a regular quorum." Article XIV, as amended, passed.

Article XV. Finances. Article XV, as proposed, passed unanimously.

Article XVI. Amendments. It was moved and seconded that Section 1 of Article XVI be amended by adding the following sentence: "The Constitution may be changed by a three-fourths vote of the delegates at a Council meeting." The amendment was defeated. Article XVI, as proposed, passed.

Article XVII. Constitution of Local Groups. Alan Gartner moved that Article XVII be amended to read: "Section 1. Each local group shall operate under a constitution that may not be in contradiction with the national constitution. Section 2. Local constitutions shall define the process for granting active and associate membership. Active membership must be approved by not less that a majority of the members of a local group. An active member must have an understanding of the nature of CORE and Rules for Action." The amendment was seconded and Article XVII, as amended, passed.

RESOLUTIONS: The following resolutions were adopted by the Convention:

(I) GENERAL-- The Congress of Racial Equality, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirms its absolute and uncompromising commitment to bend all of its resources and efforts to end the evil of racial segregation in this nation by non-violent, direct action means.

We do Resolve: (1) To vigorously attack discrimination based on skin color, race, religion or national origin on all levels, in all areas, throughout this land.

(2) To employ the techniques of stand-ins, wade-ins, kneel-ins, picketing, boycott, freedom rides, jail-ins, fasts and all other manner of non-violent actions to end these evils.

(3) To pledge ourselves to continue to teach and extend the principles and practices of non-violence throughout our national and local groups in an effort to make sure that the fight for integration throughout this country will continue to be conducted with love and without malice and with the highest objectives of human dignity, individuality and freedom as its goals.

(4) To extend the fullest measure of cooperation to those other organizations which share our dedication to a responsible, non-violent means of attaining these goals.

(5) To commend the United States Government and its Department of Justice for its assistance at the time of CORE's greatest crisis in the Freedom Ride and to commend the recent specific Justice Department actions in regard to securing the freedom to travel for all Americans. And we urge the appropriate executive, judicial and legislative branches of the government to pursue more vigorously the means of preserving and enforcing the Constitutional rights of all Americans to live in a society free from the restraints and indignities of bigotry.

(6) To point the particular attention of this nation to the fact that the Freedom Rides represent far from a total victory over the forces of segregation, but the first step in an unremitting campaign that will be conducted by CORE to achieve freedom for all who wish to travel in this country.

(7) To continue to protest the abuse of authority by duly constituted

officials who are deliberately violating the laws of this nation and of their own states in their assaults on human rights.

(8) To call upon all who feel that CORE's aims are morally sound and consistent with their own to give of their time, their money and their active assistance to help CORE and other sister organizations in the pursuit of this struggle.

(II) HOUSING-- Whereas, housing is the most widespread area of overt racial discrimination in the United States, and whereas, the situation is growing steadily worse, CORE resolves to launch a nationwide campaign to secure unlimited opportunities for all Americans to obtain decent housing through: (1) education of the general public to the extent and gravity of the problem; (2) pressure for legal and legislative action to ensure fair housing practices; (3) support of and cooperation with government agencies and officials -- local, state and national -- who are working towards solutions of the problem; and (4) direct action in every community to open available housing to every member of the community.

(III) VOTER REGISTRATION -- Whereas, the right to vote is fundamental to the American democratic process and individual dignity and is presently denied to a large segment of the population because of race; it is resolved that CORE will continue and intensify its non-partisan campaign for voter registration, employing non-violent direct action techniques, including: (1) a canvassing campaign to secure potential voters; (2) stand-ins at places of registration; (3) mass protest demonstrations in support of this drive; and (4) other direct action techniques that may be considered appropriate. This campaign will continue to be conducted in conjunction with our sister organizations.

(IV) EMPLOYMENT-- Whereas, CORE has found serious discriminatory employment practices in national retail chain stores; it is resolved that CORE initiate non-violent direct action techniques to obtain improved and integrated employment opportunities on all levels, up to and including the managerial level. Particular emphasis shall be placed on Sears Roebuck, where negotiations have already begun, with generally unsatisfactory results.

(V) LABOR -- Whereas, it is obvious that racial segregation operates to the disadvantage and injury of organized labor, and of workingmen in general, in the North as well as in the South, and whereas, the Freedom Rides are one step in CORE's systematic program of integration, we therefore call on organized labor, national and local, for its moral and financial support of the Freedom Rides, and of the total CORE program.

Resolved that CORE commends organized labor for its efforts at integration and urges that it continue and extend these efforts.

(VI) YMCA and YWCA -- Whereas, it has come to the attention of CORE that, contrary to the principles upon which they were founded, many YMCA and YWCA branches repeatedly deny the use of their facilities to individuals on the basis of race; therefore CORE urges the YMCA and YWCA to end these discriminatory practices, and pledges its support and vigorous application of non-violent direct action to help eliminate the discrepancy between principle

and practice which presently exists in these Christian organizations, with particular emphasis on the YMCA and YWCA. Specifically we urge the National Action Committee to give emphasis to the YMCA and YWCA.

(VII) THANKS TO HOSTS-- Resolved that this convention express its gratitude for the hospitality extended it by Washington CORE, and by All Souls Unitarian Church.

Milton Wagner moved that this convention emphasize the need for each council and convention to include a session of the full assembly on our commitment to the principles of non-violence, with discussion from the floor. The motion, seconded by Norma Wagner, passed.

FINANCE COMMITTEE, CONTINUED: Bill Hanson moved that the budget presented by the Finance Committee be adopted, with correction of typographical errors. The motion was seconded and passed.

Stan Selette moved that each local CORE chapter be requested to send out a monthly newsletter to every other CORE chapter and that the national office expedite this by mailing out a list of the mailing addresses of all affiliated chapters. The motion, seconded by Bill Hanson, passed unanimously.

NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE: Henry Hodge moved that the national officers of CORE be authorized to make a study of the National Action Committee with a view toward changing it in some manner, so that it will allow more local group participation. The motion was seconded by Buddy Franklin. Evie Rich amended the motion as follows: That the national officers of CORE be authorized to constitute a committee to make a study of the National Action Committee and make recommendations to the convention, reporting their findings to local groups prior to the next convention. The motion, as amended, passed unanimously.

STUDENT CORE GROUPS: Evie Rich reported the following recommendations from the committee on high school CORE groups; (1) The committee has no specific recommendations as to policy on high school CORE groups, since local problems are too diversified to set a national standard. (2) Local CORE groups should be authorized to establish high school -age groups at their own discretion and within their own framework upon consultation with the Field Director. The committee also reported that Long Island Student CORE withdrew its application for affiliation. The report was accepted by a unanimous vote.

JAIL DISCIPLINE: Fritz Muntean moved that recommendations from the workshop on jail discipline be referred to the National Action Committee for study and consideration. The convention agreed to this proposal by common consent.

EDUCATION: Stan Selette asked that the final recommendations of the education workshop be referred to the National Action Committee for study and that their summary statements be mailed out to affiliated groups.

Raoul Kulberg called the attention of the convention to the following articles and materials: (1) "Who Speaks for Birmingham?" CBS TV Network, Howard K. Smith, May 18, 1961. Script available from Howard K. Smith, CBS Reports, Broadcast House, Washington, DC. (2) Carleton Mabee, "Evolution of Non-Violence; Two Decades of Sit-Ins," Nation, August 12, 1961 and (3) Gollan, Antoni E., "At the Core of Racial Tension," The New Guard, Magazine of Young America for Freedom, August, 1961. Available @ .25 from 79 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.

The meeting was adjourned at approximately 3:30 pm., Monday September 4.

300 Copies

REPORT OF NATIONAL DIRECTOR
To CORE Convention ---- September 1-4, 1961

The 19 years since CORE was founded have seen the organization change from a dozen or so isolated idealists to one of the foremost and most militant civil rights organizations in America's history. All who have had a part in its growth should have a justifiable sense of pride. We have seen the CORE method of nonviolent direct action become as widely accepted now as it once was misunderstood.

Probably the three factors contributing most to our organization's phenomenal development have been:

1. The Montgomery Bus Boycott which popularized the nonviolent technique.
2. The southern students' Sit-Ins which captured the imagination of the nation and the world, and
3. The Freedom Rides, initiated and executed by CORE itself.

CORE chapters, members, officers and staff have done a fine and dedicated job in nurturing an idea, responding to events and providing leadership in a new thrust for equality.

CORE's new status in American life confronts us with exciting new opportunities as well as serious problems. This Convention would be remiss in its duties if it didnot come to grips with both.

The opportunities are obvious. CORE is well known and respected. As an organization it is admired by its friends and feared by the enemies of its goals. It would be difficult to find a person at all alive to the race relations fight in America who is not aware of CORE. Consequently, we have an opportunity to build the organization as never before. There is hardly any city in the

nation where a CORE Chapter could not now be established if we have the staff available to send in.

With this new prominence, we have a responsibility not only to build our organization, but to provide imaginative and creative leadership in the fight for equality. This is expected of CORE now, and we must not fail to come through.

Moreover, CORE cannot now be ignored by our sister organizations in the civil rights struggle. In spite of inevitable problems which will arise from time to time, relations are basically good. A cooperating relationship exists between CORE and the other civil rights organizations, and such cooperation is desired, not only by us, when it involves no compromise of principle, but also by the other organizations.

The problems are perhaps less obvious than the opportunities. A study of organizations tells us that whenever there is organizational growth there is a heightening of internal tensions. In the vernacular, these are "growing pains". Conflicts which may have seemed little in the past now loom enormously because so much is at stake. Divergent viewpoints become sharpened and controversies multiply. Yet, above all, we must not allow any internal disputes to wreck the organization. The only differences worthy of the organization's attention are those based upon principles and techniques. There are bound to be differences of opinion in those regards. Were it not so, it would be unhealthy. But we do justice to neither ourselves nor our cause if we yield to the temptation to indulge in pettiness, or vindictiveness, or selfish quarreling. Whatever differences exist must be dealt with on the high level and in the spirit which has been characteristic of CORE and its dedication to the spirit and practice of nonviolence.

Another "growing pain" is the difficulty of maintaining a smooth and efficiently operating organization in the midst of feverish growth and activity. As the other staff reports indicate, our growth has been in terms of organizational prominence, popular support, chapter development, income and budget. The pace has been more than mortal human beings can keep on top of. Machinery, procedures and organizational systems, consequently, have not kept pace with our growth. This situation may hold the seeds of our own destruction if not remedied forthwith. While we must maintain the warm spirit which has been traditional with CORE, a large organization, as we are becoming, is not viable if it functions as it did when much smaller.

The solution, I think, will lie in the direction of tightening up of our structure and moving toward increasing departmentalization. Toward the end of increasing the functional efficiency of the National Office, an expert on procedures for voluntary organizations is being brought in after Labor Day to make a survey and offer recommendations for changes. In regard to any needed structural changes, the Constitutional Committee at this Convention will have recommendations.

I shall not attempt here an evaluation of the Freedom Rides. In avvery large sense they speak for themselves in their impact and effectiveness. They have galvanized public opinion as nothing else has done. They have plummeted CORE four-square into the civil rights arena, and they have cost us and our supporters a sizable fortune. (337 Freedom Riders have been arreated to date in Jackson, Ocala, Tallahassee, Little Rock and Houston. Legal, transportation, bonding and other supporting expenses have zoomed over Two Hundred Thousand Dollars.)

While continuing to meet our committments on this important phase of our program, we must not be deterred from thinking and planning ahead to similar thrusts in other areas, such as all Places of Public Accommodation, Housing, Employment, Schools and Voter Registration. To map nonviolent direct action strategies in those program areas is a major part of the responsibility of this CORE Convention.

National Action Committee, September 8, 1961
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row; New York 38, New York

MINUTES

Present: Farmer, Hodge, Peck, Carter, Coleman, Rich, Carey, Robinson, Blankenheim. Invited Observers: Larkin, Teer, Simon.

Absent: Rachlin, Roberts, Lombard.

CORElator EDITOR: On a motion by Leroy Carter, seconded by Gordon Carey and adopted by the Committee, Jim Peck was reelected Editor of the CORElator.

FINANCIAL REPORT: Jim Farmer called attention to the Auditor's Report for 1960-61, just received, and stated that the complete report will be on file for any member who wishes to see it, and a summary of it will be sent to each member with the budget appeal.

Marvin Rich reported that the promisory loan of $25,000.00, details of which had been presented to the Convention, had been received, and that this is the money on which the organization is now operating. He stated further that additional loans of $10,000.00 and $5,000.00 would be available soon, and that an organization which had previously turned us down is now considering a grant to CORE. James Farmer is checking the possibility of getting a large loan from one of the New York unions, and is also still working on the possibility of having a Mississippi bonding company take over responsibility for bonds at a ten percent fee and one third collateral. Bail money now on deposit in Jackson, Mississippi amounts to $135,000.00.

Jim Robinson reported that an appeal for Freedom Ride funds is going out to the CORE list shortly. Additional appeals to new lists were suggested and will be implemented later in the fall.

FREEDOM RIDES: Discussions are being held with attorneys of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund regarding their taking over the litigations involving Freedom Riders in Jackson. This step was considered after the Mississippi State Attorney General issued a ruling that once a defendant has served notice of appeal he cannot then withdraw the appeal (as was being planned by a large number of Freedom Riders). In the cases of Freedom Riders, bail is being set at $1500.00 in cases appealed. Thurgood Marshall has indicated that he is very much interested in the situation and wishes to talk over the matter with members of his Board of Directors by Monday or Tuesday morning, September 11 or 12, and would then get back to us. Meanwhile, the organization is returning Freedom Riders to Jackson for their trials and appeals, bearing the necessary expenses. If Mr. Marshall agrees to take over the litigation involved in the Freedom Rides, then CORE cannot continue to call the turns on lega l actions taken, and there is the possibility that the Fund would also have something to say on the non-legal aspects of this activity.

There was discussion of the possibility of a nolo contendre plea by defendants, possibly resulting in a suspended sentence and no fine by the State of Mississippi. It was pointed out by James Farmer that in view of conversations with Diane Nash and Marion Barry, he did not feel that this move would meet with disapproval by SNCC, and was generally agreed that the plea should be explored thoroughly with the southern students involved. Committee members expressed the feeling that the nolo plea would be preferable to being forced to drop important matters in the civil rights struggle due to lack of finances. It was suggested that the State of Mississippi be advised that COREplans to file nolo contendre pleas, but without attempting to negotiate or make deals regarding future Freedom Rides to this state or any other action by CORE against segregation in Mississippi. A call from Jackson while the meeting was in session revealed that the first nolo contendre had been entered and granted on the basis of a four month suspended sentence and a $200.00 fine not suspended.

It was felt that although CORE should not enter into any negotiations with Mississippi on future nonviolent direct action in that state, it could in good faith negotiate on suspending fines in connection with the nolo contendre, and such negotiations were so authorized.

In regard to fines, it was pointed out that last year's Convention adopted an explicit policy that CORE does not pay fines and so urges its members. It was further pointed out, however, that many of the Freedom Riders obviously are not committed to this policy, and that people not wishing to serve sentences cannot be forced to do so. There was general agreement that persons receiving fines on nolo contendre pleas will be urged to return to jail to serve out those fines. Otherwise, the fines will be taken out of the bond money in Mississippi and considered a loan from CORE to each Freedom Rider. This was the consensus of the meeting.

MEETING WITH SNCC Representatives: Friday morning, September 8th, Jim Farmer, Gordon Carey and Cyril Simon of CORE met with Diane Nash and Marion Barry of SNCC in New York.

1. Miss Nash and Miss Barry suggested that the nonviolent struggle at this time needed to regain some of its initiative lost in the legal struggle.

2. Mr. Farmer and Mr. Carey introduced the possibility of bringing pressure on the Federal Government to intervene.

3. Preliminary exploration of the idea of recruiting 60 persons, training them thoroughly, andthen breaking them into groups for a nonviolent action project. Thirty persons would be recruited by each of the organizations.

4. Possible action projects are: Sit-Ins in the White House, Justice Department and the United Nations; sending Freedom Riders in mass to Washington to demonstrate against segregation; entering into negotiations immediately with the Illinois Central Railroad, Greyhound and Trailways askingthat these companies enter court pleas of their desire to desegregate facilities (as in the

case of Baton Rouge) and seeking to restrain civil authorities from preventing their doing so; urging Freedom Riders to, where possible, bring political pressure to bear on Washington.

These suggestions are to be carefully explored, worked out, and responsibilities of all parties involved spelled out before proceeding further. Suggestion No. 3 above was approved for immediate exploration by Field Director, Gordon Carey and the staff. Detailed suggestions will then be drawn up in writing and submitted to the next meeting of the National Action Committee.

1962

National Action Committee; September 18, 1961
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row; New York 38, New York

MINUTES

Present: Farmer, Rich, Carey, Robinson, Rachlin, Reck
Invited Observers: Larkin, Teer, ~~Mr~~ Thomas, Harrington

Absent: Roberts, Carter, Lombard, Hodge

FINANCIAL: (General) The Committee was ~~advised~~ reminded by Marvin Rich that the $25,000.00 loan received by CORE earlier in the month should be repaid by October 6th, although there ~~was~~ is the possibility of an extension ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ on the due date.

There was, including the Septemer 18th deposit, roughly $3700.00 in the treasury and the Western Union account contained less than $2000.00

Marvin Rich advised that several unions were being contacted for possible contributions of $10,000.00 each. ~~x~~ There were no committments to date. Also, that church groups were being contacted for help, and that Freedom Riders were being asked, where possible, to raise money themselves; some, it was noted, have been successful in doing so.

Jim Farmer reported on his talks with Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. Mr Wilkins has indicated that he will give all possible help, and would consider sending a $1000.00 check immediately to ~~the~~ CORE. Anything above this would have to be done with the consent of his Board of Directors, however, ~~xxx~~ and he was not meeting with too much success on his request to them for ~~xx~~ a $10,000.00 contribution. Mr. Wilkins stated that his Board had heard that CORE had rejected certain terms offered by the State of Mississippi, which would have halted the trials until those initially tried had reached ~~the~~ higher courts, and that they felt the offer should have been accepted. Mr. Wilkins said that this was his feeling, too, as well as that of ~~Thurgood Marshall~~ others with whom he had talked, + Martin Luther King. Mr. Farmer confirmed to Mr. Wilkins that CORE has refused to agree

to halt Freedom Rides to Mississippi pending the outcome of trials. CArl Rachlin noted that even if the organization wished to make such an agreement, it is no longer possible to do so since Mississippi has withdrawn the offer. Mr. Rachlin stated that he shared Mr. Wilkins's point of view in so far as the idea of taking all Freedom Rider cases to the Supreme Court would be foolhardy, even if money were available to do so.

FINANCIAL: Direct Mail: Jim Robinson reported that an appeal was going out in about 10 days to the CORE list.

Jim Robinson noted that CORE's financial report shows an increase in net worth as of May 31, 1961, but that this does not indicate a true picture of the present situation as given in the appeal letter. He also suggested that this mailing go first class.

Some of the holiday card brochures are in the mail this week and others will go out next week. First responses look good, and if the pattern holds up total revenue may go from the estimated $35,000.00 to a possible $50,000.00 .

CORE's mailing list is expected to increase by some 3000 names from the Eleanor Roosevelt appeal, and the list is expected to increase to some 32,000 names when all checking is completed.

Jim Peck suggested that a letter be drafted to District 65 giving the current financial position as a result ofthe Mississippi situation, and requesting financial aid.

CArl Rachlin cautioned against a feeling of desperation about our finances, or lack of them, and suggested that contacts be made directly to persons or organizations in a position to give really substantial aid.

GENERAL COUNSEL: Mass nolo contendre pleas are now being considered, which so far result in a suspended sentence and a fine of $200.00. All defendants so pleading will have a conviction on their records. Travis indicated to Rachlin that the policy now being followed comes directly from Governors Barnett and attorney General Patterson. Apparently the thing most upsetting to local authority was the statement that CORE would return Freedom Riders to Mississippi, and Travis further indicated that this resulted in their refusing to hold cases in abeyance until the first ones reached the Supreme Court.

In order to lessen expenses, the possibility of not sending out-of-state counsel into Mississippi is being explored. Lawyers now serving in the Freedom Rider trials are: Kunstler, Rachlin, Harrell, [illegible], Hall and Brown plus local counsel Jack Young. Rachlin feels that there is a serious lack of communication between the attorneys involved and local attorney, Young, but that at present there is very little choice. He is trying to persuade an Attorney whom he feels is very capable, Higgs, to take over locally.

A call while the meeting was in session advised that Travis had stated that nolo contendre pleaders need not appear in Jackson for trial, but must still work out an arrangement with defendants not pleading nolo to appear in court the same day. If by October 9th CORE submits to Mississippi a list of all Freedom Riders planning to plead nolo during the month, there will be no court cost involved, and bond money now on deposit will be available to the organization.

Jim Farmer reported that the Mississippi bonding company, with which the organization had been in contact relative to their taking over bond for Freedom Riders, had been advised by local authorities that if they wrote bond for even one Freedom Rider their license would be revoked. In view of this, an arrangement with an bonding company at this time is not feasible.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH CARRIERS: As dedided by the Convention, wires were sent to Trailways, Greyhound, Illinois Central Railroad, asking that all facilities for negotiations be desegregated. Greyhound replied that all terminals were being operated on a desegregated basis, but they had no control over facilities operated by individual agencies. A meeting with CORE officials, Jim Farmer, Carl Rachlin and Richard Haley, had been scheduled for Friday morning, September 22nd by Mr. J. H. Wright of the Illinois Central.

DETROIT REPORT: A conflict with in Detroit CORE has resulted in two chapters there; The affiliated group is composed of the chairman of the original CORE and most of the officers, and the non-affiliated group of former members of Detroit CORE who broke with the old chapter. The Convention had rejected the application from the latter group. Subsequently, Jim FArmer received a letter from the President of the original group outlining their position in the matter, which he read to the Committee.
He also reported on a call from a former member of the original Detroit CORE, which charged that this group had been captured by left-wingers. Field Director, Gordon Carey, is being sent to Detroit to investigate the situation and look into the possibility of eliminating undesirable members and combining the groups. He is to meet with members from both groups simultaneously to get as nearly a true picture as possible, then contact Jim Farmer in New York for NAC authorization for necessary action while on the scene.

PROPOSED WASHINGTON, D. C. PROJECT: Field Director, Gordon Carey, submitted a written report of suggested action in ~~the~~ Washington designed to bring pressure on the Federal Government for more prompt and effective action on the civil rights front. Suggestions entailed first a request for a hearing at the Department of Justice, second a request directly to the President for action, both to be followed by sit-ins; the third step, provided no recognition has been granted, would be to take the case before world opinion at the United Nations. Participants would consist of 60 thoroughly trained persons, broken into three groups of 20 each for [redacted] the three steps. There was pro and con discussion as to the effectiveness of any direct action in Washington. The project, if endorsed by the Committee, would have to await available funds. *

New York CORE Chairman, Gladys Harrington, was invited to the meeting to present an idea for further direct action by CORE chapters: As many CORE groups as can be participate would organize and stage dramatic demonstrations in Washington. These demonstrations would be scheduled weekly with a different CORE group each week. A bread and water fast at some strategic point was suggested.

Mrs. Harrington suggested too that each CORE group throughout the country sponsor a local fund/raising dinner according to the financial ability of the chapter and the community.

These suggestions were approved by the National Action Committee.

*Meanwhile, Gordon Carey was directed to proceed with the planning stages, checking with the Committee as each proposal is developed.

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING: An invitation from Northern Kentucky CORE Volunteering to host the Council Meeting in February, 1962 was read to the Committee. This would take the Council Meeting to Cincinnati. Decision was deferred pending more information

on available accommodations in Cincinnati.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Reverend C. K. Steele accepted an invitation to become a member of the Advisory Committee three weeks ago. Matthew Ahmann of the Catholic Interracial Conference will be approached for recommendations of representation from this group. The Committee voted to extend invitations to Bishop Wall of the AME Church and Hobson J. Reynolds of the Elks.

GRB

National Action Committee, October 12, 1961
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row; New York 38, New York

MINUTES

Present: Farmer, Peck, Carey, Rich, Robinson, Rachlin, Lombard, Hughes. Invited Observers: Haley, Larkin, Teer, Simon

Absent: Carter, Coleman, Roberts

ICC REGULATIONS: The desegregation ruling was reviewed for the Committee by James Farmer. Gordon Carey reported that a letter was going to all CORE groups asking what action had been or was being taken in their areas to comply with the ruling, and suggesting that each group make a quiet test of its local transportation facilities. Announcement was made of a meeting to be held on October 17th between CORE officials and the ICC and Department of Justice to discuss plans for implementing desegregation of public transportation facilities. Immediately after the ICC ruling was handed down, requests were sent to Trailways and Greyhound to remove "colored" signs in their Jackson, Mississippi terminals, by CORE attorney, Carl Rachlin.

Mr. Rachlin reported on the meeting with Mr. Wright - Vice President and General Counsel of the Illinois Central Railroad, which also included Jim Farmer and Richard Haley of CORE. Mr. Wright stated that the Illinois Central had no segregation signs posted in its Jackson terminal, and that signs present were put there by the local police department. He stated further that the Illinois Central had taken action against its own employees who cooperated with Jackson authorities in delaying a decision on the NAACP desegregation case there. There was discussion of the possibility of a Chicago Freedom Rider bringing suit before the Federal Court in that city to have Illinois

Central facilities in Jackson closed for violation of the ICC ruling.

The Committee noted that presently the ICC ruling deals only with bus companies, that every effort would be made to have this ruling extended to cover all public transportation immediately, and that CORE would through nonviolent direct action seek to facilitate compliance with the ruling if preliminary negotiations failed. Jim Farmer reported that a group of Young Republicans has indicated an interest in taking a Freedom Ride to test the ICC ruling, which would be financed by their local party. Much of their motivation stems from Governor Rockefeller's favorable stand on the Freedom Rides.

DETROIT CORE: Gordon Carey reported that he had met with both factions of this group. Discussions resulted in plans for a new election, merging the two groups under responsible leadership. To assure operation under the rules of CORE's constitution, it was suggested that an impartial observer sit in on the first few meetings after the merger is completed.

SUFFOLK CORE: A visit was made by Gordon Carey and Fredericka Teer, who give a favorable report and recommended affiliation. The Committee voted to affiliate the group.

NAMES OF CORE CHAPTERS AND CHAPTER AFFILIATION: The Committee passed a resolution requiring new chapters to submit for approval the names by which they will be identified. This is to avoid conflict and confusion with already existing chapters. It also voted that an individual who lives in one area and works in another may affiliate with either CORE chapter he desires, rather than being confined to the chapter of his residential area.

ADDITIONS TO NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Jim Farmer reported that National Chairman, Charles Oldham, had recommended two additions to the Committee -- Alan Gartner, Chairman of Boston CORE and Leverne McCummings, Chairman of Philadelphia CORE, and that replies thus far received were overwhelmingly in favor. Also that Hobson Reynolds of the Elks had accepted membership on the Advisory Committee.

NATIONAL OFFICE PERSONNEL: Jim Farmer read a letter of resignation from James Robinson, Membership Director of CORE. Mr. Robinson's resignation was accepted by the Committee with expressions of gratitude for his long years of service to the organization, and it noted with pleasure his statement that leaving the organization's employ does not indicate termination of his activity with it.

On the recommendation of the National Director, the Action Committee approved the appointment of Norman Hill, formerly of Chicago CORE, to the National Field Staff. Field Director, Carey, gave a brief account of Mr. Hill's background which equips him for service on CORE's Field Staff.

LEGAL DEFENSE OF FREEDOM RIDERS: Carl Rachlin reported on a meeting between himself and James Farmer of CORE, and Jack Greenberg and Constance Baker Motley of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. Agreement has been reached for the Inc. Fund to assume legal defense of Freedom Riders in Jackson, Mississippi, using local attorneys on the cases. CORE will continue to assume responsibility for transportation expenses of defendants where they cannot pay their own. The Legal Defense Fund will not assume responsibility for bond, but will endeavor to raise as much bond money as possible. Mr. Rachlin reported that a close interest in these cases would be maintained by CORE's legal staff--in the briefs, techniques, etc. Also that the responsibility for the

cases of the Episcopal Ministers would remain with CORE. Press releases will be issued simultaneously by each organization after clearing them with each other. The effective date of the transfer is still to be decided.'

Mr. Rachlin also reported on talks with Louis Lusky which revealed the possibility of securing a bonding company to take over Freedom Rider bonds. Jim Farmer received a commitment from Allan Knight Chalmers that he would be active in raising bond money.

Mr. Farmer reiterated to the Committee that take-over by the Legal Defense Fund does not affect future CORE direct action in Mississippi. The Legal Defense Fund, on the other hand, is not committed to assumption of responsibility for any future CORE activity.

Defendants pleading nolo contendre are being sent letters advising them how to handle checks returning bail money to CORE (these checks are being made payable to defendants.)

U S HIGHWAY # 40: NAC member, Jim Peck, recommended to the Committee a CORE motorcade along US 40 from approximately the Delaware Bridge to Baltimore, to highlight discriminatory practices in public facilities along this route, and to test the degree of compliance with President Kennedy's appeal to end discrimination. CORE already has a list of restaurants on this route which have p racticed segregation, and will meet in Washington the weekend of October 13-14 with representatives from ADA, IUE, UAW and the NAACP to discuss plans for a united thrust on this project, with ride participants beginning at both the northern and southern tips of the route and converging around Wilmington, Delaware.

The Committee expressed its appreciation to Mr. Peck for his foresight in suggesting such a project, and authorized CORE's Field Staff to proceed with plans to carry it out.

FINANCIAL: Jim Robinson reported that the last appeal letter was showing good returns thus far. Holiday Card sales showed a $15,442.99 return from 1902 orders, which represents almost five times the amount received for the corresponding period last year. Assuming sales hold up, the intake this year should come close to $50,000.00 as compared with $20,000.00 for 1960.

Marvin Rich reported receipt of an additional $25,000.00 for Bond money on a long term loan. Also that $10,000.00 had been repaid on the short term $25,000.00 loan received in September and plans were to pay the remainder in three weeks at $5000.00 per week. Promise of additional financial aid to CORE had been indicated by UAW and IUD.

GENERAL: Mayor Wagner of New York City declared the week beginning October 16, 1961 Freedom Riders week. Bus tours of the city are planned for October 19-20. Several New Jersey Mayors have also declared Freedom Riders' week, and a fund/raising rally is scheduled for October 21st in Englewood, New Jersey.

A CORE luncheon by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is planned for October 30, at which it is expected contributions will be made to the organization.

Gordon Carey announced a meeting of the Field Staff in New York City, October 20-21, 1961.

Rudy Lombard is working with the Syracuse, New York CORE Chapter and expects this group to be ready for affiliation within a short time. Field Secretary, Genevieve Hughes, will be traveling to the West Coast the later part of October to work with CORE groups in that area. Formation of a CORE Chapter in Denver, Colorado will be foremost on her agenda. The Field Director advised that numerous CORE groups are in the process of organization.

National CORE is exploring with other organizations in the civil rights field, what action should be taken in the many trouble spots throughout the country. It is generally felt that wherever possible, and particularly in McCombs County, Mississippi, efforts should be made to involve as many local people as possible. CORE recognizes its responsibility to this county where much of the current action is undoubtedly a direct result of the Freedom Rides.

Mr. Farmer reported on a meeting with a representative of Hemisphere Reports, which has access to CBS films, to discuss the possibility of a CORE movie based on the Freedom Rides. This will be pursued further during the next few weeks.

Members of the National Action Committee were delighted to hear from Gordon Carey that he had visited Dr. Walter Bergman while in Detroit, and found him considerably improved.

National Chairman, Charles Oldham, will be in New York October 26 - 27. The next Action Committee meeting was set for October 27th.

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National Action Committee, October 27, 1961
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row; New York 38, New York

MINUTES

Present: Oldham, Farmer, Carey, Rich, Peck, Rachlin, Coleman, Hill, McCummings Gartner, Lombard. Invited Guests: Teer, Simon.

Absent: Carter, Roberts.

FINANCIAL: CORE's income since June 1, 1961 has been $376,000; its expenses $387,166.00. Its bank balance shows $16,000, and bills total $11,000. There is $14,000.00 available for bond from a loan made early in the month.

Marvin Rich reported that approximately $1000.00 had been received from street collections during Freedom Riders' week in New York City. Also that a rally in Englewood, N. J. on October 21st brought about $3600.00. Jim Farmer reported that a student fund-raising campaign at the University of Wisconsin had brought contributions totaling $1150.00, and that other student groups were active in fund-raising.

Christmas card sales are still at a record high and expected to top the $50,000.00 prediction.

FREEDOM RIDERS' FILM: This proposed 30 min. film would be made under CORE's auspices and used primarily for its educational and publicity value, as well as fund-raising. Discussions are in progress with various possible producers and Mr. M. A. Lockhart, an experienced man in the advertising and public relations field whose duty would be to promote the film throughout the country among church groups, civic organizations, fraternities, sororities, women's clubs, etc. At this stage members of the NAC headed by Jim Farmer are negotiating the cost and other factors involved in producing such a film which will be reported to Chairman Charles Oldham.

FIELD DIRECTOR'S REPORT: Gordon Carey reported that field secretary, Henry Thomas and regional representative, Julius Hobson are working on the Route #40 Project, as outlined in the October 12th meeting. Plans are to proceed with this project and a meeting of local group leaders is being held in the CORE office on October 28th to iron out details. Participation is expected from other organizations which will eliminate heavy financial obligations for CORE, in cases of possible arrest. Carey pointed out that discipline of the participants is very necessary in order not to destroy the entire purpose of the project, and memos are going out to all CORE groups spelling out rules to be followed to maintain this discipline.

ICC Ruling: CORE field secretaries have been stationed in different parts of the South to work with CORE groups in testing compliance with the ICC Ruling, effective November 1st. Small groups are being organized to make quiet tests and report their findings. Letters have also gone out to student groups in different localities to conduct such tests.

CORE MEETING WITH THE ICC AND ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL: Jim Farmer reported that the ICC representative did not keep the appointment. Assistant Attorney General, Burke Marshall, stated that the Federal Government will enforce the ICC ruling and interference with same can and will be handled directly by the Department of Justice, in cases where the interference comes from local authorities. Refusal of the carriers to abide by the ruling would be a matter for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. Farmer and other CORE representatives met also with Harris Wofford of the White House who urged that CORE begin activity immediately on Voter Registration.

LEGAL REDRESS for FREEDOM RIDERS: Jim Farmer reported that the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the NAACP had worked out arrangements with CORE to take over legal defense of Freedom Riders still to be tried in Jackson, effective November 13th. Under terms of the agreement the Legal Defense Fund does not guarantee bond for Freedom Riders, but will make every effort to raise needed bond money. CORE will continue to bear transportation expenses and assume the responsibility of getting defendants back to Jackson on their trial dates, and raise bond money wherever necessary. Press releases of this move will be sent out simultaneously by CORE and the Inc. Fund, after each has cleared its release with the other.

It was reiterated that the Inc. Fund's entry into the trials carries no obligation on CORE's part to refrain from future nonviolent direct action in Mississippi; it also carries no obligation on the Inc. Fund to take responsibility for any such action. The Committee adopted a motion that there would be a memorandum of agreement between attorneys for CORE and the Inc. Fund on handling of Freedom Rider cases.

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING: The Committee accepted the invitation from Cincinnati and Covington, Kentucky CORE, to act as host to the February, 1962 meeting, and the dates of February 10, 11, [redacted] are being considered.

BOMBING OF SHREVEPORT CORE MEETING: The same week in which the local Fair was effectively boycotted by Negroes, a CORE banquet meeting in a local church was bombed and 16 CORE members were arrested the following day. The 8 women involved were released a day after arrest, while six of the men were held and charged with vagrancy. So far local CORE people have been unable to make contact

with the Department of Justice. It was suggested that all CORE groups write or wire the Attorney General, protesting this violation of civil rights, that church groups be asked to demand an investigation of this attack upon a place of worship, and that complaints be sent the press for its lack of coverage of this display of lawlessness. It has also been reported that the secretary of Shreveport CORE has been threatened with expulsion from a local Catholic school because she refused to resign from the group.

General Counsel Carl Rachlin informed the meeting that the Deans of Harvard and Yale have said that they would appeal to the President of the American Bar Association, a Mr. Satterfield who resides in Mississippi, to make members of this group available for defense of Freedom Riders in Jackson.

Requirements for use of the name 'CORE' by groups or individuals was discussed by the Committee, and it was suggested that authorization for same should come from the National Office. Also that once such permission is granted, the group requesting same should be required to affiliate within a specified time. Decision on this matter was left for further consideration by members of the Committee.

NAC members, Rudy Lombard and Alan Gartner volunteered their services to work on By-laws for the organization.

The Committee adopted a motion to pay expenses of out of town members who attend meetings. It also set the fourth Friday of each month as the regular meeting date of the National Action Committee.

BRC

National Action Committee Meeting, November 27, 1961
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row; New York 38, New York

MINUTES

Present: Farmer, Rich, Carey, Lombard, Rachlin, Peck, Gartner, Hill.
Invited Observers: Teer, Larkins.

Absent: Roberts, McCummings, Coleman, Carter.

UNION CONTRACT FOR 1961-62: The new contract was unanimously approved by the Action Committee. The contract establishes clerical job classifications for the first time.

CHICAGO CORE CHAPTERS: Field Director, Gordon Carey, reported on a conflict between two CORE groups in Chicago - the affiliated group and a newly formed Southside group which is an outgrowth of the old Emergency Relief Committee formed originally to aid Haywood and Fayette Counties during the voter registration crisis. It was agreed that two groups here, operating as entirely separate entities, would of necessity find some duplication of effort both geographically and politically. National Director, James Farmer, who will visit Chicago the weekend of December 8, 9, 10, was authorized to attempt to negotiate a merger of the two groups within the principles of CORE.

ROUTE #40: On November 8, 1961, CORE's National Office was notified that forty-seven restaurants along Route 40 had agreed to desegregate by November 22. Consultation followed and a decision was made to postpone the planned Freedom Ride along this route on November 11 until after the desegregation date. The Field Director sent wires to those groups and individuals who planned to participate in the Route 40 project, asking that they join the picketing and sit-ins in Baltimore restaurants; this was done and the Baltimore campaign has been in progress since November 11. An outgrowth of the campaign against restaurant segregation in this area is a student steering committee composed of college students of the surrounding community who will continue to wage the campaign and expand it to other areas.

National and Baltimore CORE will continue its work with these students, aiding financially, in organizing workshops, providing lawyers when necessary, etc.

Tests, which are still inconclusive, show that forty restaurants along Route 40 have desegregated, while twenty-four refuse to serve Negroes. The Committee agreed that further work must be done in coordinating the groups active in this project, to avoid some of the difficulties which have arisen during past weeks.

A motion was adopted to notify the Maryland Commission of these restaurants which had agreed to desegregate and have not done so and advise the Commission that CORE will conduct a Freedom Ride against discriminatory restaurants on December 16. The press will also be notified of this Ride. A check will be made first with the restaurants involved to determine if they plan to continue to operate on a segregated basis.

ICC RULING: Approximately 200 tests have been made in some twenty-six states to determine if the ruling is being adhered to. The border states of Kentucky, North Carolina and West Virginia are almost completely desegregated, as far as tests have gone. Partially desegregated are Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida and South Carolina. Louisiana and Mississippi, with some exceptions, still operate largely on a segregated basis. Many tactics to discourage integration of facilities are being tried: Overcharging, closing facilities, hostility, etc. In some cases, there is no identification of bus drivers.

The Committee adopted a motion by the Field Director that CORE push for immediate negotiations with the carriers, particularly Greyhound which so

far has made no reply to repeated requests for a meeting. Also to request further negotiations with the Department of Justice and the ICC, and to work out a project which would dramatize non-compliance with the ruling, possibly using celebrities or other well-known personalities. Two dates are being considered -- Emancipation Day (Jan. 1st) or Lincoln's birthday.

The possibility of cooperation between local metropolitan CORE groups on their different projects, particularly the housing area, was discussed, and it was agreed that such cooperation could be advantageous. Field Secretary, Norman Hill, was asked to explore the possibility of meeting with CORE groups in the New York area with this idea in mind.

FIELD REPORT: Field Secretary, Henry Thomas, is currently working in Alabama with students at Tuskegee Institute, and in Mobile, Huntsville and Birmingham. Elton Cox has formed new CORE Chapters in Baton Rouge and Lake Charles, Louisiana and is now in North Carolina. Ed Blankenheim is working with the Memphis CORE group; Richard Haley is in Florida working with Tallahassee and St. Petersburg Chapters, Tom Gaither is in Jackson, Mississippi and Jim McCain is stationed in South Carolina. Genevieve Hughes is on the West Coast and has organized chapters in Denver and Seattle as well as working with other coast groups in California and Arizona. Regional Representative, Dave Dennis, is working temporarily as a Field Secretary in Louisiana.

REGIONAL OFFICES: A motion was adopted to establish regional offices of CORE on the West Coast, in St. Louis and New Orleans at the earliest possible time.

FINANCIAL: The checking account shows a balance of $31,000.00; the reserve

account totals $10,000.00, and bills total $3,000.00. There is an additional $11,000.00 available for bond. The Eleanor Roosevelt luncheon brought in between $11,000.00 and $12,000.00. The next direct mail appeal, going out within a few weeks, will be signed by Leontyne Price. Marvin Rich pointed out that December and January are usually bad months for finances.

FILM: Negotiations with Hemisphere Reports proved fruitless as far as reducing their asking price of $35,000.00 to produce this film. The Committee felt that this was entirely too high and began exploration of other sources. A team of three experts will now do the film, at cost, which will run between six and eight thousand dollars. It should be ready for distribution by January 15, 1962. Atlantic Records will do a long-playing record of Freedom Ride songs, free to CORE, to be offered for sale in conjunction with the film showings. Discussions are still in progress with M. A. Lockhart, who is being considered to promote the film, and it has been made clear that CORE must have complete jurisdiction over all editorial matter in this connection and that the promotion must be done so that the organization will reap as much profit as is possible, financially, educationally and publicity-wise. The National Action Committee accepted, with profound thanks, the offer of the Social Action Committee of the A.M.E. Church to produce the film on the Freedom Rides. We are pleased that Dr. James' offer provides for consultation with CORE in the production. CORE will also be responsible for widespread distribution of the proposed film.

HENRY HODGE MEMORANDUM: James Farmer read to the Action Committee a memorandum which he had received from Henry Hodge urging that the NAC consider moves to effect a closer liason between the Committee and local CORE Chapters,

make more appointments to the Committee outside of the New York area, and that careful planning as to matters of expense, jailings, publicity, etc. be done on all future CORE projects. The Committee recognizes the validity of many of Mr. Hodge's recommendations.

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING: The dates of February 10 and 11, 1962 were set by the Action Committee for this meeting. Hosts will be Cincinnati CORE and Covington, Kentucky CORE.

The next National Action Committee meeting was set for December 15, at which time the Committee will explore the possibility of a retreat where members may address themselves to the business of CORE policy and program and get away from administrative detail.

JRC

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National Action Committee Meeting; Dec. 15, 1961
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row; New York 38, New York

M I N U T E S

Present: Farmer, Carter, Gartner, Peck, Lombard, Rachlin, Carey, Rich.
Invited Observers: Teer

FILM ON FREEDOM RIDES: Attorney Carl Rachlin reported to the Committee on negotiations for the production and distribution of the film, in accordance with the regulations of the New York State Board of Charities. CORE will have the film produced. It will then license M. A. Lockhart, and lease the film to him for exhibition. Mr Rachlin explained all clauses of the contract with Mr. Lockhart to the Committee, and it was adopted with certain amendments.

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA: On December 14th twenty-three CORE members were arrested in Baton Rouge for picketing department stores in protest of their hiring policies, and for picketing segregated lunch counters. The following day 4000 demonstrators, mostly students from Southern University, marched to the Court House in Baton Rouge to protest the jailings. Among those in jail are Ronnie Moore, Chairman of Baton Rouge CORE, Jerome Smith, Chairman of New Orleans CORE along with almost half of the New Orleans CORE members, and CORE Field Secretaries, Reverend B. Elton Cox and Dave Dennis. Bail has been set at $1500.00 but so far no one has requested same. Telegrams have gone out to all CORE groups asking that they wire President Kennedy protesting the situation in Baton Rouge.

ALBANY, GEORGIA: Jim Farmer received a wire from the Albany Movement stating that they are interested in securing the cooperation of CORE in the present fight. CORE Field Secretary, Richard Haley, was sent there to serve in whatever way feasible. Negotiations between the Albany

Movement and local authorities center around three demands by the Movement: (1) Dismissal of charges against arrested persons. (2) Immediate desegregation of local bus and railway terminal facilities. (3) Establishment of a biracial council in Albany. Dr. W. G. Anderson, Chairman of the Albany Movement, has promised to keep in constant touch with CORE's National Office and inform us of any way in which we can be helpful.

ROUTE 40: CORE's Freedom Ride against restaurants along U. S. Highway #40 which refuse to desegregate will take place as scheduled, on December 16th. Many participants from the northern end of the route will meet at CORE National Headquarters at 8 AM the morning of the 16th. The Ride, from the Delaware Bridge to Baltimore, will involve over 700 people from CORE groups throughout the East. Those comingfrom the northern end have been organized by Norman Hill and those from the south by Ed Blankenheim.

(NOTE: There were close to 800 participants on the Ride. Eleven of the 38 restaurants visited served consistently throughout the day.)

STAFF: More field staff members are badly needed and a recommendation to the Committee was that Dave Dennis, already serving on a temporary basis, and Jerome Smith be added as permanent employees. The recommendation was approved.

CORE Vice Chairman, Rudy Lombard, recommended an increase in salary for the National Director of $1000.00 annually, to be effective on the anniversary date of his employment, February 1, 1962. The motion was seconded by Leroy Carter and adopted by the Committee.

CHICAGO: Jim Farmer reported on his meeting with the two groups in

Chicago. His first suggestion, that they merge, was rejected. His second, that Southside CORE disband and allow its members who so desired to join Chicago CORE, was accepted. A majority of the members of former Southside CORE are joining Chicago CORE.

PUBLICATIONS: Marvin Rich reported that CORE's booklet, "Cracking The Color Line",is being revised to include the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides, and that some printed matter will be done on the Route 40 project.

FIELD STAFF: Gordon Carey reported that Field Secretary, Henry Thomas, is working on development of several CORE groups in Alabama. None of the major civil rights organizations are currently active in this state. Thomas has been authorized to establish a temporary office and phone service in Birmingham.

ICC:On December 14th Jim Farmer, Carl Rachlin and Gordon Carey kept an appointment with the Department of Justice and ICC in Washington and gave a report on interference with interstate travel as determined by CORE test teams. The following day FBI agents visited the CORE office to secure additional data. ICC representatives state that they are making every attempt to enforce its ruling, but that complaints must first be filed with their district offices. They stated, too, that lack of sufficient personnel hampered their operation in many areas.

The National Action Committee adopted a motion to invite Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth to serve as a member of the National Advisory Committee. It also adopted a motion to ask Mr. Joe Willen and Mrs. Katrina McCormick Barnes to serve as members of the Advisory Committee.

The next National Action Committee meeting will be on January 26.

GRC

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

MINUTES - National Action Committee
January 26, 1962

Present: Oldham, Farmer, Rich, Carey, Peck, Coleman, McCain, Carter, Gartner Rachlin, McCummings. Invited Observers: Teer and Haley.

Office Procedures Survey: Mr. Farmer reported on a survey of the National Office by the firm of Apfel and Englander for the purpose of promoting greater efficiency in staff operations. He presented the recommendations for changes in clerical procedure to the NAC as well as a suggested office layout.

Staff Reorganization: Among the recommendations of the efficiency experts were: Bookkeeping would be set up as a separate department. Direct mail and special fundraising should be combined under one head. Mr. Farmer asked the Committee for permission to place these functions under Community Relations headed by Marvin Rich with two assistants, on a short-term basis. Fund-raising would ultimately become a separate department.

The Field Director, pointing out that the functions of this department have increased to the point of becoming unwiedly, suggested that it be divided into (a) Department of Organization, and (b) Program and Training. Accordingly, Mr. Farmer asked the Action Committee's permission to name Jim McCain as head of the Department of Organization. Gordon Carey would head the Department of Program and Training. (Department Assistants) Fredricka Teer will serve as assistant to Jim McCain and Norman Hill as assistant to Gordon Carey. (Functions) The Program and Training Department will handle Action Institutes, development of Direct Action Projects, and lend aid to CORE chapters in development of such projects locally. The Organization Department will work directly with CORE Field personnel, and through its field staff direct organizing and development of CORE chapters and service chapters in all possible areas of their operations.

The Community Relations Department, following staff reorganization, would combine public relations and fundraising. Jim Peck will devote more time to public relations; Bill Larkins will become assistant on fundraising.

Mr. Farmer reported that the present office manager, Cynthia Homire, has told him that the increase in staff, etc. now places more demands upon her time than she is able to give. Authorization was granted to hire a new office manager. Miss Homire will remain with the organization in another capacity.

The Action Committee was asked by the National Director to authorize hiring of an assistant for himself to assume some of the mounting load of this job. His duties would include trouble shooting, speaking engagements, organizational meetings, much of the desk work which must be handled, and setting up Council meetings and conventions. Permission to name such a person was given, and Richard Haley was named for this position.

The Committee discussed in detail the possible effect on the Field staff of moving Haley and McCain into the National Office, and it was pointed out that much of their activity would still be in the Field. Too, with additional people to assume some of the load of the National Office, all of the executive staff would be able to get into the Field more often.

A recommendation to the Committee was that Frank Robinson of Sumter, South Carolina be hired as a Field Secretary. Jim McCain, who has worked extensively with Mr. Robinson in Sumter and Dr. Frederick C. James feel that he would be excellent for the job, and the Committee approved the recommendation.

The consensus of the NAC was that the proposed changes were not only advisable, but necessary. Motion to adopt was made by Leroy Carter, - seconded by Laverne McCummings and unanimously accepted by the Committee, and will go into effect as of February 1st. Involved are three shifts of present office personnel and two additions to the staff.

Richard Haley reported to the Committee on Huntsville, Alabama and requested permission to return to this city and engage in more direct action which may lead to jail. He requested that he be allowed to remain in jail for the period of his sentence, feeling that this is necessary to gain needed support in the community if the CORE program is to succeed.

National Chairman, Charles Oldham, discussed with the Committee a re-evaluation of CORE policy with regard to jail and bail, pointing out the necessity of returning to the "going to jail and serving sentence" philosophy of the organization, to preserve its character.

Julius Hobson Memo: Mr. Hobson's memo presented an evaluation of the Route 40 project and indicated some conflicts between Julius Hobson and members of the Field staff in the direction of this project. Mr. Farmer read the entire memo to the Committee and his reply to Mr. Hobson. The issue seemed to hinge on the responsibilities and authorities of regional officers vis a vis the Field staff assigned to a project, and on the handling of press releases on national projects. The Committee discussed at length the position of the Regional Officer in a National CORE project, and the implications of the errors made in implementing the Route 40 project, and it was agreed that a clarification of the duties of the Regional Officer in such circumstances was needed. It was further agreed that National and Regional CORE projects come under the jurisdiction of the National Office. National Chairman, Charles Oldham, suggested that the position and duties of the Regional Officer be spelled out by the National Council, February 10-11, in Cincinnati, Ohio. It was further suggested that Mr. Oldham bring to the Council a statement of policy on the relationship of National Projects to the National Office.

The Committee adopted a motion that the Community Relations Director send a memo to all CORE chapters on the importance of correct handling of press releases. All press releases on National Projects must be cleared with the National Office.

Community Relations Report: Marvin Rich reported that he had viewed the CORE Freedom Ride film and feels that it is well done and will be a credit to the organization. Twenty-two premieres have been set for February 12, most headed by CORE groups. The film will be shown at the National Council meeting in Cincinnati. Available at the film showings will be CORE literature and Jim Peck's book, Freedom Ride.

The Community Relations Director asked the NAC for permission to make tapes available for radio stations. This was unanimously granted.

Fund-Raising: CORE's income since the beginning of the fiscal year was $460,000. The organization borrowed $90,000. Total expenses, including bond, amount to $565,000. Total cash on hand amounts to $26,000. Bills amount to $34,000. A contribution of $5,000. was received today from the United Auto Workers. A cocktail party with Father Robert L. Pierson as guest of honor on February 7th

is expected to bring additional funds. Other smaller fundraising events are planned in the near future.

Marvin Rich reported that Jim Peck's book on the Freedom Rides is scheduled for publication February 9th. National CORE will receive 50% of the sale price on all books which it sells.

Provisional Program Report: Gordon Carey reported to the Committee that a package would be presented to the National Council for its approval which would - (1) Suggest a continuation of the Freedom Rides to wipe out discrimination in interstate travel facilities. (2) Extend the Route 40 project into other states. (3) Seek to change the image of the non-white in America through television, radio and the theater. (4) Seek improvement in retail hiring. (5) Seek improvement in airline flight crew hiring. (6) Possible library read-ins. (7) Continue activity against segregation in YMCA's. (8) Seek negotiations with national chain stores. (9) Housing programs. (10) Voter registration activity. (11) Desegregation of schools. 12. Continue lunch counter project.(13) Home cooperative industries in Haywood County.

Organization Plans: Jim McCain gave a report on suggestions which he has drawn up to aid the Field staff in more effectively and efficiently carrying out its program. The suggestions include visits to groups to acquiant them with organizational procedure, giving suggestions for local activity and advising them of assistance they may expect from the National Office.

Staff: (Provisionals to Permanents) - Field Director, Gordon Carey, made a motion that Henry Thomas and Elton Cox be made permanent members of the Field Staff, and this motion was adopted by the Committee. He reported to the Committee that Edward Blankenheim had tendered an oral resignation for family reasons, and at the same time asked the organization to consider rehiring him at a future date. The oral resignation was to be followed with a letter formalizing the matter; this letter has not been received to date and the Committee accepted the oral resignation.

(New Staff) - In addition to Frank Robinson, the Committee was asked to approve the hiring of Mary Hamilton as a Field Secretary. Miss Hamilton, a Freedom Rider from California, has for the past few months been working in the National Office on a temporary basis and was recommended on the basis of her dedication to the CORE program and her organizational abilities. The Committee so authorized.

Chapter Affiliations: Gordon Carey recommended affiliation of eleven new chapters: Seattle, Washington; New Haven, Connecticut; San Francisco, California; Denver, Colorado; Alexandria, Virginia; New York University; Bergen County, New Jersey; High Point, North Carolina; Tuskegee, Alabama; Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Some of these still have to complete requirements and the recommendation was on the basis that this is done by the time of the Council meeting. Motion was made and adopted for affiliation of these chapters on the basis recommended.

The matter of affiliation of a Dayton, Ohio CORE group was again discussed, and the Committee felt that another visit by a CORE Field Secretary was needed. This was approved and the findings will be brought to the National Council for its decision.

Affiliation of a Detroit Youth CORE group was brought to the Committee. The affiliation was rejected. A letter from Anna Holden concerning this group was read to the Committee as well as correspondence between the President of the group and Field Director, Gordon Carey.

A letter received from National Secretary, Anna Holden, was read to the Committee, together with Marvin Rich's reply which attempted to clarify questions raised by Miss Holden. Among these was the matter of the salary of the National Director. The minutes of December 15th stated that Jim Farmer had been granted an increase in salary of $1000.00 annually, which means that Mr. Farmer will receive $1000.00 additional, over a year's period - not that he will receive $1000.00 additional <u>each year</u>. Miss Holden's letter made additional recommendations for a re-evaluation of the matter of serving jail sentences. This was in agreement with statments made earlier by National Chairman, Charles Oldham, and approved by the Committee. Another issue was the matter of individuals raising money in the name of CORE. Marvin Rich pointed out that it is most difficult if not impossible to control this. While some of the Freedom Riders have raised their own bond money in this manner, there is no doubt that in some cases such appeals to the public have been made unscrupulously. We have publicly denounced such unscrupulous appeals when they have come to our attention.

Jim Farmer presented to the Committee a request received from Mr. Henry L. Gerner, currently working on his doctorate at the Pacific School of Religion, to do a motivational study on the Freedom Riders. Based on the committment that all information will be held in strict professional confidence, such a study was authorized. The Committee also authorized the National Director to prepare a covering letter which will be sent with Mr. Gerner's questionnaire to each Freedom Rider contacted. Another stipulation in the authorization of the study is that names of individuals will not appear in any published material.

<u>Council Meeting</u>: A third of the CORE Chapters have already advised that they will send representatives to the meeting in Cincinnati, February 10-11. Fredricka Teer presented a proposed agenda, which will be sent to all chapters after revisions.

<u>Office Space</u>: Mr. Farmer advised the Committee that additional office space is badly needed and requested permission to negotiate for such space in CORE's present quarters. Permission was granted.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row; New York 38, New York

Minutes - National Action Committee
February 23, 1962

Film: The Freedom Ride film was premiered on February 12 in twenty cities and from all reports has been well received. Income varies, depending on the effectiveness of the promotion in each city. Future prospects seem good. An immediate promotion through colleges is desired.

Dr. William Stuart Nelson's address to the members of the National Council on February 11 was so enthusiastically received that it will be reprinted for distribution to local groups. The cost of this is estimated at less than $200.00.

Financial: Unpaid bills amount to $25,256.00. A short term $10,000.00 note is due next week. This loan has been extended indefinitely to provide bail bond for Freedom Riders. The checking account has a balance of $5100.00. The cocktail party for Father Robert L. Pierson has brought in better than $11,000.00. Freedom Rider trials, costing some $40,000.00, will be resumed in March. Marvin Rich stated that he would be calling upon the trade unions for financial aid during the next few weeks. He also advised the Committee that two fund appeals are planned. One, signed by Jackie Robinson, will go to outside lists totaling 250,000 persons. Another, signed by James Farmer, will go to the CORE membership of 40,000. $9,400.00 in postage is needed for these mailings. The Brotherhood Appeal is expected to bring in the operating cash for the next few months, but the month of March will be a tight one financially.

Department of Organization: To facilitate field staff coverage, Jim McCain submitted a proposed plan, breaking the country into regions of established and potential CORE chapters. A field secretary would be assigned to each region. In addition, four members of the field staff would be utilized in roving field secretary positions to meet urgencies and emergencies in different areas. He pointed out that this plan is designed only to cover distribution of field staff, determined by the needs of CORE groups. Mr. McCain pointed out further that limited field staff would continue to have its effect on organizing and servicing local groups.

Availability of field staff to implement Program Department projects would be worked out between the Program Director and the Director of Organization. It was also suggested that perhaps more of the field staff should be stationed outside of the Eastern and Northern areas and put into Southern areas where it is more difficult to develop strong CORE groups.

Affiliations: Grand Rapids, Michigan CORE was recommended for affiliation by Henry Thomas and Anna Holden, both of whom visited the group. Long Island University, New York CORE has been visited by Norman Hill and Mary Hamilton who recommended affiliation. Richard Haley worked with the Dayton, Ohio group in resolving its major obstacles and, after helping to revise its constitution, recommended its affiliation. All three were affiliated by the National Action Committee in keeping with these recommendations.

Field Staff: Marvin Robinson of St. Louis and Louisiana, and Don Wendell of Chicago were presented to the Committee for consideration for addition to the Field Staff. Robinson worked previously with the organization and has expressed a desire to return to the Staff. Wendell is employed with the ILGWU in Chicago and is Executive Coordinator of Chicago CORE. Mr. Farmer was authorized to enter into negotiations with Wendell and Robinson as possible additions to the Staff.

Program Department: Proposed CORE activity against discriminatory practices in the retail chain stores, theatre and television, and airlines was referred to the National Action Committee by the National Council for implementation. The Committee asked the Program Director to work out details for a project in each of these areas. The Program Director was requested to bring specific plans for the Freedom Highways project to the March NAC meeting with the suggestion that negotiations with specified restaurants along the proposed routes might begin almost immediately. A May starting date for the Freedom Highways project was suggested so that students and those on summer vacation would be able to participate.

The report of the Committee on Voter Registration was also referred to the National Action Committee by the National Council for its action. The Committee heard a report from Jim McCain on voter registration activity in South Carolina which included training in filling out necessary forms, urging Negroes to go in mass and stand in line for registration, and a planned mass stand-in in South Carolina in March, 1962. Mr. McCain was asked to prepare an article for the CORElator giving a statement of CORE policy on voter registration. The Program Director was asked to work with the Organization Director on recommendations for further implementation of voter registration activity among CORE groups.

The Action Committee recommended CORE's continued cooperation with the National Sharecroppers' Fund in training residents of Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tennessee in applying for technical assistance and securing of government loans and other measures to alleviate their plight.

The NAC approved investigation by the Program and Community Relations Departments, in cooperation with local chapters, of the problem of discrimination by labor, management and government in employment in the skilled trades with a view toward the development of a program and educational guide for use by the National office and local chapters.

1962 Convention Site: The Committee feels that the Convention should be held in a Southern community and requested that the National Director investigate possibilities and bring recommendations to the next meeting.

A letter from four members of New York CORE informing the NAC of their resignations from the chapter was read. The NAC took note of the matter and referred it to the Organization Director with the request that he offer all possible assistance in resolving any difficulties faced by this CORE chapter.

The next meeting of the National Action Committee is scheduled for March 23.

February 26, 1962

Dear Charlie:

The contents of the letter from Rina Garst were brought to the attention of the National Action Committee at its February 23rd meeting. The letter was accepted as information by the Committee; the signees are within their jurisdictional rights to withdraw, and it was considered in the best interest of all concerned that the National Office not become involved in what is an internal matter of the New York CORE Chapter. Jim McCain had meet with the signers of the letter and had been informed that they felt that their withdrawal was the only solution. Formation of a new CORE group would follow the usual procedure.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/cc
encl.

Mr. Charles Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis, Mo.

Convention folder

April 19, 1962

Miss Anna Holden
502 E. Kingsley
Apartment 4
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Anna:

I wonder if we may have the Council minutes so that we may get straightened away for the Convention? I know how busy you are and hate to rush you, but I think there are things we should be doing as a result of the Council and it is hard to remember everything!

Thanks!

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

Jfcc

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Minutes -- NAC Meeting

Congress of Racial Equality

March 23, 1962

Present: Farmer, Rich, Carey, Moore, Lombard, Peck, Carter, Gartner, Hughes.
Invited Observers: Larkins, Hill

Vice Chairman, Rudy Lombard, presided at this meeting, which opened with a report from National Director, Jim Farmer, on wires received from Don Wendell and Marvin Robinson accepting field secretary positions with National CORE. Wendell has been added to the staff and is presently working in Louisville, Kentucky while Marvin Robinson will begin on April 1.

Financial: Treasurer, A. D. Moore, prefaced his report with a statement of concern over the organization's precarious financial position and heavy obligations. Total income for the fiscal year beginning June 1, 1962 is $462,703.29, representing direct mail, special fund-raising, holiday cards, contributions from churches, unions, fraternal organizations and CORE Chapters. Disbursements total over $400.000.00. However, the bulk of the balance (approximately $62,000.00) is tied up in Jackson, Mississippi in bail bonds. Although some of the money will be returned, it will be more than offset by continuing court costs and expenses directly related to these cases. In addition, $85,500.00 has been loaned for Jackson bail. Losses on these accounts must be made up almost in their entirety by CORE.

Community Relations: 38,220 appeals to the CORE list have brought responses from 4,347 in the past three weeks with an average contribution of $9.03. This is excellent. It is still too early to predict responses from the outside Brotherhood Appeal. Several other fund-raising affairs are expected to bring in additional cash.

The Freedom Ride film is not doing too well financially. Film showings through churches and schools look hopeful. It was suggested that groups who sponsor the film might look into the possibility of combining the showing with another attraction, such as a dinner or folk sing. This has been done on a few occasions and has proved very successful.

While not looking upon the film as a money-making venture, the organization definitely expects it to pay for itself.

Marvin Rich presented the new CORE literature list to the NAC. He reported that a booklet on the Baton Rouge story is planned, as well as a photo essay on Voter Registration. Jim Peck's book is going well to the CORE mailing list.

Committee of Inquiry: CORE is initiating a "Committee of Inquiry into the administration of justice in the freedom struggle." Eleanor Roosevelt has agreed to be honorary chairman of this committee and to invite others to participate. Among those who have agreed are: Judge Justine Polier, Roger Baldwin, James Wechsler, Norman Thomas and Gardner Taylor. This committee will hear testimony on police and judicial harrassment of civil rights leaders throughout the South and is expected to make recommendations to end this harrassment. This will involve other civil rights organizations as well as CORE.

National Projects: Program Director, Gordon Carey, brought to the Committee a written report on the proposed Freedom Highways project, as requested at the February 23rd meeting. This report was accepted by the NAC and Mr. Carey was asked to proceed on the details of the project.

1962 Convention: Assistant to the National Director, Richard Haley, submitted a list of possible Convention sites with pertinent information on each city. They are Kansas City, Mo., Nashville, Tenn., Miama, Fla., and Atlanta, Ga. A straw vote of Committee members present placed Kansas City in first place followed by Nashville and Miami. It was suggested that all members of the Action Committee should be polled for their preferences and Mr. Haley was asked to follow through with a letter to each. Suggested dates for the Convention are June 21-24 or June 28-July 1. Mr. Haley's letter to absent members would also ask their date preference.

CORE's 1962 Institutes - Action, Housing, and Employment, were briefly discussed. The Program Department is working out details, including dates and sites.

Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants: Mr. Farmer read a letter from this Committee requesting CORE support for the Monroe defendants. Specificlly, the request was for financial aid and a letter of support for use in fund-raising. The NAC authorized Mr. Farmer to reply to this letter stating that because of the organization's financial difficulties it would be unable to comply with the requests, but that the organization intends to do all that it possibly can to see that the defendants are not left without their constitutional rights of equal justice under the law, nor does it intend to see John Lowry or any of the other defendants serve sentences without exhausting appeals machinery and every other legitimate avenue of relief. CORE will try to contact other appropriate organizations for discussions on the Monroe situation in the event appeals become necessary.

American Committee On Africa request: ACOA's Africa Freedom Day Rally will be held April 15. Jim Farmer submitted a request from the Executive Director of this organization that CORE help in publicizing the rally among its chapters in the metropolitan area, and that ACOA be allowed to use CORE's mailing list to send announcements to those persons living in the area. The NAC adopted a motion to grant the first request but to deny the second.

Office Space: The Committee was advised of terms of a new lease covering additional office space. Said lease will be screened by CORE's attorney before final approval. The National Director was authorized to spend up to $12,500 per year for total office space.

WALTER BERGMAN Testimonial Dinner: CORE sent a $250.00 contribution to the March 16 testimonial dinner for Walter Bergman in Detroit, together with a wire stating that the organization will continue to give all possible assistance to the Bergmans. As of this date, Walter Bergman has been re-hospitalized. A motion was adopted to request all CORE Chapters to send an expression of sympathy to Mrs. Bergman together with financial support wherever possible. The letter to chapters will go out over Jim Peck's signature.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: Jim Farmer reported on discussions with some members of SNCC regarding closer cooperation of the groups in some of their activities. The Committee instructed Mr. Farmer to proceed with further exploration of possible cooperation.

Affiliation of Syracuse CORE: Rudy Lombard asked Alan Gartner to chair this part of the meeting while he spoke for affiliation of the Syracuse group. He reported on activities of the group in housing, particularly in re-location resulting from the urban renewal program, and its work against discrimination in housing for students. Jim Farmer reported that he had recently visited Syracuse and was favorably impressed with the group. The NAC looked favorably upon the application and will act upon it at a future meeting when the Director of Organization is present.

Voter Registration: The Taconic Foundation is making certain funds available for work in voter registration. Participating organizations are CORE, NAACP, SCLC, SNCC and the Urban League. CORE's original request was for $64,000.00 to be used for its work in this area. However, since the initial proposals were submitted, the grant has been set at $125,000.00 per year for two years, total funds to be spent by all participating organizations. In view of this, CORE will present a modified request before the deadline of March 30th.

Marvin Rich brought to the attention of the NAC the fact that postal rates will in all probability be raised very shortly and that this raise will cost CORE from $12,000.00 to $15,000.00 per year over present mailing cost, unless the organization is able to obtain a nonprofit status.

Visitors to this meeting of the NAC were Baton Rouge CORE Vice Chairman, Weldon Rougeau, recently released from jail in that city, and CORE Field Secretary, Jerome Smith.

JRL

Do not Remove
Only Copy

~~May 15, 1962~~

National Action Committee, Minutes of April 27, 1962
The Community Church, New York City

Present: James T. McCain, James Peck, Leverne McCummings, Alan Gartner, Richard Haley, Rudolph Lombard, Carl Rachlin and Marvin Rich.

Visitors: Mary Hamilton, Louis Smith, J. W. Franklin and Joan Giarusso

Tax Exemption - Carl Rachlin reported on plans to set up a tax-exempt corporation to perform certain functions now performed by CORE. It appears that this corporation would not be able to secure tax exemption for three years. The National Action Committee voted to proceed toward a definite conclusion on this matter.

Tom Roberts has resigned as a member of the National Action Committee since he will be in Africa for the next two years. The National Action Committee voted to thank him for his service and to accept his resignation with regret.

The National Convention will be held in Miami, Florida, from June 28th through July 1st. The National Action Committee voted to poll chapters on items for the agenda as soon as possible. They also decided to invite observers from other civil rights organizations.

Carl Rachlin recommended that we place the firm of Collins, Douglas and Elie on retainer at $250.00 per month as of May 1st for a period of one year. The firm has handled much of our legal work in Louisiana and Mississippi. This was done with the concurrence of Charles Oldham, our National Chairman.

A Committee was established to investigate the general situation with regard to remuneration for CORE legal counsel and report to the next meeting. Alan Gartner, Leverne McCummings and Rudy Lombard are the Committee.

In view of the absence, because of illness, of Program Director Carey, and the absence, to represent CORE at the SNCC Convention in Atlanta, of Norman Hill, the National Action Committee requested a report by mail on the Freedom Highways project.

The National Action Committee asked James T. McCain to prepare an analysis of chapter structure and its relation to voting rights at the convention. This in response to the request from Chicago at the Cincinnati Council meeting. The National Action Committee also asked the Organization Department to prepare a revised statement of the duties of the Field Secretaries. After much discussion, Gartner was asked to draft a constitutional amendment on disaffiliation.

The affiliation of Syracuse CORE was approved upon the recommendation of James Farmer and James T. McCain. Syracuse CORE has fulfilled all of the requirements for affiliation.

James McCain reported that Genevieve Hughes is now in San Francisco, Eugene Tournour is in St. Louis, Mary Hamilton will leave for Ohio and Tennessee next week, Henry Thomas is now working in Louisville and will begin work with the Program Department on Freedom Highways on May 14th, Don Wendell is in New York City, Rev. B. Elton Cox is in North Carolina, Frank Robinson is in South Carolina, Marvin Robinson is in New Orleans, Dave Dennis is in Baton Rouge, Tom Gaither is in Jackson, Mississippi, Jerome Smith has been in Chicago but is now ill and is in New Orleans. Fredricka Teer is currently in Baltimore.

Alan Gartner commended the Director of Organization for the fulness of his report and asked for similar reports in the future.

Marvin Rich reported that on August 14, 1961, we had submitted a request to the Voter Education Project for funds for our activities in the project. On April 10th, we modified the request to meet certain conditions established by the Voter Education Project. We have not yet received any funds for Voter Education in spite of the public announcement at the end of March. It is hoped that we will receive the funds requested some time during the first week in May. CORE has requested $73,000 for use primarily in South Carolina and Louisiana. It was pointed out that persons acting in the Voter Registration campaign with foundation funds may not engage in direct action activities. This is one of the reasons why CORE has restricted its application to very limited areas in the south.

The Committee of Inquiry is scheduled for May 25th-26th, in Washington, D. C. A list of distinguished citizens has joined Eleanor Roosevelt on the Committee. A more detailed memorandum has already been sent out to the CORE groups on the Committee.

Specail Fund Raising: Cornell University is sponsoring a benefit for CORE with Joan Baez on May 5th. Dick Gregory will appear for CORE in the Bay area some time after May 21st. Other plans are still tentative.

Financial Report - We have raised almost $600,000 so far this fiscal year. In addition we have borrowed $100,000 for bond. However, we have spent more than we have raised. We have $1,170.00 in the operating account, and unpaid bills of $25,549. The appeal to our own list has now been out for two months. We have received an average contribution of $9.02, and a total of over $56,500.00. We will send out another appeal late in May.

The financial situation is serious and will continue to be so. There is no possibility of significant improvement until late Fall.

The National Action Committee asked for a report from Marvin Rich for the next meeting with regard to the distribution of the Freedom Ride film so that the Action Committee will be able to determine whether or not we should exercise our option for termination of services of the distributor.

The National Action Committee minutes of February 23rd were corrected in regard to the letter of complaint from four members of New York CORE. This was not a letter of resignation and in any case the National Action Committee is not empowered to act upon the resignation of members of local groups.

May 4, 1962

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Present: James T. McCain, James Peck, Leverne McCummings, Alan Gartner, Richard Haley, Rudolph Lombard, Carl Rachlin and Marvin Rich.

Visitors: Mary Hamilton, Louis Smith, J. W. Franklin and Joan Giarusso Don WENDELL

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ATTENDANCE

NATIONAL CORE CONVENTION

Hampton House - Sir John Motel
Miami, Florida
June 28-July 1, 1962

DELEGATES

Calif., Berkeley
Inge Powell
John Taylor

Calif., Los Angeles
Woodrow Coleman
Dede Martin
Sam Cualmer
Joe McKnight

Calif., Santa Monica
Pual T. Flint

District of Columbia
Ramsley Atkinson

Florida, Miami
Gloria Gilliom
Hazle Crawford
Ruth Miles
Myrle Hepburn
Charles Siegel

Ill., Chicago
Bruce Rappaport
Ruth Ford
William Ford

Ill., East St. Louis
Homer Randolph
Joe Ann Moss
Ella Smith

Ky., Lexington
Julia E. Lewis

Ky., Louisville
K. D. Kerr

La., Baton Rouge
William Bradford
Joe Louis Smith
John A. Sams
Sylvia Copper
Pat Nelson

La., New Orleans
Frank Nelson
Shirly Thompson
Marthelo Swarz
Don Hubbard
Oretha Castle

Mass., Boston
Alan Gartner

Mich., Detroit
Ralph Rosenfeld

Mo., St. Louis
Herman Thompson
Arthur Smith
Vera Williams
Bliso Malone
Emma Malone
Loretta Hall (Alt.)

Mo., St. Louis County
Janice Contjean
Ruth Mason
Doris Hollis
Ralph Washington
Elmer McCraty

N.J., Bergen County
Shirly Lacy

N.J., Newark-Essex
Patricia Curvin
Robert Curvin

N.Y., Brooklyn
Oliver Leeds
Kurt Flascher
Ben Brown
Rose Reverly
Barbara Wallace

N.Y., CCNY
Robert Atkins
Paul Gilvert

N.Y., Long Island
Lincoln D. Lynch
Mark Dodson
Jo Dodson
Judy Lewis

N.Y., NYU
David Moswitz
Joel Freedman

Ohio, Cincinnati
Martha Dewberry

Ohio, Columbus
Martha Dillard
Bennie Luchion

Ohio, Dayton
W. S. McIntosh
Charline B. McIntosh

Penna., Philadelphia
Louis Smith
Eveline Smith
Polly Byrd
Gilbert Cantor
Lillian Mirmack

Memo from

CLORA COLEMAN

Staff Meeting
5/15/62

Saturdays — Staff Person in Office
— Take Calls at Home
Phone Answering Service

National Convention —
Discussion of Agenda
Copies of Agenda to Staff
Special Event of Convention

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE FROM THE STAFF

Regarding Voting Representation at National Conventions

The problem of potential metropolitan area domination in terms of voting strength at National Conventions was referred to the National Action Committee for study. The problem is illustrated best in the metropolitan areas such as New York City where in actuality and potentially there are numerous chapters both adult and college. There is a possibility as a consequence of this, that New York City would probably be able to influence decisions at conferences by organized block voting. This circumstance) results in disproportionate representation and under our present system could happen in any metropolitan community.

The staff recommends a system of weighted proportional representation:

No city shall be entitled to more than 20 votes, city being defined in its political and/or geographical sense. The number of active members in each chapter shall determine its voting representation. No chapter shall be entitled to more than five (5) voting delegates. We recommend the following scale:

	10-25 members	--- one (1) vote
	26-50 members	--- two (2) votes
	51-100 members	--- three (3) votes
	101-250 members	--- four votes (4)
251	251- up members	--- five (5) votes

Some attention was given to the Unit System as it is currently in Chicago. More time and a closer working relationship with this group are necessary. It was felt that this system is an experiment and on that basis we would like to withhold any judgement or recommendation. The plan for weighted proportional representation to a large degree speaks to their problem of under-representation.

Jim McCain
Norman Hill
Fredricka Teer
Don Wendell

FINAL RELEASE ON THE CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

June 23, 1962

Registration procedure is as follows:
Registration for the Convention will take place at either the Hampton House or the Sir John Hotel, residence hotels for delegates. A member of Miami CORE, designated the CORE Greeter, will be stationed at each hotel to assist visiting delegates in registration both for the hotel and the Convention. <u>There will be no Convention registration at Bayshore Auditorium, site of Convention sessions</u>. This year the registration fee has been set at three dollars ($3.00) for each delegate.

If you have informed National Office of your intent to attend the convention, you should have received notice of your hotel reservation. On arrival, go to the hotel indicated on the notice; from that point, the CORE Greeter will assist you. If you did not receive proper notice, telephone the Sir John Hotel (FR 3-3381) and ask for the CORE Greeter. He will check to see if there is a reservation for you. If there is not, he will arrange it at that time.

If you did not inform National Office of your plans to attend, the Greeter at the Sir John Hotel will arrange housing for you.

On Saturday evening following the 7:30-9:30 session, the delegates will be guests of Miami CORE at an informal dance, tentatively scheduled also at the Bayshore Auditorium.

<u>REMEMBER</u>:	**The Friday workshops**	
	Friday night:	**Harry Golden, speaks**
		The Freedom Ride film
	Saturday luncheon	**Dr. Martin Luther King**
	Saturday night	**Miami CORE's Social Salute**

<u>SOME IMPORTANT ISSUES</u>

CORE's relation to the trade-union movement, both in supporting the unions in labor problems and fighting discrimination within unions.

Greater co-ordination and utilization of northern college students in the human rights movement.

Is the future of CORE as an action group to be one of small groups or of mass participation -- or is a joining of the two possible?

Operation Transfer: a concerted direct action in several cities -- sit-outs of students requesting transfers to unsegregated schools. (This is a tentative proposal for joint action by local CORE groups.)

Fast for Freedom: a demonstration by college students drawn from as wide an area as possible, pointed toward important issues, tentatively scheduled for Spring, 1963.

Tax-exemption for CORE. Up to this point we have received no answer to our request for exemption. Some progress has been made toward setting up a tax-exempt activity within CORE.

<u>Some constitutional changes proposed</u>.
The position of Regional Officer shall be discontinued.

Chapter voting-representation at the Convention shall be determined on basis of:

a. equal number of votes for each chapter, or
b. weighted system of numerical representation of members, or
c. other

The National Council shall be replaced as a governing body by an Executive Council composed of national officers and (two) representatives from each of (five) geographical regions established by the Convention. (Additional details will be presented on the floor.)

June 26, 1962

AFFILIATED CORE GROUPS

Fiscal year ending May 1962

* for the year of the chapter ending May 31, 1962. Not necessarily received by National CORE by May 1962.

** Includes only contributions received by National CORE during period June 1, 1961 through May 31, 1962.

CHAPTER	FEE*	TAX*	SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS**
Alabama, Huntsville			
Arizona, Tuscon			
California, Berkeley			$1,325.57
Los Angeles			1,200.00
Richmond			
San Fernando Valley	10.00		
San Francisco	10.00	137.11	693.44
Santa Clara Valley			200.00
Santa Monica-Venice	10.00	15.00	100.00
Colorado, Denver	10.00	34.43	69.13
Conn, New Haven			
D.C., Washington	10.00	115.12	1,300.00
Fla, Miami	10.00		253.32
Tallahassee	10.00		
St. Petersburg	10.00		
Illinois, Alton	10.00	54.00	
Chicago	10.00		
E. St. Louis			300.00
Kentucky, Lexington	10.00	50.00	306.80
Louisville	10.00		69.05
Madison Cty.			
Northern			00.00
Louisiana, Baton Rouge	10.00		
Shreveport			
New Orleans			
Maryland, Baltimore	10.00		
Mass, Boston			1,422.50
Michigan, Ann Arbor	10.00	11.41	96.34
Detroit	10.00	60.65	128.00
Grand Rapids	10.00	6.10	
Missouri, Columbia			250.00
St. Louis	10.00		2,900.00
St. Louis Cty.			
Kansas City	10.00		538.65
New Jersey, Bergen Cty.	10.00		
Newark-Essex	10.00		712.80
New York, Brooklyn			274.78
City College	10.00		
Long Island	10.00	30.20	1,193.70
Long Island U.	10.00		
New York	10.00		490.00
New York U.	10.00	55.40	
Rochester	10.00	24.58	1,097.40

		FEE	TAX	SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS
New York,	Staten Island	10.00		254.16
	Suffolk County	10.00		
	Syracuse	10.00		74.13
Ohio,	Cincinnati	10.00		244.09
	Columbus		25.00	1,063.97
	Dayton	10.00	18.14	
Pa,	Philadelphia			552.95
South Carolina,	Clarendon Cty.			
	Florence			
	Greenville			
	Marion County			
	Rock Hill			
	Rock Hill Student			
	Spartanburg		41.03 (chapter disaffiliated)	
	Sumter			
	Sumter Student			
Tennessee,	Memphis	10.00		
	Nashville	10.00		
Virginia,	Alexandria	10.00		
Washington,	Seattle	10.00		581.83
West Virginia,	Charleston		20.01	70.00
	Huntington	10.00		

S C H E D U L E

Thursday, June 28th

1 - 5 p.m.	Registration
7:30 - 9:30 p.m.	Plenary session

Friday, June 29th

8 - 10 a.m. 10:30 - 12:30 p.m. 2 - 4 p.m.	All workshops will be in session during each of these periods in order to allow for maximum participation.
8:15 p.m.	Harry Golden, author of Only In America and and For 2¢ Plain, editor of the North Carolina Israelite, will be the guest speaker.

Saturday, June 30th

8 - 10 a.m. 10:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. 2 - 4 p.m. 4:30 - 6 p.m. 7:30 - 9:30 p.m.	All plenary sessions

Sunday, July 1st

9:30 a.m. - 12 noon	Plenary session

A G E N D A

Organizational Activities	National Program
Listing delegates	Housing-Employment Institute
Affiliations of new groups	
Appointment of committees	Sears-Roebuck Employment Survey
Committee reports	Committee for Employment of Negro Performers
Constitutional changes	Haywood County Co-operative
Nominations and election	Interracial Action Institute
Resolutions	Freedom Highways
Report of National Director	Voter's Education Project

Workshops	Workshop Leaders
Education	Norman Hill, Jerome Smith, Tom Gaither
Employment	Don Wendell, David Dennis, Eugene Tournour
Housing	Genevieve Hughes, Marvin Robinson
Community Relations	Marvin Rich, Mary Hamilton
Local Organization	James McCain, Fredericks Teer, Henry Thomas

Enclosed is a suggested agenda for the national convention. We invite your immediate perusal, and request you return it to the national office with your criticisms and suggestions. The late date makes mention of promptness superfluous.

We request that local groups prepare at least one hundred copies each of their annual reports on activities, for distribution at the convention.

The material below on workshops provides an informal guide to workshop-discussions at the convention.

W O R K S H O P S

Workshops are scheduled on a total-participation basis. At each of the three workshop sessions, the delegates will have access to any one of the discussion-groups. Here, as in some other areas of convention procedure, it will be an advantage for you to have given prior consideration to subjects under discussion. The following items may provoke additional thoughts of your own.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. CORE worked on this problem in 1958 in Norfolk, Virginia and Nashville, Tennessee. Not since, in the South.

One reason for slowness of southern school desegregation is the almost complete absence of direct action.

Another reason is extreme caution among the liberal adults, Negro and otherwise. This is a problem, not an excuse.

Numerous instances of "mixed" neighborhoods in some southern cities afford excellent opportunities for accelerating school desegregation.

HOUSING. No workable plan of securing open housing on a large scale has yet evolved.

There is little evidence of individual CORE-group pressure on the government or its agencies to expedite open housing---and certainly there is no indication of their doing it voluntarily.

There seems to be a tendency to assume that the South is not yet ready for work in this area.

EMPLOYMENT. Unions are a potential source of help in improving the employment picture. In some cases they are also a very present hindrance.

Local administration of governmental agencies is frequently a stumbling-block to equal employment opportunities for Negroes.

Potential governmental sources of aid: Departments of Commerce, Labor, Agriculture and HEW.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS. This workshop is not concerned primarily with publicity skills, but with means of drawing a larger part of the community into active participation.

Perhaps we devote too much time to lamenting the reluctance of professionals, not enough to cultivating the man in the street.

Frequently the broad active interest in CORE's first campaign diminishes almost to nothing after a few weeks do not produce miraculous results.

LOCAL PROBLEMS. This workshop emphasizes material presented by participants, through questions, rather than prepared material offered by the panel.

Is it difficult to make your group interracial?
Is responsibility broadly spaced throughout the group?
Do you have enough study material on non-violence?
Does CORE meet opposition from other local organizations?

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M I N U T E S

of the

1962 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Miami, Florida
Hampton House--Sir John Motel

June 28 - July 1

OPENING OF THE CONVENTION: The meeting was called to order at 8:05 pm, June 28, with Charles Oldham presiding. Delegates present were listed with the Secretary and Jim McCain announced the availability of CORE pins at $1.00 each.

AFFILIATION: Jim McCain recommended affiliation of San Diego, California CORE, the only group up for affiliation. McCain said that the San Diego group has met all the constitutional requirements. Paul T. Flint moved affiliation of San Diego CORE, and the motion, seconded by Charlene McIntosh, passed unanimously.

AGENDA: Charles Oldham read a proposed agenda and asked for adoption of the agenda on a tentative basis. A delegate from the Ohio Valley asked for consideration of a cooperative project for the Ohio Valley area, which was referred to the Local Organization Workshop. Charles Siegel moved adoption of the agenda on a tentative basis, and the motion, seconded by K. D. Kerr, passed.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE: Charles Oldham appointed a Constitutional Committee consisting of the following persons: Alan Gartner, Gladys Harrington, and Oretha Castle. Other appointments were to be made when more delegates arrived.

NAACP GREETINGS: Robert Sanders, Field Secretary, Florida State Branches, NAACP, was introduced. Mr. Sanders brought greetings from the NAACP and offered cooperation with CORE in our common cause.

NATIONAL DIRECTOR'S REPORT: James Farmer read a written report which included a summary of activities of CORE's three departments, Porgram, Organization and Community Relations. The report covered the status of current national projects, assignment and duties of staff members, fund-raising, literature production and distribution, and special efforts to interpret problems and projects, such as the Committee of Inquiry and the Freedom Ride film.

Farmer discussed the constant internal tension in CORE in reconciling means and ends, and the challenge of maintaining a high level of discipline and understanding of CORE's method and philosophy as the organization expands and broadens its base in the community. Program areas must be extended, as well as membership; current experiences in the rural South indicate that programs of self-helf for economic survival must accompany expansion of the drive for civil rights.

FREEDOM HIGHWAYS: Gordon Carey reported that 60 persons have applied for the Freedom Highways project. Thirty to forty will be selected for the project, which has been greatly revised because of gains from the Howard Johnson chain since the project was announced. In May, local negotiations carried out by Miami CORE, the NAACP and other organizations, opened 14 Howard Johnsons in Dade County.

National negotiations with the chain, utilizing information from all parts of the country forwarded by CORE chapters, have opened virtually all Howard Johnsons owned by the parent company--this includes 69 Howard Johnsons in Florida (nearly all owned by the company), a total of over eighty in the five Southern states of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Florida.

The Freedom Highways project will work on the Howard Johnson franchise in North Carolina and Tennessee, or on the smaller chains, such as the Holiday Inn chain which has headquarters in Memphis, Tennessee. The Holiday Inn has 260 outlets in the South and the Midwest. The training workshop will be switched to Greensboro, North Carolina, and the project will begin with Greensboro as its starting point, utilizing members of the CORE group organizing in Greensboro for activities in that vicinity. Carey would like an expression of feeling on supportive action from the Northern groups.

Ralph Rosenfeld asked questions about mechanics of the project, whether bond would be accepted, provisions for safety, and so forth. Further discussion was tabled until the next morning.

SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND: Marvin Rich reported that a new Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund was being incorporated by a group of individuals in New York, some of whom also take an interest in CORE in various capacities, such as the National Advisory Committee. He outlined the purposes set forth in the Fund's proposed charter and he noted that these included paying legal defense expenses in civil rights and civil liberties cases (for which CORE members and personnel might qualify), providing scholarships to help needy students overcome obstacles created by discrimination, and sponsoring educational activities on methods of lessening such discrimination. The Fund would possibly print and distribute educational literature on such methods. The Fund is independent of CORE, with its own board, staff and identity. It will seek tax exemption as soon as possible and will engage in activities of interest to other groups and organizations, as well as CORE. The Fund how has volunteer office space and a volunteer legal staff.

Charles Oldham stated that CORE locals would be informed of progress in the development of the fund and might like to make contributions when the Fund begins to operate.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE (Cont.): Doris Hollis, Henry Hodge, Gloria Gilliom, W. S. McIntosh, Inge Powell and Polly Byrd were added to the Constitution Committee. Alan Gartner was appointed chairman.

VOTER EDUCATION AND REGISTRATION: Jim McCain reported CORE is now working with four other organizations to register voters in three states, under a grant from a foundation. CORE now has offices to register voters set up in Jackson, Mississippi; Sumter, South Carolina; and Baton Rouge, Louisiana. McCain said that the voter registration campaign is most effective after a direct action campaign. In the three months'time, 10,000 people will have been contacted and 1,000 to 3,000 registered. The grant is for 90 days and CORE does not know whether the campaign will continue after that; the grant will probably be renewed. This does not take away from direct action since

the people staffing the project are new staff, not already working in other areas. New Orleans has an independent campaign and has registered 196 voters in the city.

Discussion of Voter Registration was deferred until the next session. The meeting adjourned at approximately 10:00 p.m.

The next session opened Friday, June 29th at 9:05 a.m. in the city's Bayfront Auditorium, with Charles Oldham presiding.

VOTER REGISTRATION (Cont.): Anna Holden asked whether the aim of the project was to open up the possibility of registration in areas where Negroes cannot vote, or put Negroes on the books where registration is already possible. She also asked what foundation is financing the project. McCain said that the project is concentrating on areas where registration is difficult. The Taconic and the Phelps-Stokes Foundations are two of the foundations sponsoring the project.

McCain was asked what is done where discrimination is met. The conditions of the project prohibit direct action, McCain stated, but these cases are reported to the Justice Department, which will respond where sit-ins and direct action are not involved in seeking the right to vote. It was suggested that CORE might challenge the right of the state to carry on its law-making functions where discrimination in voting is involved. For example, a prisoner in the West recently challenged the state laws passed under inequitable apportionment and got his freedom.

McCain said that all the organizations involved in the project --- SNCC, SCLC, The Urban League and the NAACP --- are working under the same conditions, which include an agreement that Voter Registration workers not engage in direct action.

FREEDOM HIGHWAYS (Cont.): Gordon Carey responded to Rosenfeld's questions of yesterday evening, concerning provisions for safety, bond and possible legal repercussions on the Freedom Highways project. Carey said there is nothing CORE can do to <u>insure</u> safety, but CORE can try to safeguard the participants as much as possible. The present plans are greatly altered from the original idea and the project in North Carolina and Virginia will not be too different from a local project --- local cars will be used; participants will live in the community and go out to restaurants close by.

Carey stated that CORE is not in a financial position to get involved in another Freedom Ride type of project. Participants understand bond will not be available. If there are any persons joining the project after the initial group, bond will not be available for them either.

Carey was asked if the parents of minors will be involved, so that they will understand what is going on and not be at cross-purposes with the project. Carey said the Project will use CORE members almost exclusively, that the training period is longer and than for the Freedom Riders, and that there will be fewer people with more experience. He hopes this will offset some of the problems that arose in the Freedom Ride.

Charlie Oldham said that the kind of sentences that might be imposed cannot be anticipated, as we do not know where the arrests will occur and what the charges will be. There are no plans to repeat the mass arrests of the Freedom Ride.

Carey said that only restaurant facilities will be challenged on this trip; no motels will be tested or challenged. Carey, Hank Thomas, Marvin Rich, Rudy Lombard and Jim Peck will serve as staff. The project will be financed through the regular budget and costs are anticipated at $20,000. Decisions about arrests will be made by participants, although to a certain extent arrests will be planned. The staff will stay in jail as long as other members of the project.

Anna Holden asked about the rationale for sympathy action in the North, if the project is directed toward the franchised agents. Carey said that CORE would be seeking a provision in future franchises that there would be no discrimination in the restaurants. He doubts CORE would ask for a sustained boycott of Northern outlets but, rather CORE would probably ask for sympathy picketing and demonstrations. CORE now owns a share of Howard Johnson stock. Someone asked about the possibility of a minority stockholders' suit. This possibility has not yet been explored.

MIAMI VICTORY: A. D. Moore, Chairman of Miami CORE, announced that 100 local restaurants in the Royal Castle chain just adopted a non-discriminatory policy.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES: Carl Rachlin, CORE Counsel, presented a letter dated June 27th, from the United States Supreme Court giving plaintiffs in the Shreveport case a recovery of $100. from the state of Louisiana. The Shreveport case is identical to the Jackson cases, the legal structure and the situation being the same, and thus the Supreme Court's action gives an important legal precedent in the Jackson cases. The Jackson cases are being held up in scheduling and are progressing more slowly than anticipated.

Rachlin commended New Orleans lawyers Eli[illegible], Collins and Douglas for their work in developing the Committee of Inquiry. The testimony already collected is to be published and distributed to interested parties. It constitutes a valuable document in American history and should be widely distributed.

Rachlin summarized current legal problems facing CORE in the Deep South as follows: (1) Louisiana -- in Baton Rouge and New Orleans, charges of serious crimes are being piled on to prevent direct action; (2) Mississippi -- in Jackson, charges of disorderly conduct, breach of peace and similar minor crimes are used to stymie efforts; and, (3) Alabama -- in the state of Alabama, injunctive procedures are being used to prevent CORE from operating. In some respects, the Alabama situation is most serious, as CORE cannot undertake any activities without being charged with contempt. For example, Rachlin cannot go into the state of Alabama.

Mr. Rachlin was questioned about the possibility of receiving a remedy for state and municipal legal obstructionism from the lower federal courts. Rachlin said he is trying to work on this angle, but has not been able to accomplish anything yet. He has, for instance, been trying to move the Alabama injunction case into the federal court.

The Baton Rouge injunction and the McComb injunctions are soon to be heard in the federal circuit court in New Orleans, according to Rachlin. The two injunctions are similar, and Rachlin feels optimistic about the decision.

Kurt Flascher asked about the amount of work being put into legal action. Rachlin said CORE should undertake legal defense of people in direct action and not plan legal strategy to get rid of segregation laws as the NAACP does. CORE has a duty to defend people who get in legal difficulty as a result of direct action, but its legal role should not extend beyond this.

More information about followup on the proceedings of the Committee of Inquiry was requested. Rachlin said that the Committee was set up to bring attention to the legal roadblocks set up to stymie the civil rights movement. It is hoped that publicizing unfair police and legal action, denial of bond, use of police dogs negligence of police, lack of police protection, and so forth would arouse public indignation over what is in effect a conspiracy to inhibit the civil rights movement. The report will be sent to the Justice Department, the Civil Rithgs Commission, state governments and also to some labor unions' civil rights departments.

Rachlin was asked to report the status of the Jackson, Mississippi Freedom Ride arrests. He did not have summary figures with him. (NOTE: The final edition of Farmer's National Director's report contained the following summary information on Freedom Ride trials: there are 10 lower court trials pending, including Richard Haley's case' 126 cases have been appealed to the state circuit court; 114 persons pleaded nolo contendere; 30 cases were tried and acquitted (Episcopalian Priests); 5 persons paid fines and received suspended sentences; 7 served part of their sentences and paid part of their fines; 8 served their entire sentences; 1 died; and 5 juveniles were released on probation). Hank Thomas' case was tried first and is still in the state circuit court.

Lincoln Lynch asked about the expenses of the Episcopalian Freedom Riders and the availability of the Committee of Inquiry's report. Rachlin said that his time in defending the Episcopalian Priests was the only expense for CORE, as the Priests paid their own expenses otherwise. The full report of the Committee of Inquiry will not be available for some time and will cost about $50.00 per copy. Marvin Rich should be contacted at least a month after the Convention for copies of the report.

COMMIEEEE APPOINTMENTS: (1) Nominations Committee - Lolis Elie (Chairman), Julia Lewis, LeVerne McCummings, Ralph Rosenfield, Emerson Brown, Marty Dillard, Mark Dodson, Herman Thompson, and Woodrow Coleman. (2) Resolutions - Julius Hobson (Chairman), Shirley Thompson, Robert Curvin, Paul T. Flint, Willie Bradford, and Bruce Rappaport. (3) Finance - A. D. Moore (Chairman), Lula Farmer, Louis Smith, Elmer McCraty, and Barbara Wallace. (4) Credentials - Homer Randolph (Chairman), Ben Brown, Catherine Vinegar and Ruth Ford.

The Convention business session adjourned at 10:00 a.m., and reassembled at 2:25 p.m., with Rudy Lombard chairing. Workshops on Education, Employment, Housing, Local Organization, Community Relations and problems with Law Envorcement agencies were held from 10:30 to 12:30 noon.

EMPLOYMENT WORKSHOP: Julius Hobson reported for the Employment Workshop, outlining its main objective as examination of methods used by CORE groups and recommendation of a general method and specific variation's that might be used by the chapters.

Investigation - Eugene Tourneour stressed a knowledgeable approach and outlined areas of fact-finding that should preceed an employment campaign:

(1) Areas of discrimination can be pin-pointed through test applications, surveys of employees, visits to plants or establishments, conferences with management, conferences with unions, and inquiries addressed to competitors.

(2) The Employing unit selected or considered for a campaign should be studied in detail, including total number of employees, types of job categories, number of Negroes and types of jobs held, rate of employee turnover, union affiliation and controls, qualifications for specific jobs, recruiting programs, and pattern of promotions.

(3) Relationship of Employing unit under consideration to total community, should be understood, including the purchase or sales pattern of companies producing consumer goods, and the relationship of the firm to competing industries. What employees can be relied on for support?

Resources for information labor and employment are: CORE National office, U. S. Civil Rights Committee and Union Civil Rights departments and committees, local union representatives, and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Negotiations - Don Wendell suggested the following steps in negotiating with management for a fair-hiring policy:

(1) Request a statement of policy.
(2) Present evidence of discrimination.
(3) Make specific and detailed proposals for a change over time, avoiding the possibility of token integration by stressing continuing observation and the need to have fixed avenues into the Negro labor force pool. The proposal should include a plan for training.
(4) Present an ultimatum that can be carried out.

Hints for successful negotiations include:

(1) Set a specific Appointment for the first meeting and follow-up with telephone calls if letters are ignored.
(2) Try to select a place with a low-tension atmosphere.
(3) Send at least 3 negotiators: one spokesman, one recorder, and one observer (or applicant).
(4) Make sure the spokesman only does talking; others wishing to make points should pass notes or ask for a conference of the negotiators.
(5) Set a serious and important tone to the negotiations; the attitude of the negotiators is very important.

(6) Ask for another appointment prior to the conclusion of each conference.

(7) Make specific, realistic demands (e.g., upgrade two Negro employees).

(8) Leave management or owners a way to save face.

(9) Attempt to get a clear time schedule for desegregation

Action Campaign - Dave Dennis recommended attempting to gain community support for action through churches, press releases, and by selecting a form of direct action that is appropriate for the community.

Direct action could take the form of (1) picketing stores or outlets, (2) boycott of products, (3) Sit-ins in offices, (4) tele-ins, presenting opposition to policy, and (5) cancelling of charge accounts or orders. A selective buying campaign or boycott should leave the consumer an alternative and should have community support, gained through community-wide planning.

The action campaign should involve as many businessmen as possible and could attempt to influence shareholders in the company.

Industrial Employment - Don Slaiman noted that some action appropriate to retail sales situations is not appropriate to industrial employment.

In states with an FEPC law, CORE can help people file legal complaints. In all states, CORE can teach people how to fill out applications and apply for a job, and can guide applicants seeking employment (through CORE's knowledge of particular industries).

CORE should join in efforts to broaden opportunities in apprenticeship programs, be familiar with these programs and steer qualified applicants to them. Contacts with local and international unions should be made in this regard, with both officials and sympathetic members. Agencies such as the state bureaus of apprenticeship, the state FEPC, the NAACP and local human rights commissions should be contacted and worked with. Bona fide applicants are necessary to secure cooperation of management.

Conclusions - There is a difference of opinion regarding methods in employment campaigns - some chapters use a "hard sell" approach ("your problem - you solve it"), while others use a conciliatory approach ("let us help you", supply personnel). No one way is useful in all areas, and the method is largely determined by the character of the community.

Hobson moved that the Employment Workshop's report be recorded in the minutes and adopted. McIntosh seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

EDUCATION WORKSHOP: Mark Dodson reported for the Education Workshop, outlining in detail several local situations at different grade levels, to illustrate the diversity and scope of problems facing CORE throughout the nation.

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(1) Englewood, New Jersey - Local CORE participated in attempts to desegregate the school system and took action when a report, written by experts, was held up. Action took the form of protests and a sit-in at which eleven persons were arrested. The report was needed for an informed preparation of the budget. CORE plans to boycott the schools in the fall and oppose "open enrollment" because it places the cost and responsibility for desegregation on parents. Defacto segregation is due to the housing situation. Three plans had been presented:

(a) The "Princeton Plan", whereby an all-white school and an all-Negro school would be merged for grades 1-4 and 5-8;

(b) a plan to close the all-Negro school and build additions to the other schools; and

(c) Urban renewal, to resolve the housing problem. One class in the "all-Negro" school, a class for retarded children, was 95% white.

(2) Highpoint, North Carolina - North Carolina adopted the "Pearsall Plan" to slow down desegregation of the schools. The plan works as follows: A parent must apply to the School Board for a re-assignment blank. This must be filled out and returned. Later the school board may request the parent (and sometimes the child) to appear before the Board (and reporters) in a public hearing, an apparent attempt to intimidate the parent. In three years a total of eleven children have been transferred. This plan has been to the United States Supreme Court - the only hope seems to be working to obtain more transfers.

(3) Colleges - There has been a distinct move toward desegregation in some areas, such as the New Orleans Branch of LSU, the University of Mississippi, Rice, Texas Southern and Southern Methodist University, but much needs to be done. The LSU campus in Baton Rouge has not desegregated, and the faculty at NYU in New York City has practically no Negroes. Southern University is all Negro, and an attempt to enroll is planned by two White students this Fall.

(4) State of Louisiana - Louisiana has passed a new state sales tax of .01 to raise $800,000 for a scholarship fund for White children to attend private schools. This is an attempt to tax the Negro to maintain segregation.

Suggestions for action - were discussed, keeping in mind that no blanket program is possible because of the large diversity in local problems. For instance, the concept of the "neighborhood school" may well be questioned, but in some cases to abolish it or modify it would be retrogression. This would be true in integrated areas and in the South, where the integrated neighborhood school is the goal. It may be useful to spell out in advance methods to be used by a Board of Education in meeting its responsibility toward integration. A need to utilize present integration plans was felt, even though plans are minimal or token. Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina still have no plans!

CORE should stress the positive effects of integration on White children, and on development of talent in Negroes, as well as the moral and financial savings to the community brought about by integration.

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To dramatically highlight the problem of school desegration and give it a new and greater sense of urgency, the Workshop recommends the following program to CORE Chapters:

(1) Investigate and determine the existing situation in public education in your community.

(2) Seek support and cooperation from all groups interested in integration and educational reform, obtaining public statements where possible.

(3) Confront school authorities with the facts of segregated education (school composition, facilities and staff) but do not prolong this phase too long and delay interest and involvement of those oriented toward action.

(4) Begin organizing parents well ahead of registration and the opening of school.

a) Public meetings or rallies may be appropriate for initiating "operation transfer".

b) The best and most effective organizing will be done by face-to-face contact. Talk to parents in their homes and hold small neighborhood meetings to build moral and increase understanding.

c) If at all possible, involve willing and committed parents in the CORE group.

(5) Be sure parents committed to the transfer know the procedure and have all the necessary documents and information (birth certificates, etc.)

(6) Determine the areas in which school transfers would be most feasible.

(7) Be prepared to follow-up the school transfer attempt with direct action techniques, if necessary. Possible action might be:

a) Stand-ups or sit-ins at Board of Education meetings and hearings.

b) Study-ins where transfer is accomplished.

c) Mass demonstrations and picketing of schools, city hall, or board of education, where appropriate.

d) Stay-outs (boycott of school), with proper organization and preparation the "stay-out" required parental and community support and schooling arrangements for pupils staying out (teachers, facilities)

(8) Emphasize initial registrations, such as kindergarten and first grade.

(9) Influence choice of building sites for new schools to obviate de facto segregation.

Further legal and political action was suggested also:

(1) Urge Congress to pass laws requiring initital steps toward compliance with the United States Supreme Court decision by 1963.

(2) Attempt to eliminate Federal subsidies to impacted areas (grants to local schools where Federal installations cause a hardship) and subsidies to segregated colleges.

(3) Investigate the Smith Act of 1917 and the George Barton Act. Both are concerned with providing funds to states and territories for Area Vocational Schools. These funds are used for construction and support of schools and provide that any student of the state may attend any school of his choice within the state or area. It was suggested that injunctions be sought, after appropriate testing, to prevent any funds being used by the school in question. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare may be able to provide a complete list of such schools

The Education Workshop's report carried a motion to adopt. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

LOCAL ORGANIZATION WORKSHOP: Paul Flint reported that the Local Organization Workshop centered discussion on three problem areas:

(1) Expanding Contact in local communities - In the South it is difficult to recruit white members, while in the North, Negro support is the problem. Methods of recruitment suggested included visiting churches and other places frequented by those we wish to interest. It was felt, however, that a great deal more emphasis should be placed on program. CORE would be more effective in reaching large numbers of people if our program were geared to the needs of those we want to reach. CORE membership is primarily middle class, and to broaden our base we must begin to concentrate on the needs of the working class. Group size is not the only factor in effectiveness, and a small group can function well - but CORE still needs to expand,

(2) Regional Coordinating Committees - It was agreed that the concept of regional coordinating committees is basically sound and would give CORE greater striking force, if needed. At the same time, the dangers were pointed out. This type of planning could easily lend itself to organizational emphasis and red tape. if this happens, most of our energy would go into structural questions and organizational form. Regional planning should thus be geared toward coordinated training and action.

(3) University groups - Finding meaningful projects is the biggest problem of University groups. In order for University groups to have lasting value, their efforts should be directed to the total community. Liaison between college and community has its problems, since college groups have many unique problems. Bruce Rappaport, Paul Flint, Joe Smith and Fredricka Teer volunteered to discuss the question of college groups in more detail. As a committee, they recommend that CORE do more work to coordinate and service college chapters. The Committee also drew up a

Applicants - Suggestions to solve the continuing problem of bona fide applicants for housing cases were; (1) ads in the Negro and White press; (2) contracts with Negro realtors and brokers; (3) questionnaires distributed to churches and unions and other Negro organizations; (4) press conferences about campaigns may have the side effect of bringing in applicants; (5) "operation Windowshop" programs, such as Philadelphia and San Diego CORE are trying to inspire some to move out of ghettos; (6) getting "integrated" families to tell their story to Negro groups and try to convince them that "pioneering" is worth the effort; and (7) street meetings such as those planned by Brooklyn CORE.

President's Executive Order - How can CORE exert pressure for signing of the President's Executive order on housing? The Workshop recommends (1) meeting with federal legislators and putting pressure on them; (2) staging demonstrations before or in VA and FHA offices; (3) planning a national demonstration of the dramatic quality, such as the peace marches; and (4) approaching CBS to do a documentary report to dramatize the problem of housing discrimination.

Southern Housing - All new suburbs in the South are segregated. The only integrated areas are in older parts of the city or on the fringes of expanding cities where pockets of Negroes are caught in city expansion. The South's problem is two-fold: to maintain what integration exists in older neighborhoods and to "crack" the lily-white suburbs. Where Urban Renewal programs are being used to increase segregation by eliminating "pockets" of Negroes, perhaps efforts should be made to stop "urban betrayal." This can be done in the North by voting down bonds or voting against urban renewal in referenda.

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Perhaps public housing would be the place to begin work on housing integration in the South. The Columbus Institute was asked to discuss the question of urban renewal and its role in furthering discrimination in more detail.

"Tipping Point" - The workshop members disagreed on the position CORE should take, if any, on neighborhood quotas and methods to control neighborhoods passing the "tipping point" and becoming all-Negro or predominately Negro. We agreed: (1) Emphasis should be on opening up new areas; (2) Negroes should be urged not to move into "saturated areas" and (3) CORE's goal is the integrated community. The Columbus Institute was asked to study this question further.

Miss Martin made a motion to adopt the report of the Housing Workshop. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

It was further agreed that CORE should make people aware of provisions in the Urban Renewal Program to safeguard all segments of the population, including minority groups, and that it is up to citizens to make complaints when these provisions are violated.

LEGAL PROBLEMS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES: Herman Thompson reported for the Workshop on Legal Problems and Law Enforcement Agencies, which discussed legal aspects of the movement, especially police brutality, false arrest, false charges and other roadblocks thrown in the way of integration activists. Existing problems include: (1) harassment in the form of charges of minor crimes, such as obstructing sidewalk traffic and illegal use of sound trucks; (2) excessive bail; (3) illegal search, arrest, and (4) police brutality which is used even in the North and West.

Suggestions to help correct or alleviate the problems include: (1) making use of the federal right to a citizens' arrest, arresting even police officers who are deliquent in curbing violence; (2) taking action against excessive bail; (3) using direct action with public officials at all levels, including Congress, to protest these injustices; (4) getting to public officials, such as Governors and Mayors to talk to them and try to achieve reconciliation; (5) trying to involve intellectuals in the protest, especially Negro intellectuals; and (6) exposing injustices of federal agents and failures of the Justice Department and other law-enforcement agents; taking cases to the United Nations, getting Africians to protest for us in the United Nations, and picketing federal agencies would help accomplish this end.

The Workshop concluded that further laws were not necessary to correct injustices, but rather a political decision on the part of the federal government to arrest some of the Southern governors and judges. CORE is requested to put more pressure on the President, by publishing his record and taking other appropriate steps to get him to take action to correct these injustices.

Shirley Thompson moved that the report be adopted. Don Hubbard seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Charles Oldham read telegrams of greeting from John P. Roche, National Chairman Americans For Democratic Action; and Roy Wilkins, NAACP. The meeting recessed, then resumed at 3:50 p.m., with Henry Hodge presiding.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE: Alan Gartner and Gladys Harrington presented a joint report for the Constitution Committee. The report carries a motion to adopt.

The Committee recommended no changes in Articles I and II, but proposed the following amendments:

Article III, Section 1: The Committee proposed adding "No person may hold simultaneous voting membership in more than one affiliated chapter." to Section 1 as it now stands. K. D. Kerr seconded the motion. The chair was uncertain as to the results of the voice vote, and the amendment was defeated when a standing vote was taken.

Article III, Section 4: The Committee proposed to add the following to Section 4 as it now stands: "The National Action Committee must inform the chapter in question of the Committee's intent, and must request a written statement from the chapter." Mrs. Ford seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Article III, Section 5: The Committee proposed to add a new section to Article III, Section 5, which would read as follows: "Any person removed from an affiliated chapter for whatever reason may appeal such removal to the National Action Committee then to the next Council or Convention, whose decision shall be final. The National Action Committee must inform the chapter in question of its intent and must request a written statement from the chapter." The section refers to locals removing a person from a Chapter. Oretha Castle seconded the motion, which passed by a majority vote.

Article III, Section 3: The Committee recommended no change, but Lincoln Lynch proposed a new Section 3, which would read as follows: "Only such persons who by their action subscribe to the CORE 'Rules For Action' and philosophy shall be eligible to become active members of CORE. Persistent violation of these Rules and Philosophy will be deemed cause for removal from membership". K. D. Kerr seconded the motion.

Lynch and other proponents of the motion stated that it was designed to remove the negative aspects of the present Section 3, to remove prejudjement of people by their associates, to eliminate "witch hunting" in chapters, to provide a positive definition of membership, and to restore a situation of civil liberties. Opponents argued that it made a probationary period for local members mandatory, that key terms such as "action" should be defined, that CORE cannot afford to run the risk of including communists, and that removal of the prohibition against Communists would endanger CORE's position in the South.

Kurt Flascher introduced a substitute motion to strike Section 3 as it now stands and substitute a new Section 3, based on the text of "This Is CORE": "only those whose tactics and beliefs are contrary to democracy, human values and the philosophy and discipline of CORE are categorically excluded from active membership in CORE." Ben Brown seconded the motion. Flascher stated that this statement eliminated some of the undesirable features of the present Section 3, while making CORE's adherence to democratic values clear. The chair was unclear about the voice vote. The motion was defeated upon a vote by a show of hands.

The previous question was called and a motion to table the Lynch amendment was defeated. The chair was uncertain about the voice vote on the Lynch amendment. The Lynch amendment was defeated by a standing vote of 35, for; 26, against.

The Session adjourned at 5:15 p.m. and resumed again at 9:30 a.m., Saturday, June 30th, with Charles Oldham presiding.

Article IV: Alan Gartner, continuing the report of the Constitution Committee, stated that the Committee recommends no change in Article IV.

Article V, Section 1: The Committee recommends adding another reason for disaffiliation, and proposed that the phrase "falls below ten active members" be inserted after the phrase ending "not remitting monies due" and before "or consistently takes positions...." Herman Thompson seconded the motion, which passed by a two-thirds majority vote.

Article V, Section 3: The Committee recommended adding section, to be called Section 3; "Any affiliated chapter, upon failure for two years to submit monies due National CORE, shall be declared delinquent and ineligible to vote at the Convention." Ruth Mason seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Articles VI and VII: The Committee proposed no changes at this point.

Article VIII, Section 3: The Committee recommended that Article VIII, Section 3 as it now stands be deleted and that the following new Section 3 be substituted: "Each affiliated chapter shall have five votes at the Convention. No one delegate may cast more than three votes. Voting delegates must be active members of the affiliated chapter for which they cast their vote(s)." Julius Hobson seconded the motion.

The purpose of the change would be to encourage chapters to send at least two members, but would recognize the fact that sending five is financially prohibitive for chapters far from the Convention site and would not penalize chapters who cannot afford to send five delegateslong distances. The chapter would decide which delegate would have three votes and which two. The motion passed by a two-thirds majority vote.

Gladys Harrington moved that the change in voting take place at the next Convention. Oliver Leeds seconded the motion, which passed.

Article XII, Section 4: Herman Thompson moved that Section 4 of Article XII, be deleted, as delegation of duties of staff is the perrogative of the director. Joe Louis Smith seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Article IX: The Committee recommends deletion of the old Article IX in its entirety and substitution of a new article, as follows:

"Section 1. The National Action Council shall consist of: the National Director; the national officers; and two members from each of five geographical regions for two-year terms, except that at any Convention when two members from one region are elected, the candidate receiving the most votes shall serve for a two-year term, while the next highest candidate shall serve for a one-year term; in any case a majority vote shall be necessary to elect a member; and no two members are to be from the same metropolitan area.

"The aforementioned seventeen members of the National Action Council will elect five additional members, no two from the same chapter, to the National Action Council; _____ of the five must be active members of affiliated chapters. Their term will be one year.

"Section 2. The National Action Council shall be the governing body of CORE between Conventions.

"Section 3. The National Action Council shall be empowered to fill vacancies in office and shall meet twice a year; and more often at the call of the National Chairman, or the National Director, or one-third of the affiliated chapters.

"Section 4. Five geographical regions shall be established in the by-laws by a majority vote at Convention."

The Committee was divided as to the method of selection of the regional members of the new NAC and made no recommendation. Discussion focused on the advantages of regional members elected by the region as opposed to election by the Convention; on the additional members of the Council which the Council itself would elect, and the possibility that persons not members of local chapters could be elected; on the relative advantages of turning over policy-making to a smaller group; and on the question of national meetings other than Convention under the proposed structure.

The meeting adjourned at 11:00 a.m. for the Martin Luther King Dinner and resumed again at 4:40 p.m., with Charles Oldham presiding.

Alan Gartner reported that the Constitution Committee would like to substitute the word "representatives" for "members" in Section 1 and eliminate the word "active" from the next to last sentence of Section 1. A majority of the Committee feels three of the five additional members elected by the NAC should be active members of affiliated chapters; a minority of the committee feels all five additional members should be active in local chapters.

Ben Brown moved that at least three of the five additional members of the NAC be active in local chapters. Arthur Smith seconded the motion, which passed by a majority vote.

Henry Hodge proposed an amendment to Article VII, Section 2, providing that regional representatives to the National Action Council be nominated from a caucus of regional people and then elected by the Convention as a whole, with provisions for further nominations from the floor. Lynch seconded the motion. Discussion centered on the implications of regional versus national Convention nomination for: (a) representation of regional interests, (b) encouragement of grass roots leadership, and (c) technicalities of regional nominations in view of the fact that no regional organizations are now in existence.

A substitute motion, introduced by Paul Flint, called for deletion of provisions for a nominations committee from the Constitution and substitution of a provision for regional nominations for representatives to the National Council, only. The motion died for lack of a second.

Ralph Washington moved that Henry Hodge's motion be amended to provide for one regional representative being nominated from a regional caucus and one being nominated at the Convention. Kurt Flascher seconded the motion, which was defeated.

The chair was in doubt as to the voice vote for the Hodge amendment and called for a show of hands. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 34, for; 31, against.

Bob Atkins moved that the Constitution be amended to provide for regional caucuses recommending nominations for regional representatives to the Nominations Committee. The motion, seconded by Ben Brown, was defeated by a vote of 39, for; 26, against.

Herman Thompson seconded the motion of the Constitution Committee to delete the old Article IX and substitute new Article IX as proposed. The Convention voted 26 to 21 to consider Article IX in its entirety. In final discussion, Gartner stated that it was the intent of the Committee for National CORE to bear transportation expenses to the NAC meetings. Lincoln Lynch asked that his protest against the failure of the national organization to inform chapters about such important matters ahead of time be recorded. The motion passed by a two-thirds majority vote.

Article X: The Committee recommended deletion of the old Article X and substitution of a new article: "A steering committee of the NAC shall consist of the membership of the NAC. The Steering Committee shall meet at the call of the National Director or the National Chairman. The steering committee shall meet not less than eight times a year and shall be the governing body of CORE between convention and National Action Council meetings." Gartner explained that it is the intent of the Committee that the steering committee of the NAC be a committee of the whole. The motion to adopt was seconded and passed by a two-thirds majority vote.

It was agreed by common consent that the Constitution Committee could edit the constitution to standardize terms for affiliated chapters and active members throughout the Constitution, that editorial changes appropriate to the new Articles IX and X could be made, and that Article VI Section 2 (e) could be made consistent with changes passed at the Convention.

K. D. Kerr moved that the following regions be adopted as official by-laws of CORE: (1) Southeast - Florida, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, West Virginia, and District of Columbia; (2) South Central - Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma; (3) Northeast - New England states, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and Delaware; (4) North Central - Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, Kansas, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa and Minnesota; and (5) Far West - Washington, California, Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, New Mexico, Idaho, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Alaska and Hawaii. Julius Hobson seconded the motion. An amendment to the motion, to place Deleware and Maryland in the Southeast region, was defeated. The motion setting up regions passed.

The meeting adjourned at 6:50 p.m. and resumed again at 8:40 p.m. with Charles Oldham presiding.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE: Julius Hobson introduced a recommendation from the Resolutions Committee that the Convention commend Leon Davis for his willingness to go to jail in support of the local hospital workers on strike in Brooklyn and also commend Brooklyn CORE for support of this struggle on behalf of Negro and Puerto Rican workers. The recommendation carried a motion to adopt. John Taylor seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: Charles Oldham relinquished the chair to Bob Collins. A teller's committee consisting of W. S. McIntosh, Bob Atkins, DeDe Martin and Ramsley Atkinson was appointed. Lolis Elie reported the following nominations of the Nominations Committee: Chairman, Charles Oldham; First Vice Chairman, Rudy Lombard; Second Vice Chairman, Earl Walter; Secretary, Ralph Rosenfeld; Treasurer, A. D. Moore; Regional representatives for the Southeast, Gloria Gilliom and Julius HObson; for the South Central region, Oretha Castle and Julia Lewis; for the Northeast, Alan Gartner and Mark Dodson; for the North Central, Doris Hollis and Anna Holden, for the Far West, Wester Sweet and Ed Singler.

Charles Oldham, Chairman; Rudy Lombard, First Vice Chairman; Ralph Rosenfeld, Secretary; and A. D. Moore, Treasurer were elected by acclamation. Henry Hodge and Ben Brown were nominated for Second Vice Chairman from the floor; LaVern McCummings, Gladys Harrington and Ed Lewinson were nominated as representatives from the Northeast region; and Henry Hodge was nominated as regional representative from the Far West. The results of contested elections were as follows: Second Vice Chairman, Earl Walter; Regional representatives from the Southeast -- Julius Hobson (2 years), Gloria Gilliom (1 year); South Central --- Oretha Castle (2 years), Julis Lewis (1 year); Northeast -- Ed Lewinson (2 years), Alan Gartner (1 year); North Central -- Doris Hollis (2 years), Anna Holden (1 year); and Far West -- Wester Sweet (2 years), Ed Singler (1 year).

The meeting adjourned at approximately 10:00 p.m. and resumed the next morning at 10:15 a.m. with Rudy Lombard chairing.

FINANCE COMMITTEE: A. D. Moore distributed mimeographed copies of the year's income and expenses and a proposed budget for the coming year. He reported the following conclusions of the Finance Committee regarding fund raising; (1) All locals should have two major fund-raising campaigns per year for the national office; (2) The present tax on locals is insufficient for the purpose of fund-raising; (3) While the question of membership at the local level is up to the chapters, the Committee urges the locals to make their fees substantial enough so that some money can be turned in to the national office; (4) The Committee suggests that the Freedom Ride film be combined with speakers or other events for fund-raising purposes; (5) The regional staff person should organize simultaneous fund-raising efforts throughout regional areas; and (6) Locals might adopt associate memberships for fund-raising purposes.

John Taylor moved that the Committee's report be accepted. Charles Oldham seconded the motion. It was pointed out during discussion that the names of national contributors are not available to locals in an Area, although the national office will mail out material to contributors for locals, such as the local action interest sheet. Alan Gartner suggested listing active chapters in the CORELATOR annually, with names and addresses, so that contributors in an area might know who to contact to become active. Ruth Ford suggested using nationally, a plan which is now being used in Chicago. Interested persons are asked to pledge $1 per month for freedom, are given a booklet of tickets like fake $1 bills, which they are supposed to clip each month. Persons pledging are reminded monthly with a postcard and other material is sometimes sent.

The Committee's report was adopted unanimously.

TREASURER'S REPORT: A. D. Moore continued with the Treasurer's report, noting an error in the mimeographed sheet reporting contributions from affiliated chapters. The $2,900 reported from St. Louis should be reported jointly from St. Louis and St. Louis County. CORE's income for the year ending May 31, 1962, was $607,484.39, and expenses totaled $544,084.77, leaving a balance of income in excess of expenses of $62,891.75. Special fund-raising jumped from $38,614.08, in 1961 to $171,874.43 in 1962, and income from mail appeals rose from $159,366.53 in 1961 to $273.243.73. Income from Holiday cards ($57,233.34) and unions ($35,796.17) was substantially higher this year, as well as chapter contributions ($11,504.23).

The proposed budget for 1963 totals $715,000.00, anticipating increased income from mail appeals, unions, churches and Holiday cards, and projecting increased expenses for administration and action institutes. It was explained that the excess in the balance sheet is due to accounting procedures, since bail bond is considered an "asset". The increased administrative expenses in the proposed budget are mainly projected expenses for the regional offices and National Action Council travel expenses.

Rev. Cox suggested following the American Friends' Service Committee's example and asking people to stamp their own envelopes in returning envelopes enclosed in mail appeal letters.

A. D. Moore moved adoption of the Treasurer's report. Kurt Flascher seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Cont.): The report of the resolutions committee was continued by Julius Hobson. The report carried a motion to adopt each of the following resolutions:

1. National Staff - The national staff is praised and congratulated for its leadership and effective work. John Taylor seconded the motion to adopt, which passed unanimously.

2. Thanks to Miami CORE - Members of Miami CORE are thanked for their hospitality and for arrangements for the Convention. K. D. Kerr seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

3. Local Organization - In view of the need for broader representation and participation in CORE, students are encouraged to establish close working relationships within the community in which they exist, cooperation with other groups is encouraged and it is urged that attempts be made to involve persons at all social and economic levels. W. S. McIntosh seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

4. Housing - The national office is instructed to institute a nationwide demonstration protesting segregation by the FHA to put further pressure on the President to issue an executive order in housing. Bruce Rappaport seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

5. Urban Renewal - CORE will investigate, uncover and attempt to eradicate abuse of Urban Renewal laws through legal and nonviolent direct action. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

6. Federal bench - The President of the United States is urged to examine carefully qualifications of appointees to the Federal bench, especially to assure devotion to democracy and principles of human dignity. It is the intent of the committee that all groups, but especially Southern groups, protest the nomination of judges with bad records on civil rights issues, and put pressure on members of the judiciary committee not to approve appointments of such persons. The motion was seconded and passed.

7. Walter Bergman - The Convention sends its heartfelt best wishes to Dr. Bergman, one of the original Freedom Riders, and hopes for a speedy recovery. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

8. School desegregation - CORE urges the Federal government and particularly the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to withdraw funds from segregated public education, and demands that the Kennedy administration move decisively to speed the passage of bills in the Senate and House committees requiring the submission of first-step compliance plans by 1963 by all communities with segregated schools. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

9. Prince Edward County - CORE protests the present situation in Prince Edward County with respect to the abandonment of public education and instructs the National Action Council and the staff to plan action to implement Convention sentiment that this deplorable state of affairs should be ended. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

10. Employment - In view of Washington CORE's successful experiences in employment campaigns, it is resolved that appropriate persons in national CORE cooperate with Washington CORE (and any other chapters with a documented record) in the writing and publishing of a booklet on methods used in merit hiring campaigns, and that this booklet be distributed to all chapters of CORE. The motion was seconded and passed.

11. College Chapters - A committee should be appointed by the National Director to study the possibility of setting up an informal network of communication and cooperation between CORE college chapters, to encourage other colleges and universities to form CORE groups and to work with national student groups with similar aims. The motion was seconded and passed.

(12) Police brutality -- CORE protests the broad pattern of police harassment of Negroes, particularly of those demonstrating in support of civil rights and calls for an investigation and action by the Department of Justice and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The motion was seconded and passed.

(13) City of Miami -- The City of Miami is thanked for letting CORE use its auditorium without expense to the organization. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

ACTION IMPLICATIONS OF WORKSHOPS: Alan Gartner moved that reports of the workshops be referred to the National Action Council and local groups for appropriate action. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

MINUTES OF THE 1962 COUNCIL MEETING: Gladys Harrington moved that the minutes of the 1962 Council meeting be adopted. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

1963 CONVENTION SITE: Dayton, Ohio; the Bay Area and Chicago CORE groups extended invitations for the 1963 Convention. The Convention expressed a preference for Chicago and Dayton over the Bay Area, and for Chicago over Dayton.

Delegates expressed concern over the late date at which minutes of national meetings are sent out, over the small amount of time devoted to workshops during the Convention, the amount of time at this meeting given to speeches of no direct benefit to the delegates, the lack of time for recreation, and the relatively poor attendance. It was suggested that the Convention be set earlier in the month of June, that Sunday morning be left open and that there be formal arrangements for regional caucuses.

PUBLICITY ON CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS: Gladys Harrington moved that the publicity department be instructed to send out a press release on the resolutions on housing and urban renewal immediately and that the full text of these resolutions be sent to Dr. Weaver. The motion was seconded and passed.

Alan Gartner moved that Section 2 of Article XVII of the Constitution be amended, adding a third stipulation (c), that in order to obtain active membership a person must serve a probationary period. The motion was seconded and defeated.

Rev. Cox urged members and locals to send more telegrams to the president of Howard Johnson Company, protesting segregation in the chain's restaurants.

The Convention was adjourned, after a rising vote of thanks to Miami CORE.

The following report of the Community Relations Workshop, not given at the Convention, was filed with the Secretary:

COMMUNITY RELATIONS WORKSHOP: Jo Dodson prepared the report for the Community Relations Workshop, which was chaired by Marvin Rich. The workshop members first defined problems facing them locally. Problems listed by delegates included:

1. Getting closer to the Negro community --- one of the Ohio chapters has only three members who are Negro, out of twenty active members;

2. Obtaining support for projects from local organizations --- Philadelphia CORE recently failed to secure support for "Operation Windowshop" from other local organizations;

3. Reaching the Negro community with news of demonstrations --- St. Louis County has this problem;

4. Reaching a more adult segment of the community --- a new chapter in North Carolina is made up principally of students and would like to reach more adults;

5. Reaching more students --- Long Island CORE would like to have more student members;

6. Obtaining better general community participation;

7. Getting the Negro community to use recent anti-discrimination legislation --- this is a problem in St. Louis; and

8. Explaining the constant need for money when repeated fund-raising campaigns are held.

As many of the problems as possible were handled in discussion which focused on three main areas:

A. Cooperation and support for CORE actions by other community organizations -- Two sources of difficulty should be considered in securing cooperation and support from other organizations: opposition from the leaders of the organization and organizational structure which hampers cooperation, such as approval of certain actions by executive committees, or the necessity for a membership vote.

The workshop concluded it may be unrealistic to expect wholesale support from local organizations, but that support for specific actions of a CORE chapter can and should be obtained. Preparation and distribution of a history of past projects would be of assistance in securing support for a major project.

To better inform the community of CORE actions each chapter should publish a newsletter that not only informs members of the chapter business, but also informs the community of general issues and CORE actions on both a local and national level. Only three of the groups represented in the Workshop publish newsletters regularly.

B. Involving the community in CORE activities -- Literature is useful in spreading the CORE idea, as well as a newsletter. It was recognized that "This is CORE" does not really meet the needs of groups at the local level and suggestions were made for incorporating local information in the national literature.

C. Support needed and desired -- Leaders of organizations are sometimes loath to associate with CORE actions, but their assistants and underlings in the organizations often will. The structure of other organizations should be explored to determine levels of leadership and gain an understanding of motivations, so that all can be worked with. Local Church and community leaders should be included in the national CORE mailing list.

A good deal of discussion centered upon publicity. Publicity was defined as an action tool, since it helps each success bring more success. For example, applicants are more easily obtained after publicity.

Groups should document their work in order to get proper credit. If other organizations try to get credit improperly it is not wise to publicly deny their claims, or complain about them. But people in the community will know what led up to the action and who did the work, if the project is properly documented.

Getting good publicity depends on understanding: (1) what constitutes a news story for the different media (Newspapers, radio, TV), and (2) the mechanics of getting publicity out.

What is news? It depends on the media and the area. Local news is not of interest to the larger daily newspapers, but weekly newspapers are interested in local names and stories. TV coverage demands visual interest, a demonstration; picketing and sit-ins are very effective.

One should know the newspapers' deadlines and time projects accordingly. Dailies do not cover Saturday morning and Sunday news too well, because of reduced staff. Mondays are usually slow news days, and the chance of getting a story are good on Mondays. Try to find a human interest angle, especially on repeated stories. Timing of releases is very important, and finding subsidiary stories within stories is important for long-range projects. If two projects are going on at once, they should be publicized separately, rather than combined in one story. Sometimes it is necessary to pick a project for its publicity value.

Recommendations and Suggestions: (1) One person in each chapter should be placed on Marvin Rich's contact list to receive news releases from the national office; (2) Attitudes should be examined to see if middle-class concepts are keeping the group from relating to the mass of the community; and (3) Groups should not expect sustained support from the community or organizations, but should endeavor to achieve better understanding for CORE goals, and seek support for specific projects and actions.

Respectfully submitted,

Anna Holden, Secretary

ATTENDANCE

NATIONAL CORE CONVENTION

Hampton House - Sir John Motel
Miami, Florida
June 28-July 1, 1962

DELEGATES

Calif., Berkeley
Inge Powell
John Taylor

Calif., Los Angeles
Woodrow Coleman
Dale Martin
Sam Cunningham
Joe McKnight

Calif., Santa Monica
Pual T. Flint

District of Columbia
Ramsley Atkinson

Florida, Miami
Gloria Gilliom
Hazle Crawford
Ruth Miles
Myrle Hepburn
Charles Siegel

Ill., Chicago
Bruce Rappaport
Ruth Ford
William Ford

Ill., East St. Louis
Homer Randolph
Joe Ann Moss
Ella Smith

Ky., Lexington
Julia E. Lewis

Ky., Louisville
K. D. Kerr

La., Baton Rouge
William Bradford
Joe Louis Smith
John A. Sams
Sylvia Copper
Pat Nelson

La., New Orleans
Frank Nelson
Shirly Thompson
Marthelo Swarz
Don Hubbard
Oretha Castle

Mass., Boston
Alan Gartner

Mich., Detroit
Ralph Rosenfeld

Mo., St. Louis
Herman Thompson
Arthur Smith
Vera Williams
Bliso Malone
Emma Malone
Loretta Hall (Alt.)

Mo., St. Louis County
Janice Contjean
Ruth Mason
Doris Hollis
Ralph Washington
Elmer McCraty

N.J., Bergen County
Shirly Lacy

N.J., Newark-Essex
Patricia Curvin
Robert Curvin

N.Y., Brooklyn
Cliver Leeds
Kurt Flascher
Ben Brown
Rose Beverly
Barbara Wallace

N.Y., CCNY
Robert Atkins
Paul Gilvert

N.Y., Long Island
Lincoln D. Lynch
Mark Dodson
Jo Dodson
Judy Lewis

N.Y., NYU
David Moswitz
Joel Freedman

Ohio, Cincinnati
Martha Dewberry

Ohio, Columbus
Martha Dillard
Bennie Luchion

Ohio, Dayton
W. S. McIntosh
Charline B. McIntosh

Penna., Philadelphia
Louis Smith
Eveline Smith
Polly Byrd
Gilbert Cantor
Lillian Mirmack

OFFICERS

Chairman ..... Charles Oldham, St. Louis, Missouri

First Vice-Chairman ..... Rudolph Lombard, Syracuse, New York

Second Vice-Chairman ..... Henry Hodge, Los Angeles, California

Secretary ..... Anna Holden, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Treasurer ..... A. D. Moore, Miami, Florida

Regional Representatives, East.....Julius Hobson, Washington, D. C.

Regional Representatives, South....Oretha Castle, New Orleans, Louisiana

Unaffiliated Groups and Visitors

High Point, North Carolina ..... Della Mitchell

Greensboro, North Carolina.....Bette Wall

Burlington-Graham, North Carolina...Bernard Clinkscales

Cleveland, Ohio.....John McCloud

NATIONAL DIRECTOR'S STAFF REPORT

This Twentieth Annual Convention of CORE is a priceless opportunity for the organization to take stock of what it is and where it is, and to decide where it is going from here. No longer are we the interloper in the civil rights movement; we are now its cutting edge. No longer are we a tight fellowship of a few dedicated advocates of a brilliant new method of social change; we are now a large family spawned by the union of method-oriented pioneers and the righteously indignant ends-oriented militants. We are, in a phrase, the wedding between ends and means, and between theory and action. This is CORE -- twenty years after, and it is at once our strength and our problem. We are strong, because the methods that we use, being both moral and effective, when pursued vigorously produce the good ends which we all passionately desire. Our problem is the constant internal tension between means and ends -- that creative force which can bring out the best in both partners to a marriage such as ours by tempering one against the other. This internal tension, creative as it is, is obviously more of a problem in CORE than it would be in any organization concerned primarily with means or exclusively with ends.

Our strength as an effective, hard-hitting means-ends organization is a problem in another way too. We are feared and respected by our adversaries. In many cases, the mere threat of CORE direct action brings barriers tumbling down and produces constructive negotiations. In city after city this has happened in retail chain store employment (as in Boston and Long Island), in city transit employment (as in Washington, D. C.), and in chain restaurant service (as in the Howard Johnson chains in the Southeast). It is even true to some extent in the deep South, as the next few weeks will show. We should have <u>more</u> problems like this, it is true, for our objective is the elimination of racial discrimination, and the easier and quicker this is accomplished the better we like it. Yet, when our dedicated CORE activists are poised for a direct non-violent onslaught, they may become restive when the barriers fall without a struggle. There is considerable evidence that this may become a major problem organizationally. An organization such as ours, geared as it has been to the dramatic short thrust, must learn to live also with, and sustain itself through, the undramatic long haul. We must build an organization with the fluidity and mobility to initiate action and the professional competence and community backing necessary to follow through. And, on top of that, we must build a financial structure sufficiently sound that our action and follow-through are not hampered by the ebb and flow of precarious funds.

These, as I see it, are some of the major challenges facing CORE at this point in its history. We shall meet them. They involve every phase of CORE's activity, and require the effective functioning of every department in the National Office.

To cope with these problems, the field department was divided last February 1 into two separate but closely related functioning units--the Department of Program and Training, with Gordon Carey as director and Norman Hill as assistant, and the Department of Organizing and Servicing, with James McCain, director, and Fredricka Teer as assistant. The program reports as follows:

PROGRAM REPORT

For the coming year the Program Department is mapping plans for major campaigns in the fields of school desegregation, retail employment, public accommodations, and freedom of residence. Additionally, many projects already under way will be continued. Among these are the development of home industry in Haywood County, (Tote Bag project), close cooperation with the Committee for the Employment of Negro Performers, (CENP) -- an organization founded with the assistance and support of CORE and continuing work on integration of the apprenticeship program in the skilled trades.

Since February, the Program Department has coordinated the testing of numerous bus terminal facilities in the South. Testing has been done by the field staff and by our southern groups. They have filed_____number of complaints of discrimination with the Justice Department and _____ number with the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Preliminary work has also been done in the field of retail chain store employmen . The chapters did an excellent job surveying the employment practices of Sears, Roebuck. This information plus other data secured by the office were used in a negotiation with a vice president of Sears. The employment policies of other large chain stores are also being investigated.

Through CORE's cooperation, the Tote Bag project in Haywood County was initiated. We sent Eric Weinberger to Haywood County to initiate and coordinate this program. A few CORE chapters have done good work in selling these leather bags produced in the homes of displaced Negro farmers. Over_____ number of bags have been produced and shipped as of June____. As of this same date, the Haywood Cooperative Industries had _____number of additional orders that had not yet been filled. A total number of orders represents_____number of dollars in gross income. The entire proceeds of the sale of these bags go to the persons who manufacture them. The vast majority of orders came from the mailing sent to the National CORE membership list.

A challenge in Haywood County now is to develop a continuing market for the sale of these bags. It may also be feasible to expand this project to the manufacture of other types of leather goods. One major store in New York City has agreed to handle the sale of Tote Bags on a non-profit basis. We are looking for other such outlets.

Preparation for the forthcoming Freedom Highways project has of course consumed a great deal of the department's time. Our field staff and chapters were most helpful in testing Howard Johnson Restaurants and motels across the nation. After ten weeks of effort a meeting with the Howard Johnson Company was finally secured. In preparation for this negotiation, a good deal of research into the company structure and policies was required.

At the date of the writing of this report, recruitment for Freedom Highways has progressed well. The two week training session for participants will take place from July 15-30. Following that the project itself will begin under the direction of Gordon Carey and Rudy Lombard. If Freedom Highways develops into a major movement in the South, the full cooperation of our northern chapters will be essential. At this Convention, we hope to be able to make plans for Northern picketing and supportive action.

The Committee for the Employment of Negro Performers was founded in December of 1961 and now encompasses thirty active members, primarily performers with the purpose of eliminating discriminatory casting practices in motion pictures, radio, theater, and television and bringing about the portrayal of the Negro in these media with contemporary and historical authenticity in keeping with the ever expanding role of the Negro in American society.

The efforts of the CENP have centered as union members on Actors Equity Association, American Federation of Radio and Television Artists and the Screen Actors Guild in order to obtain a strong anti-discrimination clause in the union contract with powers of policing and enforcement. Cases of discrimination have been documented in theater and television. As a result of negotiations with ABC, CBS, NBC by CORE, CENP and the Urban League, these networks have issued public policy anti-discrimination statements and sent directives of implementation to the producers of their shows. Procedures for insuring notification of Negro performers of casting calls are being worked out. Two Broadway shows, "How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying" and "Subways Are For Sleeping" have been picketed. An agreement with Jean Dalrample, Artistic Director of the Drama and Light Opera Company of City Center of New York, was signed and made public taking positive action to insure the use of Negro actors, dancers and singers in all types of roles in the future. A major national effort is being planned in the fall against motion pictures.

We have worked with the New York City Joint Committee composed of CORE, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, NAACP Negro American Labor Council and the Puerto Rican Association of Community Affairs in the following areas of contract compliance, apprenticeship training and the New York World's Fair.

The Joint Committee can point to the following results:

1. The announcement by Mayor Wagner of a program enforcing and implementing the non-discrimination clause in all city contracts with firms with additional staff being assigned to Commission on Human Rights for this purpose.
2. The securing of over 300 non-white applicants for a new program of apprenticeship training institute. by Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

3. The integration of the administrative staff of the New York World's Fair on clerical and executive levels.

The Summer Training Program should be an excellent one this year. The Interracial Action Institute will be in Texas for the first time. Local contacts are organizing a Houston CORE Chapter to work with the Institute and to follow through on projects initiated by the Institure. It should be noted that Texas is virgin territory for CORE and the advent of our activity in that state could well be significant to increased contact in the South and Southwest.

The Employment-Housing Institute this summer will be held in Columbus, Ohio. It has been expanded to a full two-week program. It should provide excellent opportunity for training in both of these important fields. It is our belief that these represent two of the most urgent needs for activity in the North. Norman Hill of the Program Department will be directing the Institute in Columbus, Ohio. Richard Haley, Assistant to the National Director, will be the director of the Action Institute in Houston, Texas.

There is still room for last minute applicants to both of these Institutes. I would particularly like to urge that those chapters that have not yet arranged for one of their members to attend an institute to do so immediately. Of course, for the northern chapters the Housing-Employment Institute will be of primary importance.

For the coming year, the Program Department is asking authorization to develop new programs in several areas. These are of course in addition to follow-up on the Freedom Highways. One major field that we hope to enter with more vigor is retail employment. It is hoped that through the cooperation of our chapters a meaningful and effective program to fight discrimination by large chains can be developed. A project of this sort could develop into a nation-wide Boycott. In this case it is obvious that most of the actual work would be in the hands of the chapters.

Another major field of CORE activity proposed by the department is the development of a direct action program to apply pressure on the president of the United States to issue the long promised but not yet forthcoming executive order against discrimination in housing. A direct action campaign directed at the administration by National CORE will serve to work hand in hand by increased local activity in the housing field.

All of us have been long frustrated by the ineffectiveness of school integration both South and North. It is disillusioning that eight years after the historic desegregation decision by the Supreme Court, most children in the South are still in segregated schools. It appears obvious that direct action techniques are needed in school desegregation to supplement the legal action. Direct action has recently been used in a number of northern communities with some success. It is our belief that this type of action can be expanded in the North and can be introduced and used effectively in the South as well. The Program Department would like the convention to consider a coordinated "operation transfer" in this regard.

During the coming year, it is apparent that these projects and numerous others will keep the Department of Program and Training busy. Many lesser efforts have been undertaken since the Department was formed and will be continued. So far we have issued and sent out to the chapters mimeographed copies for desegregation of schools and housing in the North. An educational guide and bibliography for action in the skilled crafts area of employment is now ready for chapter use. The Department has also cooperated with the Community Relations Department in establishing the Committee of Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in the South; and with the Department of Organization in setting up staff retreats and meetings. They have cooperated with CORE chapters and other local groups in Washington and Maryland in the continuing drive to desegregate restaurants along U. S. Highway 40 and throughout the State of Maryland. Through the Program Department National CORE picketed the New York Stock Exchange at the request of our friends in Huntsville, Alabama. On May 17 the Program Department initiated and coordinated picket lines at the offices of the major political parties in New York City and elsewhere.

During the 1962-63 year it is their hope to expand the Training Program. I believe that the creation of a separate program department has been an important step in the development of a more effective National Office. For the first time, we now have competent full time staff who can devote their entire efforts to these crucial matters of national concern.

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT REPORT

Program, National Project and Training in non-violence have little meaning in the struggle without vigorous local CORE groups to implement them, back them up and benefit from them. We now have an expanding network of chapters North and South. The Organization Department report as follows:

The Organization Department went into effect five months ago. In that time, we have taken a good look around to determine our most pressing needs and where finance and time allowed, implemented some of our ideas.

There seemed to be a back-log of groups that had expressed an interest in CORE and who wanted, conceivably to become a part of the non-violent struggle. The immediate pressure of our everyday function had not allowed us to work closely with very many of these groups. There was also the question of servicing existing groups. In addition, there were parts of the country where injustice and inequality ran rampant and where nothing or very little was being done about it. Some of the border states and the southwestern states (Texas is a good case in point) are good examples.

To speak to these problems, we felt it necessary to divide the country geographically into more workable areas and to assign staff at least to the most pressing areas. We have a staff person, Mary Hamilton, working in what we term Area Three (Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Ohio.) We have another, Don Wendell, handling the East Coast Region, (New York, the northeastern states and New Jersey). Eugene Tournour works out of St. Louis and services the surrounding three state areas. Rev. Cox is working in North Carolina.

In addition, we have established two regional offices, one in New Orleans staffed by Marvin Robinson, a veteran of the '60 Southern University fight for desegregation and one in San Francisco named by Genevieve Hughes.

We have several potential groups some of which are in states virgin to CORE such as Texas, North Carolina and Tennessee. Because of inactivity, Iowa City, Iowa and Spartanburg, South Carolina have disaffiliated since the February Council meeting and 5 new groups have affiliated. We now have groups in Jackson, Mississippi; Dayton, Ohio; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Long Island University, New York; and Syracuse, New York. We have a total of 65 affiliated groups.

During this period, we have aimed at qualitatively intensifying our work. We are beginning to implement the suggestion of many of our more experienced field staff. It is with much regret that we acknowledge the fact that Tom Gaither will no longer be with us. He is being inducted into the Army. Tom has worked with CORE for sometime. His dedication to non-violence, his grasp of the situation and his wealth of experience have been tremendous aids to CORE. He shall certainly be missed.

As the Treasurer's report would indicate, expenses are now outrunning income. The bulk of our expenditures have been on CORE's action. The Freedom Rides alone have cost us approximately $360,000. We presently in Jackson, Mississippi we have ten trials pending (mostly local people but also including Richard Haley). The bonds of fourteen individuals have been forfeited; 125 cases have been appealed to the Circuit Court. There have been 114 Nolo Contendre pleas and 30 acquittals; five have paid their fines and received a suspended sentence; and seven have served time and paid part of their fines; eight served their entire sentences; one died and five juveniles were released on probation.

The Freedom Ride expenses in Jackson may not be over for CORE. Though the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund is paying the lawyers and handling the appeals, we do not yet know for certain whether or not there will be additional bond requirements or transportation of individuals to stand trial. These are CORE's responsibilities.

In addition, our expenses in Baton Rouge have been substantial, with high bond requirements, lawyers fees, subsistance for CORE members expelled from Southern University, etc.

It would be a tragedy to the Civil Rights movement if CORE, at this stage, were compelled to curtail its activities. This we must not do. Yet, we must find ways to reduce expenses and to raise more funds. Our efforts to secure tax deductability for CORE have not met with success. Obviously, though, some phases of our work such as legal defense, publishing educational literature and conducting educational institutes fill the requirements for tax exemption. Plans are now underway to separate these tax deductable functions from CORE's action program and turn them over to a new and separate corporation, which will then seek tax deductability. This new corporation, for which papers have already been filed, will be called Congress of Racial Equality Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc. Tax deductability may not be achieved for this corporation within the first year of its operation. If it finally is achieved, then CORE's financial problems should ease substantially. In the meantime, it is essential for our chapters to realize the difficulties of raising enough money to support our present program. CORE chapters are primarily action groups, and must remain so rather than become fund raising agencies. Yet, some CORE chapters have come to the aid of the National organization by holding one or two fund raising functions per year for the benefit of National CORE. This, I believe, should become a pattern to be followed by all local chapters. We are now too large an organization, with too many nation-wide commitments, for all of our funds to be centrally raised. The communities all over the country, which we serve must increasingly bear the burden of CORE's nonviolent onslaught against Jim Crow.

While CORE's impact on the national and local communities has grown remarkably, infinitely more needs to be done along these lines. The debate which has raged within CORE since its inception has centered around the proposition of small, tightly knit, disciplined groups versus a mass movement. This debate, in my view, is no longer not a valid one. Nonviolence is now too well-known and widely accepted, if not thoroughly understood, for us to think in terms of

exclusive elitist organization. The challenge of the times is for us to maintain a high level of dicipline, and increase the training, and at the same time broaden our base in the community. One does not become a "mass movement" merely by deciding and seeking to be one. Movement becomes mass in character when it develops appeal to masses of people, and devises methods of recruitment which do not limit it within such confines as middle class, church oriented, the educated, the cultured, sophisticated, or those who have achieved status. In other words, CORE groups should no longer let their recruitment be accidental; and seek them through visitations to pool halls and bars as well as churches, street corner meetings as well as social gatherings, open doors rather than closed ones. How often does one hear it asked: "How does one become a member of CORE?"

Obviously, then, our training of recruits must keep pace with our recruitment. The Freedom Rides have indicated that many without previous ties to the nonviolent movement can be diciplined in nonviolent action.

Not only do we need expanded membership in CORE, but the present stage of the struggle calls for an expansion of program areas. Even if Negroes could eat in every restaurant, sleep in every hotel, wait in every waiting room, work in any job for which they are trained, attend any school and live in any house for which they can pay, we would still be far from the society of equality which we seek. Look at the growing ghettos in the north and the declining plantations in the south. One thing that is needed is the gradual development of a program of self-help, where possible, on an international basis. What CORE is doing in Haywood and Fayette county may well be a guide-line to the future. Producer and consumer co-ops and credit unions in cities north and south and in rural areas of the south will be a good beginning and will provide us with a lever for the type of community organization required to mount a full-scale mass campaign for equality. Economic reprisals in the south are the greatest deterent to large numbers of adults taking active part in our movement. We must seek to provide cooperative alternatives to the service and employment which will be withdrawn from the activists as our movement progresses.

We can only think in terms of programatic expansion because of the success we have had in the recent past with our sporatic and sometimes guerilla nonviolent campaigns. This success would not have been possible, and we would not now be able to look to the future with confidence, were it not for CORE's staff which takes a back-seat to the staff of no Civil Rights organization in terms of dedication, competence and skill. Without exception, CORE's staff, including the entire field staff, has served well under frequent trying circumstances. I am fortunate, as National Director, to have such a staff to work with. The organization is fortunate in having , in addition to the Department Heads and assistants and field staff, a person of the unique talents of Richard Haley, the Assistant to the National Director, and Clora Coleman, the Administrative Assistant, and Office Manager. Both have been indespensable in helping us to digest and absorb the new growth which has been thrust upon CORE and the nonviolent movement for Freedom and Equality.

Voter Registration and Education

Because of the tremendous effect the vote has, especially in the South and because we have been offered financial aid for work in this area, we have begun to concentrate on voter registration. We have been given a 90-day grant to work on voter education in South Carolina, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Jackson, Mississippi. There are possibilities of this grant being renewed at the end of the 90-day period.

Jim McCain has been quietly working on Voter Registration in his home state of South Carolina with much results for many years.

He is directing our Voter Registration operation. We have opened a Voter Education office in Sumter, South Carolina, staffed by Frank Robinson, a field secretary, working on Voter Registration assisted by William E. Brown, hired to work exclusively on Voter Registration and a secretary, Almaline Butler. Through their concerted efforts an impressive number of Negro voters have been registered in South Carolina.

We have opened another office in Baton Rouge, Weldon Rougeau and Ronnie Moore have been hired to work exclusively on the Voter Registration project there. They are being assisted by some of the students expelled this past winter from Southern University. Dave Dennis is being lent to the Voter Registration project. He is working out of Jackson, Mississippi.

Summary

We have a total of 10 field secretaries, and 4 people working on Voter Registration. We have attempted to re-establish communication with each group. Our aim is to determine with them where they are and what is the most likely direction in which they should proceed. We want to deploy staff in a way that is most expedient to strengthening existing groups of militant people all over the country, but especially in the South, dedicated to eradicating the the stigma of discrimination through means of non-violence.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS DEPARTMENT REPORT

CORE does not work in a vacuum. We are a part of local communities and the community of this nation. Those communities must understand what we are and what we do, and must support our movement if it is to continue and grow. They represent the task of our Community Relations Department.

At the beginning of the year the membership and Community Relations Department were separate and staffed by 4 professionals. On February 1, 1962, they were combined into one Community Relations Department with Marvin Rich as Director and Bill Larkins, assistant. Now that Bill Larkins has resigned to seek a career in the theatre, the burden is carried largely by Marvin Rich alone, inspite of a great increase of volume of activity.

Much of CORE's success during thid period is a result of the use of dedicated volunteers such as Jim Peck and Charlotte Devree. Credit also goes to Jocelyn Boyd and Cynthia Homire who handled clerical and other details in the department's work.

The Community Relations Department report as follows:

> The dramatic thrust into the deep South of Freedom Rides has been sustained with local non-violent direct action groups in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. More and more individuals concerned about civil rights understand CORE's role in that remarkable development, and know that CORE is a National, Interracial, Direct Action Organization. All of our efforts in the Mass Media are in terms of how we put our philosophies into practice, and how we put ethical imperatives.
>
> During the course of the year, we have included college newspapers on our press list. This should help stimulate action groups, in fund-raising and in general interpretation of our program. The Community Relations director is also meeting with a series of TV producers and critics to further the coverage of CORE action in this media.
>
> LITERATURE - The CORElator, under Jim Peck's editorship, has increased its press run to 55,000. It came out eight time last year and it is hoped that it will come out nine times in the coming year. We have reprinted two articles from the Amherst Alumni Bulletin in the form of a pamphlet The Freedom Riders. 50,000 copies were published. It Happened in Baton Rouge by by Ronnie Moore, Major Johns and Jim Peck was published in the spring. The 75,000 copies have been circulated to the CORE list, to churches and to student and union groups. We feel that the pamphlet and the resultant public indignation had some part in delaying Ronnie Moore's trial 'til September 13. 75,000 copies of the new voter education pamphlet have been ordered. It is hoped that they will be available in time for the convention.
>
> The Freedom Ride film done by the Social Action Commission of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was well received wherever it was shown. This is the first major film making effort for CORE and has been successful in bringing the CORE story to many new groups.
>
> The Committee of Inquiry - This Committee established by Eleanor Roosevelt and including such distinguished Americans as Roger Baldwin, Kenneth Clark, Joseph Rauh, Telford Taylor, Dr. Gardner Taylor, and Boris Shishkin heard testimony from 24 witnesses concerning the abuse of the judicial process of the South. Publicity coverage of the hearings was excellent even in the South. We plan to circulate the recommendations of the Committee very widely and to take appropriate action where necessary. A booklet containing summaries of the testimony will be prepared if funds are available.

Community Relations Department Report cont'd.

FUND-RAISING - Fund-raising is very intimately related to the entire community relations program. As we become better known it is easier to secure new associate members. As our members understand the importance of our work the size of the average contribution tends to increase.

Our total income for the past year was $609,000 -- an increase of $369,000 over the previous year.

In CORE, fund-raising is in two major categories: direct mail and special fund-raising.

Direct Mail consist of (1) membership maintenance, that is, appeals to the CORE list for support and (2) membership recruitment, that is, appeals to outside lists to join in the work of CORE. We have done phenomenally well both in maintenance and in recruitment.

Membership Maintenence - Contributions from our own list totaled $195,000 during the year. This is the largest figure ever and exceeds 1960-61 by $90,000.

CORE Income Growth

	Members	Increase Over Previous Year	%Increase	Total Income	%Increase
1961-62	45,000	19,000	73%	$609,000	154%
1960-61	26,000	11,000	73%	$240,000	65%
1959-60	15,000			$145,000	

Recruitment - We sent 426,755 appeal letters to lists other than CORE this year. This is an increase of only 16,000 over the previous year. However, the CORE list grew from 26,000 to 45,000 during the year. Contributions from new contributors total $78,000. The previous year we secured 11,000 new members and our income from this source was $53,000.

Special Fund-Raising - Special fund-raising is the source of most of the phenomenal financial growth of CORE during the year. In 1960-61 we received just under $40,000 from special fund-raising. In 1961-62 we received $227,000 from various forms of special fund-raising. This category represents an opportunity and a danger. We have not, by any means exhausted the possibility of special fund-raising.

This year we received approximately $35,000 from the trade union movement. This could be doubled during the coming year. However, this requires a concerted effort. We received something under $9,000 from churches this year. This is a disappointment to us and, I am sure, to many concerned church people. We will make every effort to increase this figure during the next year.

Community Relations Department Report Cont'd.

Special planned fund-raising benefits - Teas, parties, etc. can increase a bit. However, there are particularly vulnerable to press coverage at the moment. If we are in a period of very active publicity then it is quite likely that we will do well with these. However, we cannot continue to expect the publicity which we received during the height of the Freedom Rides.

On the whole, I should think we should be able to just repeat last year's performance in special fund-raising. I do not believe that it is realistic to expect a significant increase from fund-raising during the coming year.

During the height of the Freedom Rides many individuals gave more to us than they could afford. Others, new to CORE, gave under the assumption that contributions were tax exempt. Contributions from these two sources will therefore be decreased during the coming year. There should also be some decrease in the rapid growth in the CORE membership list since we are now dropping on the basis of a large list.

It is my estimate that we can expect an increase in income of approximately 20% from direct mail for the next year. This would be approximately $55,000.

Holiday Cards - Holiday cards are important, nor primarily for fund-raising, but for increasing the mailing list: many of our holiday card buyers become contributors. Last year we received more than $57,000 from holiday cards and showed a profit of over $10,000. It is my estimate that we should realize an income of over $100,000 from holiday cards in the coming year and a corresponding increase in the profit.

The increase in postage rates makes it more difficult than ever for CORE to increase its direct mail promotions and its holiday cards. However, these must continue if we are to continue expanding as an organization and in effectiveness in the civil rights movement.

Minutes - National Action Committee

Congress of Racial Equality

June 1, 1962

Present: Farmer, Haley, Rich, Carey, Lombard, Rachlin, Gartner, McCummings, Peck

Invited Observers: Wendell, Teer, Hill

A statement of the duties and functions of the CORE Field Staff was presented to the NAC by the Department of Organization, which is in direct charge of the Field Staff. It was accepted, with certain revisions, and will be mailed to all CORE chapters.

Jackson Non-Violent Movement: James Farmer briefed the Committee on this Jackson, Mississippi organization which has expressed its desire to affiliate with the Congress of Racial Equality as the "Jackson Non-Violent Movement: affiliated with CORE." The NAC accepted Mr. Farmer's suggestion to affiliate the group with the stipulation that they be asked to affiliate as the Jackson Non-Violent Movement: affiliated CORE chapter.

Fredricka Teer reported that CORE Field Secretary Tom Gaither must report for Army duty on June 11th. NAC members voted unanimously to send Mr. Gaither a letter of thanks for the fine job he has done with the Congress of Racial Equality, with particular reference to his work in Jackson, Mississippi.

The Citizens' Committee for $1.50 minimum wage has requested that CORE act as a co-sponsor of its forthcoming demonstration on Tuesday, June 5th. The NAC voted unanimously to co-sponsor this demonstration.

Financial Report: Marvin Rich reported that CORE does not currently have enough money on hand to meet its forthcoming payroll.

Five-thousand dollars has already been removed from the reserve account, leaving only $10,000 in this emergency account. (Since the meeting an additional $5,000 has been removed from reserves and spent to meet pressing obligations.) Postage advances and several other obligations must be met. Mr. Rich gave a report to the Committee on CORE's income for the last fiscal year and a projection of the coming year. He stated he expected large contributions from unions, churches and other organizations to increase substantially during the coming fiscal year. However, income from specially planned fund-raising affairs such as benefits, teas, parties, etc. is expected to decline by about the same amount. He expressed the opinion that CORE's non-tax-exempt status may be affecting our large individual contributions. Direct mail should increase by 20% in the coming year.

A jazz festival in Harlem, an art auction, and the 1962 Gandhi award presentation are all planned for fall, 1962 with the hope that they will add some money to CORE's treasury.

A ninety day voter registration grant of $8,625 has been received by the organization. This money is to be used exclusively in voter registration work.

This report was concluded with the statement that the summer of 1962 will be a very tight one financially, and it may be necessary for the organization to borrow before this period ends. The report was accepted by the NAC.

Budget Committee: Mr. Farmer read a letter from National Chairman Charles Oldham suggesting that the NAC set up a committee to go over the budget which will be presented to CORE's National Convention.

Mr. Oldham further suggested that Alan Gartner, Rudy Lombard and James Peck constitute this special committee. The committee was so appointed with these three NAC members accepting the job. Staff members were requested to see that a proposed budget is prepared and submitted to this committee next week. Rudy Lombard, who will be in the city during this week, will initiate the work of the budget committee.

Vice-Chairman Rudy Lombard reported for the committee established at the last NAC meeting to investigate the general situation with regard to remuneration for CORE legal counsel. This committee recommended that Jim Farmer's request, that the firm of Vladeck & Elias (Carl Rachlin is a partner) be placed on retainer at $9.000 per year, be accepted. The proposal was accepted by the NAC with the request that the effective date be October 1, 1962.

Community Relations: Marvin Rich reported that a pamphlet on the work which CORE is doing in voter registration will be produced as soon as it is financially possible to do so. He reported, too, that U.S. News and World Report will carry a feature on CORE's voter registration program in its issue of June 11. Look magazine is doing a feature on Baton Rouge.

The Committee on Inquiry meeting, held in Washington, D.C. May 25 and 26, was reported a success by all staff members who attended. The National Action Committee was told of the very effective job which had been done by Mrs. Charlotte Devree in setting up this meeting and the Committee asked that the National Director send a letter of commendation to Mrs. Devree. The NAC further requested that all staff members who had worked to make this meeting a success be given a special thank-you from the National Action Committee.

Marvin Rich recommended that the Committee on Inquiry meeting be followed up as quickly as possible and in every way possible to bring about maximum results. CORE is applying to a foundation for funds to further publicize the meeting.

The Community Relations Director told the NAC that his former assistant, William Larkins, has resigned to become active with the Shakespeare Festival in New York City. Because of CORE's financial position, Mr. Rich was asked to attempt to carry on his department through the summer without a replacement. The Committee also asked that the National Office direct a letter of thanks to Mr. Larkins for his service to the organization.

The Episcopalian ministers who were jailed in Jackson, Mississippi last year and who were later acquitted may turn over to CORE a portion of the funds collected for their defense which are not now needed.

Program Department Report: Norman Hill reported on the Action Institute, housing workshop and the schools' project as follows: Applications for the Action Institute are good. Those for the housing-employment workshop are coming in much slower. Since time is drawing very close for the latter, he expressed the hope that applications for this workshop would pick up substantially in the next few days. Mr. Hill reported that the schools' project, particularly Operation Transfer, which would faciliiate transferrals of students from less desirable schools to more desirable ones where possible, is being worked up by the Program Department for presentation in the school desegregation workshop of the National Convention.

Vice-Chairman Rudy Lombard commented here on the necessity of action on the housing and school levels, particularly in the North. The Department of Organization was asked to request that members of the Field Staff put forth some special effort in these areas.

Freedom Highways: Gordon Carey advised the NAC that Henry Thomas is presently working on the Freedom Highways' project and that Jerome Smith will start Tuesday, June 5. Applications are good and twelve persons have already been accepted. Cars are available for this project but insurance coverage raises something of a problem. CORE's insurance agent is currently working on this. It is estimated that the cost of Freedom Highways will be between $17,000 and $20,000, exclusive of legal costs.

The National Office succeeded in setting up a meeting with a Howard Johnson's official, who advised that although they do not desire segregation, they have no jurisdiction over the individual restaurants, except those which they own outright. Initial tests of the Howard Johnson's chain up and down the East Coast of Florida show considerable desegregation since the beginning of the project.

The NAC discussed the possibility of expanding the Freedom Highways' project to establishments other than Howard Johnson's. Attorney Carl Rachlin requested that he be allowed to investigate whether or not federal money has been used in the construction of the establishments under consideration. Further details will be reported at the Convention.

Alan Gartner reported that the Director of a New England group known as the American Legal Association has issued a statement saying that they are no longer recommending tourism to Louisiana and Arkansas as

the result of the reverse "Freedom Rides" from these states.

Norman Hill, who is a member of the Committee to Integrate the New York World's Fair, reported that this Committee had succeeded in getting several Negroes hired, one on the executive level. Mr. Hill also reported that the Committee for the Employment of Negro Performers, which is working closely with CORE, had met with considerable success. The results of its negotiations with City Center in New York were widely reported in the press a few weeks ago. He informed the NAC that CORE, in conjunction with the Negro American Labor Council, would be picketing the Broadway play, "Subways Are For Sleeping" on Saturday, June 2nd. There are three documented cases of discrimination in the casting of "Subways Are For Sleeping", supported by members of the production staff. These are now before the Executive Council of Actors' Equity Association. CORE attorney, Carl Rachlin, has offered to act as counsel and bear the cost of arbitration proceedings. A resolution will be demanded, binding the Council to act at its membership meeting on Friday, June 8th.

Constitutional Changes: A plan for revisions in voting representation at the National Convention and suggested changes in Council structure were presented to the NAC. After lengthy discussion it was decided to call a special NAC meeting on Sunday, June 10, to work exclusively on these proposals. They would then be sent to CORE chapters requesting their study and recommendations from which a final proposal would be drawn for presentation to the National Convention.

Richard Haley advised that the Rev. Martin Luther King had accepted an invitation to speak at a luncheon at the Convention on

Saturday, June 30. Also, Harry Golden has accepted an invitation to address the Convention Friday evening, June 29. Transportation is still being worked on and one bus company has stated that it will take delegates round trip at $40 per person. A memo is going to all CORE groups, urging that they please send in the names of their delegates so that final arrangements can be made for housing and transportation. A memorandum is also going to cooperating organizations, inviting their attendance at the Convention.

In keeping with the suggestion from National Director, James Farmer, and CORE General Counsel, Carl Rachlin, the NAC authorized them to go to Baton Rouge, Louisiana and attempt to settle the difficulties with Attorney Johnny Jones of that city. Disagreement has arisen over the handling of certain legal cases involving CORE members and Attorney Jones' charges for his services on these cases. The results of their negotiations with Mr. Jones would be brought to the NAC for final decision.

JRL

National Action Committee
June 10, 1962

Present: Farmer, Coleman, Rachlin, Haley, Rich, Lombard, Gartner, Peck. Observers: Teer, Wendell

Carl Rachlin advised that an appointment has been set up for Jim Farmer and himself with Attorney Johnny Jones of Baton Rouge on Tuesday, June 19th, to attempt to resolve the matter of Attorney Jones' fees for work done on the Baton Rouge municipal court cases. Mr. Rachlin also reported that Elton Cox's case has now gone to the Louisiana Supreme Court.

The National Action Committee unanimously expressed its congratulations to Attorney Rachlin on the successful conclusion of the Shreveport cases.

Budget Committee: Jim Peck and Rudy Lombard of the Budget Committee appointed at the June 1st NAC meeting presented their recommendations. These were received and discussed by the NAC. Val Coleman moved that this committee be expanded to include an additional person from the NAC, and Lula Farmer and Marvin Rich as consultants. The motion was seconded and adopted and the Committee now consists of Jim Peck, Rudy Lombard, Val Coleman, with Marvin Rich and Mrs. Farmer as consultants on the items included in the budget. They were asked to address themselves to the total income prediction for the next fiscal year, review the recommendations submitted today and work toward cutting expenses without impairing the vital operations of the National Office. The Committee is to meet again in Miami a day prior to the Convention and draw up final budget recommendations.

CORE Structure: Both a Committee of Officers appointed by the 1961 Convention and a Committee on CORE Structure appointed by the 1962 National Council have addressed themselves to the question of revisions at the policy making level of the organization, to increase the effectiveness of these bodies. At the request of the National Office Staff, the NAC directed its attention to certain suggestions along these lines....
There was unanimous agreement that the National Council should be replaced by a smaller body ---possibly an Executive or Action Council. The makeup of such a Council and revisions in the makeup of the NAC to make it more representative of CORE groups were discussed at length. One plan submitted for the composition of the Council is that it include the National Officers, the National Director and two CORE members from each of five geographical areas (no two from the same city or chapter). Some of the pertinent questions raised and discussed were: How often should an Executive or Action Council meet? Expenses of such meetings? What com position would give widest representation for both the proposed Council and revised NAC? How much administrative authority should be handed over to staff? The NAC requested that Richard Haley bring to its meeting in Miami prior to the Convention, a report on how often it met during the past year, which of these meetings were called for emergencies, and an estimate of the cost of a meeting of the proposed Council at a centrally located point.

Voting Representation: Two plans have been submitted to the NAC for its study and recommendations. Richard Haley was asked to submit both to Chapters for their study and suggestions. Final recommendations will then be made to the Convention.

Other Suggested Constitutional Changes: Those recommended by the NAC will be mailed to CORE Chapters prior to the Convention.

July 28, 1962

MINUTES

Steering Committee of the National Action Council
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Present: Oldham, Gartner, Curvin, Dodson, Hobson, Rachlin, Lewinson, Coleman

Staff Observers: Haley, Gore, Teer

National Chairman, Charles Oldham, revised the agenda to make a discussion of the Albany, Georgia situation the first order of business. Richard Haley advised the committee that upon a request received from Dr. William G. Anderson of the Albany Movement for a CORE representative to come to that city, Community Relations Director, Marvin Rich arrived there on July 24th, 1962. Dr. Anderson stated that the visable presence of a CORE representative would give them moral support. Marvin Rich participated in a demonstration by the Albany Movement the night after his arrival and was consequently arrested. His trial has been set for Tuesday, July 31st, at which CORE attorney, Carl Rachlin will be present. It was predicted that the sentence would be $200.00 plus 30 days in jail.

Members of the Steering Committee agreed that in view of the acute financial situation at CORE, the organization could not afford to have Marvin Rich serve a long jail term. Chairman, Charles Oldham, suggested that the National Director be asked to convey this opinion to Mr. Rich and ask that he agree to release. The possible adverse effects of Marvin's release were recognized and thoroughly discussed by the Committee, but it was the overwhelming opinion that the need for his presence in the office outweighed any other considerations. It was further suggested by Alan Gartner that the matter of staff members serving jail sentences be placed on the agenda and thoroughly discussed at the fall meeting of the National Action Council.

The Steering Committee agreed that CORE's participation in the Albany situation should depend entirely upon the desires and requests of the leaders ofthe Albany Movement. The National Director will be asked to contact Dr. Anderson and to discuss methods and means by which CORE may offer its assistance and, since Attorney Carl Rachlin will be in Albany for Marvin Rich's trial, he was requested to confer with Dr. Anderson to determine areas where CORE could be helpful and to offer his best services to the Albany Movement. The Steering Committee also directed that CORE should bring all possible indirect assistance to the Movement by means of political pressure and local CORE groups will be requested to assist in contacting their Congressmen and Senators.

<u>Fund Raising:</u> Among the special fundraising events planned is an August 3rd cocktail party by the Committee For The Employment of Negro Performers, in conjunction with CORE. A lawn party in Freeport, Long Island is tentatively set for August 11th with Max Roach and Abby Lincoln as guests, and a three-city Ray Charles, Sarah Vaughan concert. Several special mail appeals are being readied for September and October. Julius Hobson reported on a fundraising campaign by Washington, D. C. CORE, utilizing television stamp books which are donated to the chapter, collecting television sets from the books, and using these sets as prizes to persons purchasing associate memberships in CORE. Steering Committee member, Val Coleman, suggested a week-long city-wide street collection drive in New York City with volunteers wearing arm-bands, making collections in cans. Mr. Coleman would try to have this declared CORE week in N.Y.C.

Mr. Oldham suggested that each CORE group be sent a letter asking that it raise a minimum of $100.00 for National CORE.

The possibilities and advantages of having a National Staff member work with local groups to raise funds was duscussed by the Steering Committee and a special committee composed of Mark Dodson, Val Coleman and Ed Lewinson was appointed by Chairman, Charles Oldham to present the matter to the National Action Council in October.

Financial: Richard Haley presented a list of outstanding bills totaling some $24,000.00. Of this amount, over $6000.00 is due almost immediately. He presented also a list of bills due every month, including office staff salaries. This figure totaled over $17,000.00, and includes rent, telephone, travel expenses, postage, attorney fees and Western Union expenses.

Freedom Highways: Because Program Director, Gordon Carey is in Greensboro, North Carolina conducting this project, a written report was submitted. Currently a total of 25 people are participating. They come from approximately ten different states. The training period is nearing completion and the action program will begin next week and continue for approximately a month. Several restaurants in North Carolina have already been desegregated, including one in a large discount house which agreed through negotiation to serve all customers. The group will move on next week for work in the Raleigh-Durham area. The group reports good cooperation from the local NAACP and satisfactory local support. Expenses for this project so far have averaged about $800.00 per week. The next weeks promise to be less expensive since considerable free housing has now been obtained. In addition to the Howard Johnson restaurants, direct action has been initiated against local Hot Shoppe restaurants.

Housing-Employment Institute: Since the director of this institute, Norman Hill, was not able to attend the meeting, a written report was submitted. Violence was encountered at one of the action projects directed against the Hilltop Swimming Pool in Valley View, Ohio. A complaint has been filed with the Ohio Civil Rights Commission against Hilltop, stating that the swimming pool is not a private club and is subject to the Ohio State Civil Rights laws. In the field of employment, negotiations have been set up with the Kroger Company in Columbus in an effort to effect a fair employment practice policy in local Kroger stores. Action in the field of housing resulted in tests at two housing developments in the Columbus area, the Colonial-Williamsburg and the Beverly Manor. These tests will be followed up by local Columbus CORE members. Hopeful reports were given on each of the developments. Institute director, Norman Hill, reported that he felt the time spent on this institute was well worth while.

Steering Committee member, Ed Lewinson, who attended the Columbus Institute told the Committee that he,too, feels that these workshops are very worthwhile. Mr. Lewinson does not feel that a weekend regional institute could possibly accomplish what a longer national one does. He went on to say that the Columbus Institute was represented by New York City, Los Angeles, Seattle, as well as chapters in the vicinity of Columbus. The Committee discussed the possible accomplishments of regional institutes and it was suggested that one Field Staff member should be able to conduct such weekend regional workshops when this is felt to be feasible.

Houston Action Institute: A report on the ground work for this Institute was given by Richard Haley who stated that suitable lodging and restaurant facilities have been obtained as well as a meeting place. So far 18 applications have been approved. Marvin Robinson, from the New Orleans CORE office has been in Houston for the past two weeks extending local contacts both for additional applications and fundraising. Mr. Robinson is also compiling a list of segregated facilities in this city.

Fredricka Teer asked the Steering Committee to again consider and attempt a clarification on the matter of High School CORE Chapters. Some problems have arisen in this area when a high school chapter has attempted to work with the local CORE Chapter. The Committee asked that Jim McCain bring specific recommend a tions to its next meeting. Mark Dodson reported on effective and satisfactory affiliation of his local high school group working with Long Island CORE, and made suggestions which may be useful to other chapters. Among these was allowing the high school group to make its own decisions, as far as possible, on their action projects and supporting them on such projects.

The Steering Committee discussed the contract with the Lockhart Agency, Inc., and the results of showing the film, "Freedom Ride", and the Committee suggested that the National Director should review this contract to determine whether we should continue our arrangements.

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL meeting site: October 21st was set as the date for the beginning of the Council meeting. San Francisco, chosen mainly because it would allow involvement of our West Coast Chapters where contact is not too frequent, was selected as the site. In addition the National Director will be on the West Coast in October.

Convention site: The Steering Committee directed that the National office send letters to Dayton CORE and Chicago CORE requesting information on convention facilities in these cities. A report is to be given to the National Action Council meeting in October. Specific requests are that the delegates be able to live in one place and meet in the same place. Cost is also a factor. The Convention will again be held in late June. The National Chairman suggested that the Convention structure be revised to allow at least one afternoon and evening for delegates' recreation. He also suggested that more time be given for workshops. Another suggestion was that evening sessions be arranged to end earlier, so that delegates would not be too exhausted to attend early morning sessions.

Personnel: The Steering Committee directed that a letter of thanks for his services to the Congress of Racial Equality be sent to Mr. Leroy Carter who served for the past two years on CORE's National Action Committee. Bob Gore, recently added to the staff as assistant to the Community Relations Director, was introduced to the Steering Committee.

Alan Gartner offered the New York City home of his parents for meetings of the Steering Committee whenever desired. The next meeting will be held September 7th at 6:00 PM. Notices and agendas will be sent to all members prior to this date.

MINUTES

of the

STEERING COMMITTEE

of the

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

September 7, 1962

Present: Alan Gartner, Robert Curvin, Mark Dodson, Carl Rachlin, James Peck Val Coleman, James Farmer and Julius Hobson

Observers: Norman Hill, Robert Gore, Donald Wendell, Marvin Rich, James McCain and Gordon Carey

FREEDOM HIGHWAYS: Carey reported that the project has met with great success. It has been especially successful in securing mass participation in the five cities of concentration. CORE bedgeted $17,000 for the project, but cost actually fell below $10,000 (exclusive of advance field work). A total of 93 persons have been arrested. All but two of the participants arrested served their entire sentences. To date in North Carolina the project has desegregated five Howard Johnson restaurants, one Hot Shoppe, and several lunch counters. Employment discrimination was also ended in two firms. Response from local citizens - adult and student - was particularly good in Statesville, Durham and Charlotte. Thousands of local persons participated in picketing, marches and other forms of protest. Through a meeting of James Farmer and local North Carolina leaders with the Governor, a panel of "distinguished citizens" was established to negotiate the desegregation of public facilities throughout the state. This Governor's Committee is to report in a few days. It was suggested that the Freedom Highways project be continued in North Carolina.

TRAINING AND USE OF VOLUNTEERS IN THE FIELD TO SUPPLEMENT STAFF: Authorization was requested to form a corps of volunteer workers in the field to work on subsistance on projects in Southern Communities. It was moved that the recommendation be authorized and the national director follow up on this volunteer "task force" idea and make a report to the National Action Council at the October 20-21 meeting. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

HOUSTON ACTION INSTITUTE: In addition to the people involved there were 16 participants from five states, four of whom were southerners. There was testing and attempted negotiation with Howard Johnson and policy negotiations with Sears Roebuck. There were no arrests and Houston CORE will follow-up. We should consider altering the action institutes. This would be especially true if we set up regional leadership training conferences.

FINANCES AND FUND RAISING: From June 1 through September 1 we raised $65,000 and spent $119,000. We now have less than $1,500 in our account and have unpaid bills of $33,000. Our outside appeal is being delayed because of lack of postage. The budget appeal will go to almost 50,000 members this year. The Holiday card and gift book promotion will be handled by Cynthia Homire and will go to more than 300,000. This year we will offer seven cards and six books. We are making a major effort to secure trade union contributions. Ten of the Freedom Highways participants recorded fourteen freedom songs for a phonograph album. This calls for substantial royalties to CORE. The album should be available after October 1. However, the record will require considerable promotion by CORE groups throughout the country. They must be willing to personally approach disc jockeys and columnists.

The CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund was incorporated in New York State today.

The Committee voted unanimously to terminate the contract with the Lockhart Agency for promotion of the Freedom Ride Film.

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT REPORT: Genevieve Hughes sent in her resignation but asked to extend the date of termination to October 20th. Fredricka Teer is on the West Coast. By the time the Action Committee meets we will be able to place someone in San Francisco. It was recommended that Miss Hughes not be replaced immediately because of the financial pressure on the National budget. Mary Hamilton is in Tennessee. Dave Dennis is in Jackson and Mravin Robinson is in New Orleans. The recommendation to affiliate Lebanon, Tennessee CORE was passed. It was recommended that Don Wendell become permanent as of next week. The motion was unanimously agreed upon.

VOTER REGISTRATION: The Voter Education Project gave us more money for the first 90 days than they gave us for the following four months. It was noted that 2,000 people have been registered to vote in the three areas we service. It was requested that Dave Dennis send in a report on Voter Education in Mississippi. It was suggested that we hold off on a decision regarding the Jackson office until the N.A.C. meeting. We should try to develop a CORE group to work on Voter Registration since people working in this field are relatively immune to arrest.

STUDENTS: It was asked that we consider the relation of high school groups with the general body, as stated in a memorandum dated February 11, 1962. There was no opposition. Authorization to form a committee of the college leaders and coopted persons and representatives of local organizations was given to the National Director

REGIONAL CONFERENCES: Concern was indicated in terms of leadership training in local areas. The timing, location and involvement of people in the local areas would be done through the Organization Department with assistance from the Program Department. The bulk of the ongoing work would be carried on by local CORE people and field staff. There will be discussion this Fall on the Spring training sessions. Staff attending the National Student Congress attempted to convince the students to take a stronger position on Civil Rights. They suggested that the N.S.A. set up a civil rights division.

CONVENTION SITE: It was noted that the NAACP 1963 Convention will be held in Chicago. It was suggested that a decision be made on our convention site immediately in order to take advantage of publicity and public relations. A vote was carried and it was decided the convention site should be decided upon now. It was voted upon and unanimously decided that Dayton, Ohio would be the site of the CORE 1963 National Convention.

HOUSING EXECUTIVE ORDER: We have tried to get an audience with Kennedy. If an audience is not secured or if it is not satisfactory, we will plan appropirate direct action in Washington.

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION: We are planning a one day national demonstration at Howard Johnsons on October 6th.

We stand adjourned until October 20th and 21st in San Francisco, California.

OCTOBER 26, 1962 -- MEETING OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Present: Charles Oldham, James Farmer, Alan Gartner, Bob Curvin, Jim Peck, Rudy Lombard, Val Coleman, Ed Lewinson, Carl Rachlin, Ralph Rosenfeld, Mark Dodson, Anna Holden

Staff Members: Marvin Rich, Gordon Carey, Norman Hill, Don Wendell, Robert Gore

Financial: Income from June 1, 1962 through October 25 has been approximately $262,000.00. Expenses during this period totalled $254,000.00. Loans totalling $7,000.00 are outstanding and unpaid bills as of today are over $28,000.00. There is $15,000.00 in the reserve account, and the checking account is a little over $7,000.00. Income from the budget card mailing is over $65,000.00, on the basis of 5,621 responses. A limited analysis of this appeal shows that the average contribution is above that of last year.

Holiday Card sales so far total a little over $15,000.00. Contributions totalling $2900.00 have been received through the holiday card mailing. Book sales are over $1,000.00 and the Sit-in Songs record seems to be selling well from the CORE office. The $250.00-a couple dinner at the Tavern On The Green should bring in about $10,000.00.

Marvin Rich reported that author, James Baldwin, has been on a tour of Cornell, Brandeis, MIT and Harvard, for CORE. Reports on this speaking tour have been enthusiastic, and the trip was of value to CORE both in terms of public relations, and financially, netting nearly $2,000.00. Two or three such trips by other leading personalities are being planned for later in the year, and this may be the beginning of a cultural committee for CORE.

The Gandhi Award presentation will be made to Eric Weinberger on November 8 at a CORE dinner at the Hotel Commodore. The Award will be presented by A. Philip Randolph. Indications are that this dinner will be a success with close to 400 in attendance. Marvin Rich is urging chapter members to attend and is securing free tickets for college chapters.

Mr. Farmer ended the financial report by pointing out to the Steering Committee members that, on the basis of last summer's experience, the organization needs some $50,000.00 in reserves to take it through the summer months.

Associate Membership Campaign: A proposal for developing a mass person-to-person membership campaign operating through local CORE chapters was presented to the National Action Council by Community Relations Director, Marvin Rich. He pointed out that although during the past five years associate membership in CORE has approximately doubled each year, it is apparent that under present methods we cannot continue this rate of growth. He also pointed out the continued need for membership expansion in order to carry on the program required of the Congress of Racial Equality.

The coming increase in postal rates, the increased use of mail solicitation by other organizations in the civil rights field, and the rate of our own growth, make it more and more difficult to increase our membership through current methods. Some responses to the person-to-person membership campaign indicate a fear of time consumption which would take away from the direct action activities of our chapters. After extensive discussion by members of the Steering Committee. Alan Gartner moved that the staff be instructed to proceed with preliminary planning of an associate membership campaign, and that chapters be informed of the proposals and asked for their comments. The matter will then be presented to the next meeting of the National Action Council.

Delegates to this meeting would be asked to bring the sentiments of their chapters before the Council. The motion was unanimously accepted.

Organization Department: Jim McCain had been called to Greensboro, North Carolina to aid a CORE field secretary in resolving some difficulties encountered by the local group. He submitted a written report which was read to the Steering Committee by National Director, James Farmer.

In the field of Voter Registration, Mr. McCain's report stated that a combined total of approximately 5,000 Negroes had been registered during the past thirty-six days in Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina. The report stated, too, that 1963 should be a good year for CORE chapter development, and that plans were being made to maintain and service existing chapters and to strengthen our present areas of activity. Also, that inquiries on establishing new CORE chapters had come in from Oregon, Texas and other places throughout the country. Mary Hamilton is working out of Lebanon, Tennessee and covering Arkansas and Oklahoma. Marvin Robonsin will be doing extensive work in Texas and Louisiana. Eugene Tournour will be visiting colleges in his area and, Dave Dennis is concentrating on development in the state of Mississippi. A new area has been set up, consisting of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and this area will be staffed and operating in about three weeks.

Leadership conferences designed to develop active CORE members and officers into leaders who are well-versed and well-trained in CORE philosophy and methods are being planned. The first of these conferences has been set up by Don Wendell and Norman Hill for November 16-18 in New York City. The conference is to be attended by the entire Eastern Region. Mary Hamilton is also planning a conference in her area for the Thanksgiving weekend, and Marvin Robinson has set tentatively the college inter-semester break as the date for a leadership conference in his area.

*Since CORE has received no additional funds for a Voter Registration campaign in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, this office will be closed. It was brought to the attention of the Steering Committee that Weldon Rougeau had done a tremendous job in Voter Registration in Miami, registering 2000 people in two weeks. The Steering Committee voted unanimously to commend Weldon Rougeau on this excellent job.

CORE Regional Secretary, Genevieve Hughes, who had submitted her resignation earlier this year to be effective the end of August, and then extended her stay, resigned as of October 20.

Program Department Report:

A. Howard Johnsons

Program Director, Gordon Carey, reported on two meetings with the Howard Johnson Company, one the day before CORE's nation-wide demonstrations and one since that time, in an effort to desegregate all Howard Johnson restaurants throughout the country. To date, a total of over ninety Howard Johnson restaurants have been desegregated. This includes all of the restaurants in Oklahoma, Maryland and Florida. Of the remaining segregated restaurants, fifteen belong to the company and 50 are franchised. Those belonging to the company and still operating on a segregated basis are located in Texas, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas and Alabama. The company maintains that it has no jurisdiction over franchised restaurants.

Reports on CORE's nation-wide demonstrations against Howard Johnsons on October 6 indicated some lack of uniformity of action by CORE chapters. The Steering Committee discussed this matter and issued the following statement:

We recognize and affirm the right of all local CORE groups to initiate and carry out projects in their own area within the framework of CORE Rules for Action.

Whenever a local group participates in a National project, that group accepts the National Organization's program of action.

The above recommendation was voted unanimously by the Steering Committee.

B. Task Force

Gordon Carey submitted a list of recommendations for use of a volunteer Task Force by CORE, which set forth the purpose of such a group and suggested ways of utilizing volunteer help of this type. He suggested that they be used to aid CORE's limited Field Staff in areas of Voter Registration, Organizing of new Chapters, work on projects and wherever else feasible. CORE would provide living expenses for these people while they are on CORE projects. Members of the Steering Committee discussed the feasibility of taking on such a Task Force at length. It was unanimously agreed that great care would have to be exercised in choosing persons for this group. Mr. Farmer pointed out that their work would be primarily in the field of programming rather than organizational. Vice-chairman, Rudy Lombard pointed out that the use of Volunteer workers in this manner would be no different than the present set-up of the Peace Corps and many other organizations utilizing volunteer help to carry out their activities.

Alan Gartner moved that the Program Director be authorized to proceed with the Task Force as outlined in his memorandum. The motion was seconded by Mark Dodson and adopted by the Steering Committee with six in favor, one opposed and two abstentions.

Civil Liberties Conference: Mr. Farmer read to the Steering Committee a letter from Miss Dorothy Miller, inviting CORE's participation as a co-sponsor in a Centennial Conference on Civil Liberties to be held in Atlanta in February 1963. A subsequent letter from Miss Miller gave a list of the organizations which had agreed to co-sponsor this meeting. Mr. Farmer's reply advised Miss Miller that the decision on CORE co-sponsorship would have to be made by the Steering Committee at its October 26 meeting. Members of the Committee discussed the matter at length, and agreed that because it is not possible for CORE to participate in planning the meeting, it would not be advisable to act as a co-sponsor. Val Coleman moved that CORE decline the invitation; the motion was seconded by Alan Gartner and adopted unanimously by the Committee.

Ann Arbor CORE:: Anna Holden presented a proposal for a merger of Ann Arbor CORE and the Ann Arbor Fair Housing Association. She pointed out that the membership of these two organizations was largely duplicated, and that in most instances, they are active on the same projects. It is felt that merging the two groups would bring about wider community representation and participation. After Miss Holden's presentation, Steering Committee members saw definite advantages to such a merger, but were most concerned about what this may mean in terms of CORE's direct action projects. This would be particularly important in terms of the constitution. If the merger can be effected on terms agreeable to both organizations, it is felt that it can make for very effective operation in the Ann Arbor area.

The postponed meeting of the National Action Council originally set for October 21 in San Francisco has been re-set for December 22-23 in New Orleans. Ralph Rosenfeld made a comparison of costs from all cities in which NAC members reside to all other cities involved. New Orleans was chosen on the basis of cost and location.

A report on the Northern Student Movement and College Groups was deleted from today's agenda and deferred for the next meeting of the Steering Committee.

The next meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Action Council will take place on November 30 in the National CORE office.

DRC

MEETING OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY - NOVEMBER 30, 1962

Present: James Farmer, Alan Gartner, Bob Curvin, LeVerne McCummings, Jim Peck

Staff Observers: Richard Haley, Marvin Rich, Don Wendell

The meeting was chaired by Alan Gartner.

1. Report on Fund-Raising and Finances: Total income for the current fiscal year is $329,500.00. Expenses have totalled $317,600.00. We have paid $22,000.00 in operating loans. Currently the checking account contains about $4100.00, and there is $15,000.00 in savings. Unpaid bills amount to $52,000.00. This means that we owe more than 2½ times the amount on hand. Prospects are not good for the next few months.

   The budget appeal so far has brought in over $74,000.00. Holiday Cards to date total $37,568.25. Contributions received through the holiday card appeal total $6200.00. The Gandhi Award Dinner brought in $7100.00 with expenses of $3,276.47. Book sales total $2600.00 and records $3500.00. Of the outside appeals, the first list has brought a 5.1% response. This is excellent. It is too early to tabulate the remaining outside appeals.

   Marvin Rich reported that James Baldwin is to make another series of appearances for CORE. Arrangements have been made for taped recordings of his speeches.

   The City of Progress pamphlet, a pictorial and verbal description of CORE's Freedom Highways campaign, will be ready for distribution by December 4. The organization hopes to secure additional funds through an Art Auction, and a special letter to regular contributors to CORE's annual Eleanor Roosevelt luncheon.

2. Report on Task Force and Howard Johnson: Program Director, Gordon Carey, was in North Carolina and submitted a written report to the National Director as follows: CORE's Freedom Task Force is officially and actually underway. A two-day training meeting was held in Durham, North Carolina on November 29 and November 30 for the eight current participants in the Task Force. In addition to Mr. Carey, CORE Field Secretaries Jerome Smith and Mary Hamilton also attended this meeting. Following the meeting five members of the Task Force will remain in North Carolina under the supervision of Jerome Smith. Two will go to Tennessee to work under Mary Hamilton and one is currently working in the North under the supervision of James McCain, Director of the Department of Organization. CORE Chapters have received an announcement on the formation of the Task Force and recruiting is planned on college campuses and through other organizations.

   On November 14, CORE Attorney, Carl Rachlin, CORE Field Secretary, Marvin Robinson and Rev. John Morris of Atlanta met with the Assistant to the Vice President in charge of the Atlanta Division of Howard Johnsons in that city. Since that time Marvin Robinson again met with Mr. Streeter in Texas and is planning another meeting early in December. The goal of these meetings and others to follow is to set up a time-table for integration of the Howard Johnson restaurants in Texas and in Georgia.

Marvin Rich and Gordon Carey have been meeting with Mr. Richard Graham and Mr. Kitzmiller of the Howard Johnsons Company in New York. As a result of these meetings a joint press release is to be issued on November 30, giving a statement of Howard Johnson's policy regarding segregation in its restaurants, to its supervisors.

Department of Organization Report: Jim McCain's report recommended affiliation for the Greensboro, North Carolina CORE chapter. He submitted their affiliation form and the constitution which he pointed out complies with all requirements of the National Constitution. A motion for affiliation for this group was made by LeVerne McCummings, seconded by Alan Gartner, and unanimously adopted by the Steering Committee.

Mr. McCain;s report further recommended disaffiliation for the following CORE groups in South Carolina: Clarendon County, Florence, Greensville and the Rock Hill adult group. The recommendation was based on grounds of inactivity by these CORE groups over a long period of time. The Steering Committee voted acceptance of Mr. McCain's recommendation. It noted too, that closer attention must be given in future to the matter of CORE chapters which have become inactive, and the vacuum thus created which may cause problems for the organization.

Union Contract: The National Director reported on negotiations with the Union for a new contract which is to be effective retroactive to November 1. He went over point by point each change which had been negotiated during the past few weeks. The Steering Committee approved the contract subject to final approval by National Chairman, Charles Oldham.

The Steering Committee voted a $500 increment for the National Director. It also approved a motion that the National Action Council, meeting in New Orleans in December, determine a regular annual increment for the National Director.

Looking ahead to CORE's 1963 Annual Convention some thought was given by the Steering Committee to actions which it might take to assure a smoothly operated and effective Convention. Among the suggestions was some type of official authorization form for chapter delegates, improved supervision of workshop sessions, and scheduling workshops to enable delegates to attend more than one during the Convention. Some members expressed the opinion that Convention workshops would be more effective if attention were directed to issues, rather than to particular projects. These matters will be further discussed at the National Action Council meeting next month.

RKC

Minutes of NAC Steering Committee Meeting
February 22, 1963

Present: Julius Hobson, Mark Dodson, Val Coleman, Alan Gartner, Ed Lewinson, Rudy Lombard (presiding.) Staff: Norman Hill, Marvin Rich, Richard Haley.

There was no reading of minutes of previous meeting. It is noted the January meeting was cancelled for lack of a quorum.

Marvin Rich reported on the present financial situation. The reserve fund stands at $9,000 (subsequently reduced to $5,000.). The checking account carries between two and three thousand dollars. (At the present writing (March 4) the checking account will not allow issuance of a single check!) Bills total some $62,000. The current Brotherhood Appeal is expected to return about $60,000. In addition to the membership campaign and the special projects discussed below, the office hopes to interest its creditors in a modified schedule of repayment extending over a time longer than usual. These are means presently available for easing the financial stringency.

The "Theme Poster" for the membership campaign has been printed. Those present considered it very good. The campaign is scheduled to begin about April 1. There is presently no sound estimate of how many memberships it will bring. The art exhibit and sale is scheduled for the week May 22-29 at the Martha Jackson Gallery in New York City. The last such affair, an art auction, yielded about $10,000. The other special project now being considered is a jazz concert; plans are still in a tentative stage.

It was moved to table applications for membership from Pasadena and Sacramento, California. There was some feeling in the committee that there was not enough information, beyond that of a routine nature, given on the applicant-groups. The most recent tabulations in voter-registration progress were given. Especially noteworthy is an increase of approximately 2500 Negro registrants in Dade County (Miami), Florida.

National convention plans have been altered in accordance with suggestions at the New Orleans NAC meeting. Present planning has to do with source-persons and program-content of workshops. Haley plans to visit Dayton in the near future to set up initial on-the-spot arrangements.

The Wall Street picket line of the following Monday (February 25) was announced. The line was to be directed against the Equitable Securities Assn., which represents the syndicate that recently purchased a $1,800,000 school-bond issue from Gulfport, Mississippi. It is hoped that legal action on the segregated school-bond program will ensue shortly. On the picketing, Val Coleman expressed that picket-sign slogans were to be reviewed by our lawyer before use. It was explained that this is a matter of legal protection for the organization. Marvin Rich was delegated to prepare a memo on wording of signs and leaflets.

Alan Gartner was delegated to prepare a memo on practical CORE procedure with regard to police brutality.

In the absence of McCain and Carey, there were no discussions of field-staff operations, the Area Development Administration project or the Task Force.

Minutes prepared by:

Richard Haley
Marvin Rich

Minutes

STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.

March 29, 1963

Alan Gartner acted as chairman of the meeting.

Report of the Department of Organization: Director of Organization, Jim McCain, reported first on the field staff. Norman Hill is now in charge of the New York area. Mary Hamilton is stationed in Lebanon, Tennessee and will be visiting Memphis this weekend to work on reorganizing the CORE Chapter there. Marvin Robinson is working with the New Orleans Chapter and other local organizations on an Easter boycott. He will go to Atlanta to represent CORE at the SNCC meeting April 12-14. Reverend Cox is in High Point, North Carolina where some sit-ins have been taking place. He will go to Chicago after April 15th. Dave Dennis is in Greenwood, Mississippi; Fredricka Teer is on the West Coast; Eugene Tournour is in the St. Louis area. Task Force worker, Zev Aelony is now in Chicago. Weldon Rougeau and Ronnie Moore are in Louisiana working on Voter Registration, and Frank Robinson is in South Carolina, also on Voter Registration.

Jim McCain gave a report on his work with the Area Redevelopment Administration, whose purpose is to give aid to distressed areas and has a large operation in the South, in counties where unemployment is chronic. He reported that of the 26 counties in South Carolina where ARA is operating, only one has an integrated local Committee, and that the local Coordinator has done nothing to acquaint Negroes with the work of the Commission. This, despite the fact that Negro unemployment is one of the main reasons these counties have been designated for ARA help. He also advised that every county in Mississippi has been designated a distressed area. ARA programs are very important to CORE because they can mean employment for Negroes. To date there has been only one ARA appropriation in South Carolina --- in Chesterfield County where the initial Committee was formed by Negroes who were later joined by whites.

West Coast Regional Field Staff: National Director, James Farmer, has been on the West Coast twice in recent months and has conferred with prospective replacements for Fredricka Teer who has married and is resigning. He asked the Steering Committee to approve hiring Chet Duncan. Mr. Duncan comes highly recommended and has worked with Fredricka for some time on a voluntary basis. If approved, he would come to New York for several weeks training and then return to San Francisco to take charge of that area. Fredricka would remain to work with him for an agreed time so thatthe transition would be as smooth as possible. It was the consensus of the Committee that a replacement for Miss Teer is important. The vote was three in favor and three abstaining; authorization was given to hire Mr. Duncan with the permission of those abstaining, whose concern was based on our present financial state.

Ed Lewinson suggested that whenever possible, members of the Steering Committee be apprised of the issues on which they are expected to act prior to the meetings. Alan Gartner concurred and suggested that agendas accompany the notices.

Finances: Marvin Rich reported as follows: Since June 1, 1962 $357,283.40 has been raised and $354,581.00 has been spent. The checking account is empty and there are $69,971.91 of unpaid bills. There is $5000.00 in reserves and $401.62 in the Voter Education account. (An additional grant of $5000.00 has since been received.) He voiced the opinion that the organization must strive to raise additional funds rather than cutting program for lack of funds. The Brotherhood Appeal returns have not reached their peak, but even excellent returns will not solve the organization's financial problems. Neither will the outside appeals, which are showing good returns. CORE will hold an art sale on May 22-29 at the Martha Jackson Gallery in New York City. This is expected to bring in from $10,000 to $15,000. Some additional funds are expected from a series of speaking engagements on the West Coast by James Baldwin, May 5-11.

There was discussion on how CORE Chapters can raise funds for the operation of the National Office. Marvin Rich pointed out that fund-raising parties can be given easily and inexpensively. It wasfurther pointed out that the income from Chapters this year totals $6336.00, considerably less than last year.

Membership Drive: The Committee heard a report on the progress of the Associate Membership drive from the Community Relations Director. It was pointed out that by and large CORE Chapters are not oriented towards fund-raising and have had little experience along these lines, which probably accounts for the limited response and extreme caution in estimates of their expectations.

Carl Rachlin suggested that the amount of money needed to solve the organization's financial problems can be gotten only through outside professional fund-raising. Rudy Lombard feels that the chapters should be told frankly of the financial situation and asked to raise funds to help alleviate this situation in whatever way they can best do so. Alan Gartner agreed and suggested that the chapters be reminded that the National Organization can survive as a viable group only if it receives support from its chapters. Bob Gore will be visiting some of the chapters shortly to offer assistance to their membership campaigns.

Jim Peck expressed the view that engaging the services of a professional fund-raiser could compromise the organization's program. Marvin Rich pointed out that professional fundraisers are excellent for special projects, but that the organization cannot afford the salary demands of such persons on a sustained basis and that such a salary would have a bad psychological effect on the rest of staff.

A committee composed of Val Coleman, James Peck and Carl Rachlin as Chairman, was appointed by the presiding officer to meet the week of April 1st with the Community Relations Director to further explore and make recommendations on raising additional funds for the organization.

Affiliations: Jim McCain presented recommendations for affiliation of three new chapters --- Sacramento and Pasadena, California and Cleveland, Ohio. The recommendations were based on current activity of these chapters and reports from field persons in these areas. The vote for affiliation was unanimous.

Disaffiliations: Groups in question were Suffolk County, New York; Tucson, Arizona; Jackson, Mississippi. Suffolk County and Tucson have been reported inactive for more than a year by the field persons in these areas. Field Secretary, Dave Dennis, feels that a CORE Chapter with more community backing in Jackson, Mississippi is needed and recommended disaffiliation of this group. The Steering Committee discussed the need for closer contact between the National Office and its chapters which might help prevent stagnation leading to disaffiliation. It suggested further discussion and action on this need and the further necessity of giving a solid foundation to newly organized groups. Suffolk and Tucson were disaffiliated by a unanimous vote. Jackson was disaffiliated by a four in favor, two abstaining vote.

Marvin Rich reported that the National Office has requested Voter Registration funds for work in three Mississippi counties where Dave Dennis believes he can work effectively.

Federal Aid To Education Conference: CORE has been asked to endorse this Conference which will be composed largely of college student groups. The Steering Committee unanimously agreed that CORE's endorsement must carry the stipulation that we support federal aid to integrated educational facilities only.

National Conference on Hospital Integration: This conference is sponsored by the National Medical Association (Negro doctors). The Steering Committee voted to co-sponsor.

School Bond Project: Attorney Carl Rachlin reported that he has been unable to make appointments for work on this project in Illinois and Pennsylvania. We have met with the Attorney Generals of Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and California. Some legal action is also contemplated in South Carolina. The Committee was informed that the Assistant Attorney General of Massachusetts has written the John Neuveen Company requesting an explanation of their position on the school bond issue. This company was picketed a week ago on its bond issue for a segregated school in Mobile, Alabama, both by the National Office in New York and in six cities across the country by local CORE Chapters.

Mr. Rachlin also advised the Steering Committee that a group of white and Negro residents of Georgetown, Texas have formed a committee to protest building of a segregated school in this town.

Citizens Anti-Communist Committee of Connecticut: The Steering Committee was shown a leaflet put out by this organization which contains numerous libelous references to CORE, some members of its Advisory Committee, and Jim Peck. The Committee feels that this type of smear demands some action and the matter was referred to the National Director for further study.

Summer Project: Gordon Carey submitted a memorandum suggesting an intensive Voter Registration campaign in several Louisiana counties, from mid-July to Labor Day. He asked that the staff working on this project include himself, Rudy Lombard and Ronnie Moore, and stated that Jim McCain has agreed to work with them for a two week training session. This would replace the two Institutes normally held during the summer, and would utilize volunteers and task force personnel. The Committee discussed the feasibility of such a project from the standpoint of whether or not this is direct action, and the opportunity it would offer to use young people in interracial groups. Jim McCain pointed out that Voter Registration in the deep south is direct action, and that interracial teams are presently working in this area. The Committee agreed that there may be some problems, particularly in ousing, but that carefully selected interracial teams working under proper supervision should prove effective. The vote for the project was 5 in favor (with the stipulation that selection procedures be highly refined) and one abstention.

Task Force: A written report was submitted by Gordon Carey. The Committee felt that there was not enough time to study this and make any decisions, and agreed to take copies of the report with them for further study. They asked too that each member of the NAC be sent a copy of the memo, which will be placed on the agenda of the next meeting.

National Action Council: Steering Committee members present at this meeting felt that certain important questions, including the financial position of the organization, should be brought before the entire NAC, and recommended a meeting one day prior to the start of the Convention, rather than calling a special meeting which would place an extra financial burden on the organization. The recommendation is to be passed on to all members of the NAC, with the request that any members opposing make this known as quickly as possible.

March On Washington: A letter from A. Philip Randolph, addressed to James Farmer, was read. It requested co-sponsorship of a March On Washington which would tie-in with the Emancipation Proclamation commemorations being held throughout the country this year. Specific requests are: 1. Endorsement by the National Director. 2. Letters from the National Office to CORE Chapters requesting their participation. 3. A contribution from the organization to help bear the expenses of this rally. The National Director was authorized to work with the participating groups in setting up program and action. Norman Hill and Gordon Carey were assigned to represent CORE at planning meetings. Ed Lewinson, Jim Peck and Carl Rachlin were appointed to take final action for the Steering Committee after receiving further reports from staff members, and the Steering Committee unanimously endorsed unified action to commemorate the Emancipation Proclamation and place the spotlight on Negro unemployment in this year of 1963.

4RC

STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
April 26, 1963

Item No. 1

It was reported by Marvin Rich that our approximate monthly expenses are now $30,000. The projected debt by September may be $100,000. It was stated that we are rapidly approaching the point where further postponment of payment of bills will jeopardize day to day operation of the office as well as delay fund raising appeals.

Carl Rachlin gave a report for the fund raising committee.

1. Mail appeals were felt to be at a high level.
2. An organized effort in the field was recommended. This could be a staff person who would work full time on fund raising with the chapters.

A motion was carried that the fund raising committee (Carl Rachlin, Chairman) attempt to find a competent CORE-oriented person to work in the field fund-raising on a full-time basis. The committee is to report findings and recommendations to the steering committee.

Jim Peck stated that he and Rudy Lombard (not present) felt that while we may raise more money, we should understand that we are in serious debt due to over-expansion of CORE during the Freedom Ride period. He felt that we should now consider retrenchment.

It was requested that a break-down of monthly expenses for a three month period be prepared for the next steering committee meeting.

Item No. 8

A representative of a group called Downtown or Greenwich Village CORE stated that a need exists for a chapter in that area. This was not a request for affiliation, but rather a desire to explore the question with the steering committee.

Two issues were discussed:

1. Representation of a municipal area at conventions.
2. Coordination of activities within municipal area.

A motion was carried that Bob Curvin convene a committee on metropolitan jurisdiction, this committee to include Jim Farmer, Ed Lewinson and Jim Peck.

Item No. 9

Carl Rachlin reported that he has seen five state Attorneys General on the school bond project. He expects that there will be action on this project soon.

Item No. 2.

Jim McCain stated that good progress had been made in our voter registration project to date. Additional areas have been requested.

A motion was carried that the National Director make public a report on our progress in the voter registration campaign to date.

New affiliation was recommended by Norman Hill for a chapter in Hartford, Connecticut.

A motion was carried that we approve the new affiliation of a chapter in Hartford, Connecticut.

Item No. 3.

Gordon Carey reported that the cost of the Task Force for four months has been $5,195.

A motion was carried that the Task Force be made a permanent part of CORE and that it be expanded at the discretion of the National Director.

Norman Hill discussed the proposed Northern Summer Project.

A question was raised as to the "social welfare" nature of this project. It was stated that a direct action approach would be used whenever appropriate.

A motion was carried that the staff be authorized to plan a summer program, based on the suggestions presented by Norman Hill, involving a task force approach to problems such as housing and employment in northern cities. Local CORE chapters are to be encouraged to participate by sending delegates.

Physicians' Project.

-- Memo from Gordon Carey --

A motion was carried to endorse the M.D. project.

Deerfield Project

The need to focus national attention on the situation in Deerfield, Illinois was discussed. A national project on Deerfield is to be prepared.

Airlines

The need for a direct action project dealing with employment of flight personnel was discussed.

Suggested direct action approaches such as sitting on the runway or not fastening seat-belts were discussed.

A motion was carried to

1. Reopen negotiations with national airlines regarding employment of flight personnel and,
2. To consider proposals for appropriate action at the next NAC meeting.

Item No. 6.

Walter Carter of Baltimore CORE stated that his chapter planned to continue William Moore's walk through Alabama.

The questions of the Alabama injunction against CORE was raised. Charles Oldham felt that we can break it because it probably will not stand up in the courts.

A motion was carried to (a) put a group in the field to walk from Chattanooga to Jackson, following Bill Moore's itinerary, (b) in cooperation with other civil rights groups if possible, and (c) that participants accept no bail and (d) that there be a continuing evaluation of the ensuing public response.

Item No. 4.

Jim Farmer reported that SCLC requested our help and support in response to which we sent task force member Isaac Reynolds to Alabama. He was working directly with the Birmingham students.

The possibility of a national boycott of chain stores was discussed but the consensus of the group was that we not pick up on this until the situation in the South developed further.

Item No. 5.

Norman Hill reported on the proposed march to Washington, in the first week of October. We have endorsed the project, but our role and responsibility have not yet been defined. NALC, SNCC and CORE would be involved.

Item No. 7.

A motion was carried to support the Regional Plan Association Inc, in its attempts to keep the Breezy Point beach public.

Item No. 10.

Mr. Byron Baer of Bergen County CORE reported on struggle to integrate the schools. Their current problem is to keep up the level of their makeshift school. They need $5,000. It was agreed that Marvin Rich make available appropriate mailing lists and help in whatever other ways that he can.

Members present, National Action Council Steering Committee Meeting

Ed Lewinson

Carl Rachlin
Jim Farmer
Julius Hobson
Charles Oldham (Chairman)
Allan Gartner
Jim Peck
Bob Curvin
Ralph Rosenfeld

Marvin Rich
Gordon Carey
Richard Haley
Jim McCain
Bob Gore
Norman Hill

Walter Carter (Baltimore CORE)
Joel Freedman (NYU CORE)
Mrs. Elizabeth King

NOTICE

The next meeting of the Steering Committee of the N.A.C. will be:

Friday, April 26, 1963

6:30 p.m.

at the CORE office

38 Park Row, New York 38.

The situation in Birmingham, Alabama along with other action projects requires urgent discussion. There will also be an avaluation of the Task Force, and further discussion of summer programs.

Please return the blank below, indicating whether or not you will be able to attend.

- -

NAME: _____

I will be at the Steering Committee _____.

I will not be at the Steering Committee _____.

116 W. 14th St. Bet. 6 & 7
12th floor

MEMO ON NATIONAL CONVENTION WORKSHOPS

TO: Staff members March 1, 1963
From: Richard Haley

Below is the proposed schedule for workshops at the national convention in Dayton, Ohio. Workshops will be held Friday, June 28, 1963.

Housing	1:-3 p.m.	3:30-5:30 p.m.
CORE Philosophy	1-3 p.m	3:30-5:30 p.m.
Employment	1-3 p.m.	7-9 p.m.
Community Relations	1-3 p.m.	7-9 p.m.
Legal Problems	3:30-5:30 p.m.	7-9 p.m.
Chapter Development	3:30-5:30 p.m.	7-9 p.m.

Two things are presently necessary to develop this program item properly: viable content for each workshop, and outstanding source-persons. In my opinion it is better to decide on content first; a pre-planned program should be more attractive to potential program leaders than one in which they most bear almost total responsibility.

It is necessary to consult with you to get a cross-section of opinion on topics to be included in each workshop. Certain sub-topics have been suggested; they are listed below. I am requesting that each staff member add his own thinking to these suggestions. Let us pool these ideas at next staff meeting, to produce a clearcut program. Afterward we can secure the source-people.

Housing.
- Current situation relating to integration
- Controlled desegregation of federal housing legislation
- Rehabilitation: nature, planning, special problems

Philosophy.
- Integrationists and Nationalists
- Present importance of concept, "Willingness to suffer"
- Is love really necessary?
- CORE Rules for Action: use outside of violent situations

Employment
- Selecting a project
- Necessary investigation; statistics
- "Accelerated Hiring" as a basic CORE approach
- CORE responsibility in actual hiring
- Community relations in the boycott
- Racial discrimination in unions
- Presidential Committee's "Plan for Progress"

Community Relations
News deadlines; other technical aspects of publishing
Public & private agencies providing useful service
Political concern
Legal Problems
Administration of justice; police brutality
Civil suits
Individual legal responsibility for CORE-related actions
Legal interrelation of national CORE, national staff, local CORE and local CORE-members
Chapter Development
"Chronology of A Successful Chapter"
"Chronology of A 'Paper' Chapter"
(These are, of course, hypothetical cases)

Persons tentatively considered as source-persons are:

Housing: Morris Milgram; Frences Levenson; representatives of governmental housing agencies.
Philosophy: Anna Holden; Jerome Smith; Jim Peck; possibly Glenn Smiley
Employment: Representative of President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; industrialist presently engaged in accelerated hiring; William Oliver, UAW Civil Rights Committee in Detroit; Rev. Leon Sullivan.
Community Relations: Larry Still, Jet; William R. Miller, United Church Herald; Charles Herndon of WLIB; James Booker, Amsterdam News
Legal Problems: Rachlin and Oldham; lawyers from U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Justice Department, NAACP-LDF.
Chapter Development: Representatives of Denver CORE, Brooklyn CORE, St. Louis CORE, New Orleans CORE.

Above is a basic framework on which to perform additions, deletions, corrections and approval. Tuesday's time is limited; Jim McCain also must present some extensive material on the ARA program. We can work most efficiently if we familiarize ourselves with the above material beforehand.

Comments on Dayton

WORKSHOPS

EMPLOYMENT	**Norman Hill, Ray Brown, New School Earl Davis, COPE, and Frank Robinson**
HOUSING	**Rudy Lombard, Irving Levine**
PHILOSOPHY	**Glenn Smiley, FOR and Robert Gore**
NEGOTIATION	**Richard Haley, Marian Oldham**
SCHOOLS	**Chet Duncan, Wm. Briggs, Dir of Ed, Ohio State Civil Rights Comm., Gene Tournour**
LEGAL PROBLEMS	**Carl Rachlin, Lolis Elie, F. B. McKissick**
POLICE PRACTICES	**Alan Gartner, Nile Douglas, Rep. of U.S. Civ. Rts Comm.**
POTENTIAL OF MASS VIOLENCE	**Gordon R. Carey and William Thomas**
COMMUNITY RELATIONS	**Marvin Rich, Larry Still, JET**
CHAPTER DEVELOPMENT	**James T. McCain, Mary Hamilton, Chapter Chairmen from Denver, Phila. and New Orleans**

1963 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

WORKSHOPS

The CORE National Convention will be held in Dayton, Ohio June 27th thru June 30th, 1963, inclusive. Friday, June 28th will be largely devoted to workshops on various aspects of CORE activities. There will be six workshops in all and three sessions of each workshop: 1:00 to 3:00 p.m., 3:30 to 5:30 p.m., 7:00 to 9:00 p.m.

The six workshops are listed below with some suggested items that might fall within the range of each.

HOUSING

1. Current statistics on the relationship of housing to race.
   a. The percentage of Negroes living in sub-standard housing.
   b. Segregation in public housing.
   c. Other.
2. Ghetto patterns.
   a. central city
   b. The white suburb.
   c. The pocket Ghetto.
3. Agencies working on fair housing laws and practices.
4. Government action at Federal, State and local levels.
   a. Court decisions.
   b. Legislation and executive order.
5. Proposed legislation.
6. Open occupancy vs. controlled desegregation.
7. Direct action on public housing.
8. Direct action on slum conditions.
9. New methods.

NONVIOLENT PHILOSOPHY

1. Present importance of the concept, "willingness to suffer".
2. Is love really necessary?
3. CORE rules for action. Evaluation of present effectiveness in CORE thinking and action.
4. Nonviolence in areas outside of direct action.
5. The relationship of nonviolence to CORE-initiated lawsuits and countersuits.
6. The nonviolent attitude with cooperating groups.
7. The nonviolent attitude within CORE.
8. Interracialism - the meaning of nationalism.

EMPLOYMENT

1. Sources of information on Negro labor statistics.
2. Principal occupational areas of Negro unemployment.
3. Principal geographical areas of Negro unemployment.
4. Discrimination in government industry.
5. The activities of unions in job training, apprenticeship training.
6. Anti-discrimination contracts and their enforcement.

EMPLOYMENT (CONT.)

7. Unions with negligible non-white membership.
8. Areas of weakness in Negro occupation-readiness; CORE's role if any in development of remedial programs.
9. Relationships of unemployment and high school dropouts.
10. Factors in selecting a direct action employment project.
    a. Size of the company.
    b. Type of employment offered.
    c. Product of general or restricted consumption.
    d. CORE's policy of accelerated hiring.
11. Government activities in employment.
    a. The Presidential Committee "Plan for Progress".
    b. Executive Order 10925

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

1. Reaching the Negro community through the church, Negro businesses, social or fraternal organizations, or other means.
2. Relations with other civil rights organizations.
3. Public or private agencies providing useful services.
4. Politics and the CORE-group.
5. Technical aspects of communications media that CORE-groups must know.
6. The importance of personal contacts in press relations.
7. The newsletter of the local group.
8. Leaflets and picket signs for direct action.
9. The speaker's bureau.

LEGAL PROBLEMS

1. The administration of justice, especially police brutality.
2. Selective patronage campaigns.
3. Civil suits growing out of direct action.
4. Legal responsibility of the individual for CORE related actions.
5. Legal interrelations of national CORE, the national staff, local CORE and local CORE membership.
6. Leaflets, picket signs, letters, speeches and damage suits.

CHAPTER DEVELOPMENT

1. Organizing a local workshop.
2. Membership, publicity and fund raising.
3. Organization.
    a. Minutes.
    b. Financial records.
    c. National office as a service center for local groups.

The above suggestions are intended to stimulate interest in the given topics. It is not intended that this necessarily be the substance of the workshop. Workshop leadership will very likely consult among themselves on their respective topics between now and convention time, to develop a viable, clear-cut program. We strongly urge that prospective delegates adopt the same policy.

RH/jg

Memo to James Farmer: RE: Convention plans

From: Gordon Carey May 14, 1963

On the basis of Haley's memo of April 29 to Jim McCain the following arrangements need to be completed.

1) A final memo sent to the Contact list

2) Notification of staff and NAC of meetings prior to Convention

3) Confirm James Baldwin as speaker at public meeting.

4) Confirm the church where public meeting is to be held.

5) Confirm Levenson, Smiley, and Phil Weightman or Bill Oliver for workshop leaders.

6) Notify staff of workshop assignments and have them prepare workshop material and program with outside leader.

7) Request chairmen of Denver, Philadelphia and New Orleans to work with McCain, et al, on Chapter Development workshop.

8) Assign secretaries from office to attend Convention

9) Ask Dayton to secure mimeograph paper, typing paper, other clerical supplies; three typewriters, and a mimeograph machine.

10) Prepare individual kits for delegates

11) Write invitations to organizations listed as cooperating with CORE to send an observer.

12) Invite dignitaries from Ohio to Convention.

13) Confirm food arrangements with hotel.

14) Send staff member to Dayton middle of June to complete arrangements.

15) Make travel arrangements for staff and NAC.

16) Assign somebody to do all this damn work!!

Details of this memo are contained in the memo from Haley and in the Convention folders.

Final Memo to entire contact list

May 31, 1963

Memo to: CORE Contacts
From: James Farmer, National Director

REMINDER ON NATIONAL CONVENTION

PLACE Dayton Biltmore Hotel
210 North Main Street Dayton, Ohio

DATES June 27-30, 1963

REGISTRATION 9:00 AM to 5:00 PM, June 27 at the Hotel

PUBLIC MEETING Thursday evening, June 27. Place to be announced.

COST $3.50 per night

MEALS At a reasonable rate at the hotel

REGISTRATION FEE $5.00 (includes banquet)

ACCREDITATION OF DELEGATES Your chapter was sent earlier an accreditation form which must be returned to the CORE office immediately. Room reservations should be made directly with the hotel on the reservation cards already sent.

AGENDA

Workshops
Election of National Officers
Election of National Action Council
Financial Report
Task Force
Summer Projects
Employment Campaign

Report of National Director
Lunch Counter Discrimination
Presidential Housing Order
School Bond Campaign
Regional Conferences
Voter Registration Drive
Associate Membership Drive

Chapters are requested to send in suggestions for the agenda now.

The 1963 Convention will take place during one of the most exciting periods of civil rights activity. It is hoped that every chapter will be well represented. CORE is challenged as never before to provide creative leadership both in the North and South. This annual meeting, with your cooperation and participation, can be an important milestone in mapping out the strategy of the struggle for decency in the coming year.

MINUTES

OF THE

1963 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Dayton, Ohio
Biltmore Hotel

June 27 - 30

OPENING OF THE CONVENTION: A public meeting was held at the Phillips C.M.E. Church with Charles Oldham, National Chairman, presiding.

Motion: by Floyd McKissick of Durham, N.C. that we make this appeal to all Americans: "The time to act is now, for justice delayed is justic denied. Human freedom and equality must become a reality in this country now for all Americans, black and white. Only then will our society embody those principles of freedom which are the birthright of all men.

In this moment of national crisis, we re-affirm our belief in the justness of the cause of human dignity and civil rights. We rededicate ourselves to the use of direct, non-violent action to bring into being a society of brotherhood."

The motion was duly seconded and passed by acclamation.

PLENARY SESSION

Telegrams were read from Roy Wilkins, NAACP; Robert Weaver, Federal Housing Administration; Jack Greenberg, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; and Cleveland Robinson, NALC.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS:

Credentials Committee: Leslie Jones, Bob Curtis, Beverly Joe, Frances Herbin, Steve Kosloff, Carl Rachlin.

Resolutions Committee: Irma Schweizer, Chairman, John T. Cornethan, Vice Chairman. Bruce Rappaport, Mary Belenky, Janet Chipman, James Taylor, Louis Smith, F. Daniel Gray, Lincoln Lynch, Pearl Chandler, Eva Kerr, Faye Morton, Julius Hobson, Willie Bradford, Charlene McIntosh, Homer Randolph, Patricia Vinegar, Patricia Tate, Oretha Castle.

Election Conduct Committee: Mark Dodson, Mary Lu Murphy, Daniel Gray Wilmette Brown, Bob Collins, MaiDee Hendricks.

Finance Committee: A.D. Moore, Chairman. Wes Sweet, Jimmy Vinegar, Alean Adkins, Selma Goode, E. Tobias Felder, Lois Frederick, Karen Berg.

Constitution Committee: Rudy Lombard, Chairman. Clarence Funnye, Carolyn Martin, John Cloud, Terry Pearlman, Doris Taylor, John Due.

Nominating Committee: Ed Singler, Chairman, Lolis Elie, Tony Salotto, Herman Thompson, Gail Lissek, Jesse Jackson, Dick Rapp, Ruth Schwartz, Priscilla Stephens.

AGENDA: The Chairman read a proposed agenda and asked for additions from the floor. Suggestions for additions to the agenda were discussion of the following: (1) next convention site, (2) possible international affiliations, (3) regional conferences, (4) better relations between local groups and the national office. A motion to accept the agenda as amended was seconded and passed.

LISTING OF DELEGATES: The names of accredited delegates were read, and there being no challenges, except from the Brooklyn delegation, the unchallenged delegates were seated. The issue of whether or not Kurt Flascher was to be a delegate from the Brooklyn chapter was referred to the Credentials Committee.

(In the interest of conserving space, chapters which were represented at the Convention are listed in an appendix to these minutes. Names of individual delegates are available upon request).

SPECIAL CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION: Because it was felt that the wording of the constitution regarding the composition of the National Convention did not reflect the intent of those who approved it, a motion was introduced by the National Action Council to rectify the situation.

Moved that Article VIII, Section 1 be changed to read: "The convention shall be composed of the national officers, delegates from affiliated chapters and members of the National Action Council, provided that no person can vote in more than one of these capacities." Seconded by Lincoln Lynch and passed by more than two thirds of the Convention.

GOVERNOR COMBS TELEGRAM: Edgar Pondexter moved that the Convention send a telegram to Governor Combs of Kentucky congratulating him on his Executive Order regarding discrimination in facilities licensed by the state, and inviting him to address the Convention. Seconded by Julia Lewis and passed unanimously.

NATIONAL DIRECTOR'S REPORT: Jim Farmer discussed the direction of CORE and the unique contribution that it makes in the civil rights movement. He considered the need for unity between groups whose goals are common to the struggle, and warned that we must guard against responding hastily to unfortunate remarks by leaders of sister groups. He noted that despite reports of dissension between groups, there is in fact much cooperation in the day to day work. Mr. Farmer emphasized the importance of the proposed march on Washington and stated that specific plans would be forthcoming. He reported that several of our staff people were unable to attend the convention because they were incarcerated in southern jails.

WORKSHOPS: Friday afternoon and evening the delegates to the Convention attended workshops of their choice. Each delegate attended three shops. Workshops in the following areas were held: employment, housing, philosophy, negotiation, schools, legal problems, police practices, potent-

ial of mass violence, community relations, chapter development, and voter registration.

TREASURER'S REPORT: A. D. Moore distributed mimeographed copies of the year's income and expenses. Jim Farmer stated that our financial situation has improved to the point where for the first time in years, we are solvent. Funds have been coming in at a good rate, due to increased activity in the civil rights field. Ora Lee Brown moved to accept the report. The motion was seconded and passed.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP DRIVE: Marvin Rich reported that twenty eight chapters have participated in the associate membership drive to date. However, due to the late start of many of the chapters, it is difficult to evaluate how successful this approach has been. It was noted that most chapters that have participated seem to be pleased with the results. It was moved that CORE continue its associate membership program. The motion was seconded and passed.

NATIONAL PROJECTS:

March on Washington: Jim Farmer noted that the NAC has voted support for this project. Norman Hill, who has been appointed to coordinate the project, stressed the importance of the march as a march for jobs and freedom. He stated that our present techniques are limited in that we are now working to open jobs which do not exist. He said that present consideration of civil rights legislation has come about due to direct action across the country. He reported that the date of the march is to be settled on Tuesday, July 2nd. If a filibuster occurs either before or after the date of the march, waves of people are to be sent in to demonstrate. Gladys Harrington moved that the national convention of CORE support and actively participate in a mass march on Washington, D. C., that CORE use all of the resources at its disposal to provide an effective and militant demonstration, and that all CORE chapters give this project priority until the date of the march. The motion was seconded and passed. It was moved, seconded and passed that CORE, in participating in the proposed march on Washington, reserves the right to engage in such additional direct action, possibly including mass civil disobedience, as may be appropriate.

Summer Task Force: Gordon Carey noted that the Task Force has expanded to double its original size. The southern project will be voter registration in the Baton Rouge, La. area. It is planned that there be forty participants to be led by Rudy Lombard, Gordon Carey, and Ronnie Moore. The northern contingent will work in Brooklyn and Newark. Its function will be to break down discrimination in jobs and housing and also to work against slum conditions with a direct action approach. It is planned that there be twelve participants. Anna Holden inquired whether direct action techniques would be used in voter registration and also wanted to know the age and background of those persons who will be working on the northern project. Gordon Carey said that there will be no restrictions on the voter registration project because this is not a foundation sponsored project, but a CORE project, and therefore, stand-ins and other appropriate demonstations will be utilized. He said that it is expected that the age level of

those participating in the northern project will be from eighteen to twenty five, and include college students. Oliver Leeds moved to support the Summer Task Force, north and south. The motion was seconded and passed.

Chain Stores. Jim Farmer said that for the past two or three years, CORE has been working for equal service. In the last few months, our negotiations with national chains have also included the question of employment. We have given a deadline of July 4th to the chains that they either end their discrimination by then or issue a firm statement of intent as to the imminent end of segregation. He suggested that we should extend the date in order not to conflict with the march on D. C. Gladys Harrington felt that this chain store project should be coordinated with the March.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT: The Credentials Committee, by a two to one split decision, recommended to the Convention that it seat Kurt Flascher as a delegate from Brooklyn. Selma Goode seconded the motion. Oliver Leeds of Brooklyn spoke against the recommendation and said that if the Convention should accept it, that he and the three other accredited delegates of the Brooklyn delegation would feel bound to withdraw from the Convention. A vote was taken: 79 for the recommendation, 55 against, with 23 abstentions. Passed. The Brooklyn delegation left. Subsequently Mr. Kurt Flascher resigned as a delegate and the Brooklyn delegation returned.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF REGIONS:

Mark Dodson of the Election Committee suggested that there be a nominating speech of not more than five minutes, and a seconding speech of not more than three minutes for each of the officers, and that there be a nominating speech of not more than three minutes, and a seconding speech of not more than two minutes for each of the NAC members to be elected. This procedure was adopted by the Convention.

Ed Singler reported the following slate as recommended by the Nominating Committee: Chairman, Floyd McKissick; First Vice Chairman, Rudy Lombard; Second Vice Chairman, Wilfred Ussery; Treasurer, Allan Gartner; Secretary, Ralph Rosenfeld. Representatives to NAC from Northeast, Lewis Smith; from Southest, A. D. Moore; from South Central, Julia Lewis; from North Central, Anna Holden; from the West, Dick Rapp. A. D. Moore and Anna Holden withdrew their names from nomination.

Julius Hobson was nominated from the floor for the office of Chairman, but withdrew his name. Floyd McKissick was then elected by acclamation, as were Rudy Lombard (First Vice Chairman), Lewis Smith (Northeast), Julia Lewis (South Central), and Dick Rapp (West).

Nominations from the floor were as follows: Second Vice Chairman, Earl Walter and Ed Singler; Treasurer, Lewis Smith; Secretary, Rimsky Atkinson; Southeast Representative, Pat Stephens; North Central Representative, W. S. McIntosh and Sam Riley.

Results of the contested elections were as follows: Second Vice Chairman, Wilfred Ussery; Treasurer, Allan Gartner; Secretary, Ralph Rosenfeld; Southeast, Pat Stephens; North Central, Sam Riley,

REPORT OF CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE: The Constitution Committee recommended that an addition to Article VII, Section 2 of the Constitution be made as follows:

> "Prior to the time the Nominating Committee formulates its recommendations, and not later than the day before elections are held, the Nominating Committee shall hold at least one meeting, open to all delegates, at which time delegates shall have the opportunity to make recommendations to the Committee. The time and place of this meeting shall be posted and announced."

The constitution change suggestion was seconded by Selma Goode. An amendment to the motion was made by Jack Wineberg and seconded by Mary Liebmann that "the motion on the floor be a constitutional by law, rather than an amendment to the constitution in order that it may bind the next convention only, and thereafter be judged workable or not." The amendment passed. A second amendment was made by Irma Schweizer and seconded by Earl Walters as follows:

> "That the Nominating Committee nominate at least two persons for each office, and that they be listed in alphabetical order."

The amendment passed. The original motion was then voted upon, and passed.

CONSTITUTION AMENDMENTS FROM THE FLOOR: It was moved by Karen Berg and seconded by Ed Lewinson that

> "The Nominating Committee be elected by the Convention, not appointed by the Chair."

The amendment was defeated.

An amendment was made by Julius Hobson and seconded by Rimsky Atkinson that

> "Any member of the staff who in any way participates in any election shall be automatically dismissed."

A motion to table this amendment was passed.

The convention requested that when and if the six Chicago CORE units apply for affiliation as separate chapters, the NAC grant affiliation to these groups as soon as the normal requirements for affiliation are met.

RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO NAC:

1) That the NAC appoint a committee to prepare a report to the 1964 convention concerning the problem of the proportioning of convention votes among CORE chapters. The report would deal with such problems as large metropolitan areas, "block voting", "packing," geographical problems, and other such related issues.

2) A resolution emphasizing CORE's concern with employment discrimination, as well as resolving to begin to think in terms of the future, giving attention to the general area of our socio-economic problems and considering action on projects which would dramatize the root and extent of this problem.

3) Resolution dealing with our relation to the Black Muslims.

CONVENTION SITE: Invitations from the following CORE groups for the next convention were tendered: Los Angeles, St. Louis, Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, Chicago, and North Carolina. These invitations were referred to the NAC for consideration. It was moved, seconded, and passed that the NAC consider a camp site, or campus location, for the next convention.

1963 CORE CONVENTION PROPOSED RESULTIONS

Resolution #1: Bill Moore

Be it resolved that the 1963 National CORE Convention dedicate the convention to the memory of Bill Moore, a dedicated freedom fighter and Baltimore CORE member who was so devoted in his work with the Baltimore Chapter that he gave all his free time to working for equal rights and finally, in a bold step dictated by his own strong convictions for justice and freedom, gave his life.

Resolution #2: Educational Resolution

We, the delegates to the 1963 CORE Convention, drawing upon our experiences from the nation-wide network of CORE chapters, and from the collective evidence of every impartial educational investigation, indict the United States public school system, North and South, for in fact virtually ignoring the 1954 Supreme Court school integration order. We further indict that school system for further segregating the present generation of Negro and white school children into the national public school systems, in effect, racially separate and academically unequal.

We denounce the indefensible means used to continue this national school system along Jim Crow lines. These methods of gerrymandering district boundaries, selective placement and transfer of pupils and teachers, new school site selections, and other devices must be singled out as the main bulwarks of our segregated schools.

We expose and repudiate, as has the growing community of educators, the educationally, legally, and morally false doctrine that the walls of our national racial ghettoes, both Negro and white, cannot be breached for the purpose of school integration. These walls of racial segregation which, throughout the country split our cities into Negro and white ghettoes, must cease to provide, as they have for so long, an excuse for continuing and solidifying our segregated school system.

Our fervent demand is school integration now. We refuse to permit our present generation of school children, Negro and white, to suffer the terrible burden of passing their formative years in a racially segregated and academically unequal school system.

We demand that the 1954 Supreme Court decision decreeing school integration be complied with immediately by the national government. Nothing less than the complete elimination of our racially segregated and academically unequal school system can satisfy this Supreme Court decree.

Finally, we reject all false counsel, whether from federal or local sources, to halt and postpone our demands. We urge every person of good will to rededicate himself, as we do in CORE, to the continued use of our right to peaceful protest. We will not abandon the use of peaceful, public demonstrations to dismantle and dislocate our Jim Crow schools. We affirm the moral foundations of our program, and of our methods - the school strike, the study-in, the sit-in.

We call the nation to our cause; segregation shall pass.

Resolution #3: Voter Registration

Be it resolved that National CORE launch a major voter registration campaign to be implemented by its affiliated groups beginning in the month of August of this year.

And be it further resolved that CORE chapters demand the passage of deputy registrar laws similar to that in the state of California, in as many states as possible.

Be it also resolved that National CORE demand that the Federal Government provide for a uniform national literacy test; federal protection for workers and other citizens involved in voter registration; federal referees in any area where twenty-five per cent or less of any minority group are registered to vote; an increase in the number of deputy registrars in any areas where there are at present inadequate facilities for rapid voter registration.

Be it further resolved that local CORE groups in states which have not ratified the anti-poll tax amendment to the United States Constitution institute immediate direct action toward that end.

Resolution #4: Mass Violence

CORE recognizes the immediacy of impending retaliation and mass violence on the part of the Negro community of our country, as evidenced by the fact that Negroes are increasingly arming themselves for the purpose of self defense against continued oppression and violence, such as police brutality and beatings in Gadsden, Alabama, the murder of Medgar Evers, and innumerable other unpublicized instances.

Furthermore, CORE recognizes that these various acts of brutal physical suppression, coupled with longstanding economic oppression, have caused a rising, explosive anger which has already expressed itself in skirmishes in Harlem, and which has the potential of erupting into large scale racial warfare there and in other communities.

The federal government has evidenced no recognition of this situation either by legislation or by other action.

We propose to tell the American public, through television, radio and other means of mass communication, the facts of what has been happening throughout the South so that the citizens of our country - especially the white - will understand that many "sovereign" governments of the South are in fact police states, no less insidious than those our government fought against in the past and points the finger at today; and that it is the duty of every citizen to demand that the federal government take decisive action now so that the rights of all American citizens remain sovereign.

This resolution is made with the understanding that CORE recognizes the overwhelming necessity of continuing to increase its nonviolent, direct action campaigns and will strive to increase the participation in these campaigns of the black and white citizens of the United States.

Resolution #5: Communications

Whereas the television and movie industries, through their vast communication facilities, purport to portray and mirror the American scene, and

Whereas the industry has, through intent or otherwise, portrayed a negative image of the American Negro, or has not portrayed him at all, and

Whereas such negative image or non-portrayal has done and continues to do considerable damage to the entire American people by projecting an unreal image of our country,

Now therefore be it resolved that the Congress of Racial Equality commit its resources to whatever appropriate action may be deemed necessary to remedy this situation to the end that Negroes and other minorities are realistically portrayed as components of the American scene.

Resolution #6: Employment

Whereas discrimination in employment on all levels should end now, and

Whereas Negro participation in the economy is completely inadequate, and

Whereas there have always been built in provisions for the perpetuation of racism in the American economy,

Be it resolved that CORE demand from industry, government, and unions compensatory, preferential treatment for Negroes and other minorities; that local, state, and federal governments immediately cease spending public funds to support discrimination; and that all possible forms of direct action to force private employers and unions to end discrimination, provide adequate training and retraining and advancement programs for all Negroes and other minorities be immediately initiated by all chapters.

Resolution #7: Community Relations

Whereas the practice of concentrating on one or two individual discriminators has proven to be less effective in making maximum gains in the struggle for equality, and

Whereas the practice of challenging the various power structures in different areas to change their practices of discrimination and segregation has proved to be more effective in making maximum gains in the struggle for equality,

Be it resolved that CORE groups concentrate more on pressuring the various power structures of business, government, and various civic agencies to eliminate their practices of discrimination and segregation and to accelerate their programs of integration and racial equality.

And be it further resolved that whereas President Kennedy has recommended to mayors and other executive heads of government throughout the country that they hold bi-racial talks in their communities as a means of alleviating racial discrimination, and

Whereas said recommendations are likely to be implemented in many states and cities throughout the country, and

Whereas such bi-racial bodies are often advisory by nature and are without power to implement their own decisions and conclusions, an arrangement which preconditions the fruit of such bodies, and

Whereas Negro appointments to such bi-racial bodies constitute a possible situation which may permit others to name the spokesmen for the Negro community,

Now therefore be it resolved that the Congress of Racial Equality adopt a policy of critical evaluation of the function of such bi-racial committees to insure that the creation of such bi-racial committees does not deter the dynamic thrust and militant demands of CORE nationally and locally.

Whereas the practice of racial discrimination has been recognized as an inhuman practice

Be it resolved that the president of the United States be urged by CORE to issue an executive order abolishing all forms of racial discrimination and segregation and provide for adequate penalties for individuals, employers and unions found guilty of such practices.

August 29, 1963

To: Members of the Steering Committee

From: Lula Farmer

Re: Necessity of establishing policy on acceptance of gifts by members of the staff

Discussion:

A situation has arisen which demands immediate consideration of problem of acceptance of gifts by members of the National Staff.

Briefly, a couple whose first acquaintance with CORE came about two months ago upon viewing the Farmer-Malcolm X show, are acting in the role of Lord and Lady Bountiful to the extent that immediate action and determination of policy are required.

Gifts to Date:

Sizeable contributions to CORE--of course welcome--and to be encouraged.

Gifts to the Farmers -

1.- small tape recorder, which Jim was to use in his travels.

2 - TV sets to both the office and the Farmers. Presume justification might be possible to gift to the Farmers on basis that Jim should see documentaries, etc. dealing with Civil Rights issues, also should watch himself on TV.

3 - Note to Mrs. Farmer upon Jim's landing in jail containing $100 bill. Indication on telephone that this would not be the last of such contributions. "Every woman should have something like this once a month."!!!

4 - Phone call from person acting as couple's agent, that new furniture is to be purchased for the Farmers. Actually, I was not to know of this, but the agent thought I should be there to determine style, color, etc. He will try to stall until organizational decision is made. Since he cannot tell the couple that he spoke to me about this, he may have to buy the furniture.

5 - Agent also stated to me that consideration is being made of subsidizing Jim's salary.

Gifts to Glenda Lubelsky--Jim's secretary--of fairly substantial value.

Liabilities:

Glenda, who has met them, believes that their sincerity cannot be questioned, and that they would not try to direct program. Jim has met them, but I have no chance to get his evaluation.

1 - Numerous long calls to the office, to Farmer home, to Glenda's apartment, including long early morning and week-end calls.

2 - Upon Jim's imprisonment, calls to the President, Bobbie Kennedy, Catholic officials in New Orleans, giving various identifications.

3 - Calls to Jim in prison, posing as Jim's aunt--thus, endangering telephone privileges.

4 - It must be noted that we do not know what his business was--he is retiring at 38--or where their money comes from.

In determining policy situations such as this the following should be taken into consideration. Last year, Jim and I were guests of Grenville Clark and his wife. On leaving, I was given a $20 check for our children's college fund. To have refused this would have been difficult--and probably unnecessary. I cite this to show necessity for thorough discussion.

Recommendations:

1 - That rules and regulations and limitations for acceptance of work-related gifts and personal gifts be established.

2 - That reporting of all gifts be established.

3 - That process for obtaining authorization of other gifts be spelled out. E.G., field worker in South could reasonably be given a car, but staff person in New York City undoubtedly could not.

One

MINUTES STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

August 30, 1963

Present

Floyd McKissick, Alan Gartner, Jim Peck, Mark Dodson, Bob Curvin, Ed Lewinson, Carl Rachlin, Velma Hill. Staff Members: James McCain, Marvin Rich, Richard Haley, Val Coleman, Norman Hill.

Plaquemine, Louisiana:

The temporary restraining order against CORE activities has been lifted by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. National Director, James Farmer, was released from jail this morning. His trial is set for Tuesday of next week. The charge is disturbing the peace and inciting to riot. Staff members in Plaquemine, in addition to Mr. Farmer, are Gordon Carey, Ronnie Moore, and Rudy Lombard. Mary Hamilton is being sent in to relieve Rudy Lombard who must return to school in Syracuse. Members were reminded that if Ronnie Moore is arrested, he must be taken off the Voter Education Project payroll and placed on CORE's payroll.

Jim McCain suggested that due to the current shortage of field staff personnel, only one be placed in a given area at the same time, and that this field staff member be given whatever Task Force help is available and necessary. Richard Haley advised that Dr. Tyson of Plaquemine had expressed gratefulness for the Task Force working there this summer and stated that this was the only factor making the group there an integrated one. No local whites have become involved in the movement. One bright note is that several of the local white churches have accepted Negro worshippers. The Steering Committee, after some discussion, agreed to leave the racial composition of CORE workers in

Plaquemine to the discretion of CORE Staff on the spot, i.e., Lombard, Carey, and the National Director.

March on Washington:

Norman Hill told the Steering Committee that the "Pledge" cards signed by the participants and supporters of the March are coming into the office daily and that he felt it important from CORE's point of view to give some immediate consideration to stepping up local program, to utilize the increased potential now present as a result of the March. There will be a meeting on Tuesday, September 3, of the BIG TEN in New York City to formulate plans for follow-up action on the filibuster. Discussion on what form this stepped-up action will take will be discussed at the Tuesday meeting. Norman said that pledges which are coming in to the March on Washington office will be typed up and distributed to participating groups. He suggested that wherever possible these names be turned over to local CORE Chapters, and also used as contacts for CORE Field Secretaries. The Steering Committee expressed satisfaction with the success of the Washington March, and commended all of the CORE Chapters for their performance, especially for bringing in so many unemployed workers. Special thanks were extended to Norman Hill for his excellent job in helping prepare the March.

The Steering Committee instructed CORE's representative to the BIG TEN meeting to advise this group that CORE will continue its cooperation, and at the same time will continue CORE's direct action program, in line with our previously established policy, for bringing about passage of the Civil Rights Bill. Specifically CORE WILL PROCEED ON ITS PROPOSED HEARING ON LEGISLATION. Our local groups will also initiate

direct action in support of the legislation, in their different localities. Further the CORE representatives should point out that this organization is a Federation of local groups, and that the National Office does not attempt control of the actions of these groups, as long as said actions do not violate CORE's National Constitution. The Steering Committee expressed the hope that if at all possible, this meeting of the BIG TEN be postponed for one day until Mr. Farmer's return to the City so that he could represent the organization. If this is not possible, it instructed that he be advised immediately of the results of the meeting.

Financial Report:

Treasurer Alan Gartner reported as follows: Income for the first quarter was close to $200,000, a quarter of the projected income for the entire year. Unpaid bills amounted to $15,000. Disbursements during the first quarter have amounted to roughly $190,000. Cash on hand: Checking account, a little over $5,000; $1,000 in the Western Union Account; $5,000 in the Savings account; $3,400 in the Voter Education Project account. The Budget Appeal is going into the mail daily, and several outside appeals as well as the Holiday Card announcements will go into the mail around September 15th. Marvin Rich introduced Val Coleman who has been hired to work with the Community Relations Department with special emphasis on fund-raising. His assistance will be extended to CORE Chapters wherever and whenever possible. Mr. Coleman's current project is a record album "Jazz For Freedom" which it is hoped will bring considerable income to the organization.

Fund-raising plans and policy:

Marvin Rich pointed out that the National Office has been moving more and more in the direction of joint fund raising affairs with CORE Chapters. He felt that the Steering Committee should formulate some policy regarding the division of finances when such joint fund-raising is done. The Steering Committee adopted the following proposals: "When the National Office of CORE Provides Local Chapters With A Major Outside Speaker or Performer for a Benefit, Then the National Office shall receive Two-thirds of the Net Proceeds from the Benefit. The National Office shall provide transportation from its share, and the local chapter shall provide hospitality. The remittance to the National Office can be charged against the ten percent tax.

The Jazz Record referred to earlier has been completely donated to the organization, with the exception of certain promotional materials. The album, consisting of two records, sells for $5.00; $3.00 from every album goes to CORE. Sales can range from 5,000 up, to many times that number. Announcement of the record will be included with the Holiday Cards announcement, and it is hoped that it will sell well as a Christmas gift item. The kick off will be September 23, at a press party in New York. CORE Chapters are being asked to push this record as much as possible.

Marvin Rich passed samples of CORE's newest piece of literature "All About CORE" to members of the Steering Committee. This brochure gives some history and philosophy of the organization.

Affiliations:

The Director of Organization, Jim McCain, presented 11 new CORE Chapters for affiliation. He advised that all have met the requirements of CORE's Constitution, and presented a written report on some of the activities of each chapter. The are: Mid-Peninsula, California; Orville, California; Harvey, Illinois; Cantonville, Maryland; Prince George, Maryland; Bronx, New York; Columbia University, Downtown New York CORE; Raleigh, North Carolina; Grand Forks, North Dakota; Oakridge, Tennessee. The motion for acceptance was by Alan Gartner, second by Mark Dodson and unanimously adopted by the Steering Committee. The Director of Organization advised the Steering Committee that some 22 additional CORE Chapters are presently in the making.

Additional Field Staff:

Because of the lack of funds, many field staff people who have left the organization for one reason or another have not been replaced, and the situation is currently an acute one. Jim McCain pointed out that field staff people are needed in Louisiana, North Carolina, Florida, Maryland, and on the Eastern Seaboard. He stated that any field staff hiring would give particular attention to those Task Force people who have done good jobs working with Field Staff, and sometimes on their own. Alan Gartner's motion that the National Director proceed with increasing field personnel at the earliest possible time was unanimously adopted by the Steering Committee.

NAC Meeting:

The National Chairman and Attorney Carl Rachlin were asked to

set a date for this meeting late in October (due to financial considerations) and in keeping with their legal schedules and the National Director's speaking dates on the West Coast.

Gifts - Monetary and Otherwise - to Staff Members:

The organization's policy regarding gifts to staff members, because of their connection with the organization, was restated --- No staff person may receive personal gifts, either money, goods, or services. Any such gifts must be turned over to the organization, as a contribution.

****

The National Chairman asked the Steering Committee to consider the possibility of establishing a Freedom House type of accommodation, preferably in the south, for the purpose of training Field Secretaries and Task Force, who will be working in this area. The Steering Committee agreed that the matter should be given serious consideration and asked the Chairman to head a committee appointed by him to investigate the possibilities of establishing such a center.

The Chairman also brought to the attention of the Committee a question which has been raised regarding the hiring of a non-Negro architect by North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company (a Negro insurance company). Detailed information on the issue which had been sent to Mr. Farmer was not available, and this item is to be placed on the agenda of the next Steering Committee meeting.

Group Insurance for CORE Field Employees:

The Steering Committee was told that several insurance companies

have been checked. Information which has been compiled is being turned over to Carl Rachlin and Richard Haley so that they may work out details and secure this coverage as quickly as possible.

The Organization has been approached for its endorsement of the film "No Man Walks Alone," which is based on the book, Black Like Me. The National Chairman turned the matter over to the Community Relations Director for further investigation.

August 30, 1963

STEERING COMMITTEE

AGENDA

1 - Plaquemine

2 - March on Washington

3 - Financial Report

4 - Fund Raising plans and Policy

5 - Affiliations--eleven groups

6 - Need for more field staff

7 - National Action Council Meeting - date and location

8 - Question of gifts--monetary and otherwise--to staff members

Lula Farmer would like to be present when item 8 is discussed. She will not be abke to attend the full meeting, and therefore requests that the item be discussed when she arrives.

August 30, 1963

[redacted] POLICY ON FUND RAISING BENEFITS

"When the national office of CORE provides a local chapter with a major outside speaker or performer for a benefit then the national office shall receive 2/3 of the net proceeds from the benefit. The national office shall provide transportation from its share and the local office shall provide hospitality. The remittance to the national office can be charged against the 10% tax."

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: James Farmer cc: Richard Haley 9/6/63

FROM: Glenda Re: Steering Committee

Attached is a list I have compiled of the Officers and National Action Council of CORE. When I came to the point of trying to make up a similar list for the Steering Committee, I was faced with the following imponderables:

1 - In Article X of CORE's Constitution it states that the Steering Committee "shall consist of the membership of the National Action Council", which sounds as though the Steering Committee were synonymous with the NAC.

2 - Article X does not state (a) how many people there should be on the Steering Committee; (b) how they should be chosen (presumably in terms of geographical proximity to the National Office); (c) how many members are needed for a quorum; (d) the necessity to coopt 5 extra members.

3 - It seems that,,allowing for the fact that at any given time only the North Eastern representatives would be living close enough to New York (Julius Hobson, the S.E. representative, does, but his successors may not), one could rely on having 8 people at a meeting. These would include the 5 coopted members, the 2 N.E. representatives, and the National Director, (At present one of the coopted members, Charles Oldham, lives in St. Louis, and could therefore not be expected at meetings. Ralph Rosenfeld, who lives in Detroit, always attends meetings and pays his own fare, but his successors may not.)

4 - The Constitution does not specify that Steering Committee meetings must be held at National Office. There seems to be a good argument for them being held here:

(a) if there were requests for it to be held in other parts of the country it would mean covering the costs of transporting the existing Committee; or

(b) a new committee would have to be recruited from members living nearby.

I discussed this matter with Mr. Haley, who instructed me to send this memorandum to you. He suggests that the Steering Committee

should comprise those members who live in a "practical operating radius" of the National Office; that we should pay the fares for people coming from an area roughly bordered by Boston, Mass., to the North, Washington, D.C., to the South, and Philadelphia, Pa., to the West; and that those coming from further afield should be asked to pay half or all of the fare.

Mr. Haley also suggests that this matter be brought up at the forthcoming NAC meeting in California.

MINUTES STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

SEPTEMBER 27, 1963

Present:

Castle, Curvin, Dodson, Farmer, V. Hill, Hobson, Lewinson, Lombard, McKissick, Peck, Rachlin, Smith.
Staff Members: Carey, Coleman, N. Hill, Rich.

Christmas Boycott:

The National Director reported that he had received a telegram from the Writers and Artists Committee for Justice asking CORE's support of a Christmas boycott which they had first announced at the Memorial Services for the murdered Birmingham Children. He pointed out that he had been asked for a statement by the press, and had told them that he could not give such a statement before a decision was made by CORE's governing body. After an intensive discussion of the subject, the NAC suggested a course which they felt would make the boycott meaningful, and suggested the following for realistic implementation of the boycott:

1. CORE Chapters would be asked to check the employment practices of local stores and to refuse partonage of these stores unless they take steps to integrate their staffs.

2. Urge their members and all followers to refrain from lavish gift giving to adults and to instead contribute the money to advance Civil Rights.

3. Suggest to the Big Ten the possiblity of an Easter boycott if conditions of employment have not been met.

4. Exert pressure on the larger and more influencial businesses and unions with branches in Birmingham, and on the government to take immediate action to solve the Birmingham situation.

This motion was adopted with one abstention.

Staff Reassignment:

The National Director requested authorization form the Steering Committee to make the following staff adjustments:

1. Task Force transferred to the Director of Organization, Jim McCain.

2. The present Program Director Gordon Carey to Assistant to the National Director. His duties will entail handling of administrative

work in this department and as much as possible of the voluminous correspondence which comes to the National Director's desk.

3. Richard Haley to Associate Director, representing and acting for the National Director whenever necessary. Mr. Haley will be second in command to the National Director.

4. Norman Hill from Assistant Program Director to Program Director.

Alan Gartner moved that the proposals be accepted; the motion was seconded by Carl Rachlin and adopted unanimously by the Committee.

Rudy Lombard pointed out that some of the reasoning behind these moves is to give impetus to CORE's field work. These changes should make it possible for the National Director and the Associate Director to visit CORE chapters from time to time and better acquaint themselves with CORE activities throughout the country.

Financial: September Income

Budget Appeal (September)	$33,448.76	
Brotherhood Appeal (February)	393.98	
William Moore Appeal (June)	1,100.26	
Specials	5,649.73	
Outside Appeals	8,629.01	
"TED"s	109.00	
Jazz Record	3,526.50	
Balance from 8/31/63	2,274.83	
Total Income, 8/31/63 - 9/27/63	55,132.07	
Disbursements, 8/31/63 - 9/27/63	$53,934.57	
Outstanding Bills	14,810.88	
Social Security/Withholding Tax payable for September	3,619.54	
Social Security expense	522.77	
Total Outstanding	$18,953.19	
Balance in Checking Account	7,625.61	
Savings Account	5,000.00	plus interest
Voter Education Project	1,408.21	

Marvin Rich predicted that imcome should increase over the next couple of months and then probably go into the usual spring and summer deline.

Special Fund Raising Projects:

The Gandhi Award Dinner is schedule for December 12. Opening night of Hamlet March 19, starring Richard Burton, will be a benefit for CORE. The Jackie Robinson lawn party should net CORE about $6,000. Money from

the Nat King COLE concert has not come in.

Three hundred thousand Holiday Card announcements and 100,000 outside appeals will be going into the mail within the next few weeks.

Mrs. Farmer advised the Committee that our auditors have suggested uniform financial reporting from all chapters with over $2,000.00 in annual income. The auditors are checking possible exemptions for the organization on the gross business tax and the commerical rent tax.

The Steering Committee authorized the staff to work with our auditors and attorneys in setting up the necessary machinery to deal with tax problems and to put in force the auditor's recommendations.

Where necessary, specific recommendations on handling finances are to be drawn up and presented to the National Action Council for its approval. It was also suggested that the National Action Council appoint a sub-committee of 3 to 5 persons to handle matters of finance where policy is involved and to generally improve the financial reporting of the organization.

Community Relations:

Marvin Rich called attention to the October "Esquire" with a map pin-pointing CORE's activities. Also, that the September 29, 1963 "New York Times" carried a story on Plaquemine, Louisiana and a report on a recent symposium featuring five national leaders, including CORE's National Director. The "Saturday Evening Post" will shortly carry two features on CORE, one centered around Bob Gore, our Assistant Community Relations Director.

Department of Organization

A letter was read from Field Secretary B. Elton Cox requesting a clarification of his transfer to Chicago, and his status with Chicago CORE. This Chapter had requested that Mr. Cox become their Executive Secretary, part of his salary be be paid by them. The National Director explained that Mr. Cox's transfer was the same as that of any Field Secretary transferred to a given area for a specific time. The Steering Committee agreed unanimously that an arrangement such as that requested by the Chicago group might set a dangerous precedent. Their feeling is that the local groups must have sole responsibility for hiring their own staff.

The Steering Committee asked that the National Director prepare a memo for the NAC giving suggestions on employment by chapters of directors, executive secretaries, etc., to handle expanding CORE activity and suggesting possibilities of handling such expansion through additional field staff from the National Office.

The Director of Organization recommended affiliation of the groups in Battle Creek, Michigan and Meddlesex Union, New Jersey, stating that they had met all necessary requirements. The groups were unanimously affiliated.

Julius Hobson reported that the difficulties of Northern Virginia CORE have been worked out, and that they are again an active group. The National Director instructed Mr. Hobson to inform the group that their reactivated status, as per his report, is accepted by the Steering Committee.

Jim McCain requested that addition of new field secretaries as follows: 1 person for the North Carolina-Virginia area, 1 for Florida, 1for Maryland and Pennsylvania, and 1 for New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

The following new field secretaries were hired upon approval of the Steering Committee: Ike Reynolds, Winston Lockett, and Jon Schaefer. A question was raised as to financial ability to add to the field staff members who had left the organization.. Two additional field secretaries are to be added as finances allow.

Velma Hill requested that consideration be given to adding more than one field secretary for the Greater New York area. Decision was reserved. Task Force Worker, Zev Aelony, who is now jailed in Americus, Georgia under a death penalty for insurrection, was on the priority list of new field staff.

Louisiana Summer Project:

Gordon Carey gave a report on CORE"s activities in Louisiana this summer which concentrated on Voter Registration. He felt that the project had been very successful, particularly from the standpoint of awakening the Negro community of Plaquemine, Louisiana. This project continues, with Field Secretaries Ronnie Moore and Mary Hamilton in charge and some 15 Task Force workers. During the summer there were 35 out of state CORE workers and 15 local people who covered eight parishes in Louisiana. The project expanded far beyond the Voter Registration field and resulted in demonstrations for equal jobs, integrated schools and public facilities, and several new CORE chapters throughout the state. There are 12 Negro candidates running for election in Plaquemine, La. The totale cost of the summer project is about $12,000.00, excluding staff. One of the results of this campaign is that several complaints have been filed with the Justice Department on discriminatory practices by local registrars in the area.

Rudy Lombard expressed appreciation for the moral lift given by the National Director's presence in Plaquemine this summer, and the National Director in turn highly complimented Rudy on the excellent job he did while there.

Oretha Castle gave a report from Ike Reynolds in Shreveport in which he stated that the situation is most difficult and dangerous one and could result in very heavy financial responsibilities if CORE's activity is to be continued. Gordon Carey added that Shreveport is now one of the hot spots of the South, on the Civil Rights front.

Committee of Inquiry:

The question of this Hearing which was scheduled for early August and then postponed because of the March on Washington was again discussed by the Steering Committee with regard to where and when it should be held. The following suggestions were made:

1. An on-the-spot hearing in one of the areas now in turmoil.
2. Bringing in CORE persons who have been brutalized during some of their Civil Rights activities for interviews.
3. The National Chairman and the National Director leading a delegation to see the President.
4. Immediate massive demonstrations at the Justice Department.

Alan Gartner made a motion that the National Director at the September 30 meeting of the Big Ten reiterate CORE's concern that the Hearing go forth with the utmost dispatch. The motion carried with one opposed.

The Community Relations Director injected here that certain amendments are now being passed to strengthen Civil Rights legislation now before Congress, and that he felt that the organization should formulate some action to back the passing of this legislation.

Doretha Castle urged that the Director of Organization visit Louisiana as soon as possible to aid in maintaining and further developing the action which was begun there this summer and to help pull together a more closely knit group in the area.

The NAC meeting has been definitely set for Los Angeles on November 8, 9, and 10, 1963.

The retainer fee for Collins, Douglas & Elie was raised from $250.00 to $400.00 per month, with unanimous approval.

NAC Agenda:

1. CORE's relationship with the Big Ten.
2. A CORE training school in the South.
3. Southern Office.
4. A workshop on politics and voter registration in North Carolina.
5. Philosophy of non-violence.

The National Chairman brought to the attention of the Committee the tremendous time and money he is spending keeping CORE appointments and speaking engagements in his local area. Also, that he is in contact with a singing group from North Carolina which could possibly be used in some of our fund-raising affairs.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: NAC Members

November 22, 1963

FROM: James Farmer

SUBJECT: Steering Committee Meeting

The next meeting of the Steering Committee of the NAC will be held on Friday, December 6th, at 6:00 P.M. at the National Office.

STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

December 7, 1963

Present: Curvin, Dodson, Farmer, Gartner, Hill, Hobson, Lewinson, Lombard, McKissick, Rachlin, Smith.

Staff : Belony, Carey, C. Coleman, V. Coleman, Dennis, Hill, Hoffman, Rich.

Financial Report:

Total income for the six-month period, June 1 - November 30	...	$503,401.15
Disbursements, June 1 - November 31	...	453,415.97
Balance, November 30	...	49,985.18
Outstanding bills	...	21,253.44
Deposit to savings account	...	10,000.00
Total in savings	...	25,000.00

Proposed Community Training Center for Canton, Mississippi:

CORE Field Secretary David Dennis presented a proposal for a community training center in this rural area of Mississippi, where services might be offered to help counteract economic and cultural deprivation so prevalent there.

His report shows that more than one-third of all Negro families have incomes of less than $1,000 per year. He pointed out that Negroes do not have access even to the existing public libraries. Expenditures for education are far below the nation's average. There is a total of eight schools for Negroes in the county, with over 7,000 students in attendance, while 2,299 white students attend six white schools. The infant mortality rate is high, particularly among Negroes. Much housing is sub-standard.

A library of some 7,500 books (collected through the efforts of the volunteers in the National Office) has been set up in Madison County. Dave hopes for a center which will have counseling facilities, social facilities and instructions in reading, typing, etcetera.

Alan Gartner moved that the National Office authorize financial

backing up to $1,000, as a loan to establish the proposed community training center in Canton, and that the National Director be authorized to solicit long-term permanent financing for the maintenance of said center. The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

The National Chairman expressed the thanks of the Steering Committee to Dave Dennis for the excellent job he's doing in the State of Mississippi.

Department of Organization:

Jim McCain reported on his recent trip to the Deep South and the West Coast. He advised that on the West Coast, particularly, the personnel shortage problem is becoming acute, and pointed out that in addition to proper servicing of chapters in this area, additional staff would, in all probability, gain more financial support from this area.

It was generally agreed that the staffing shortage will probably be with us for a long time due to finances, but that expansion, although it must be gradual, should have priority at National CORE.

A new unit of CORE in Chicago, Southside CORE, has applied for affiliation. The Associate Director, Richard Haley, recommended affiliation with the following stipulations:

1. The chapter choose a name that will not confuse the two CORE units in the city.
2. The new unit will not accept members who are presently connected with Chicago CORE, unless they have been seperated from Chicago CORE for at least six months.
3. The National Office receive a full list of names and addresses of Southside CORE's present members, to be brought up to date every other month. The list is to be replaced once a year, 30 days before the election of chapter officers, and should include only the names of eligible voters.
4. The National Office observe and provide guidance for both Chicago chapters, beginning as soon as possible and continuing for at least 60 days.

Ed Levinson moved that Southside Chicago CORE be affiliated, with the stipulations suggested by Richard Haley, and any other recommendations and/or instructions which the staff deems necessary. The motion carried with one abstention.

The Steering Committee emphasized that their action in this

instance is not to be taken as policy. Any similar, future applications will be considered individually and on their particular merits. It was suggested, too, that the committee to study multiple chapter problems convene within ten days of this meeting and bring its report to the next Steering Committee meeting.

The National Director received a communication from Dayton, Ohio CORE requesting that they be allowed to attempt a meeting with the Governor of Ohio on the Mae Mallory extradition case. They requested that the National Director or the National Chairman attend this meeting. After considerable discussion, the Steering Committee suggested that representatives from all the Ohio CORE chapters attempt to meet with the Governor to request that Miss Mallory not be sent back to North Carolina.

Julius Hobson motioned that because of insufficient information on this entire matter, it be turned over to the National Director, the National Chairman, and the General Counsel. Lou Smith presented an amendment to the motion, that a memorandum be sent to all chapters advising that any participation be withheld pending further directions from the National Office. The motion was further amended by Alan Gartner that any action taken by CORE will be individual actions, and not in conjunction with any other organization. The motion, as amended, was unanimously adopted.

CORE Field Secretary Zev Aelony, recently released from jail in Americus, Georgia, reported on some of the civil rights activities and progress in that community. The public library has been desegregated, and there has been a promise of school desegregation. Voter registration schools are currently being set up. Many local people who have engaged in civil rights activities have lost their jobs, and to help alleviate the hardships caused thereby, a pecan and fruit cake factory at Koinonia Community has been put into operation which employs 12 people. Zev and the group are working for wider distribution of the products and hope in the not too distant future to offer employment to some 40 persons. Machinery is needed for the factory there; they are presently using borrowed equipment.

Zev told the Steering Committee that a murder charge has been placed against one of the civil rights workers in Americus, because of a bottle allegedly thrown at a policeman, and the conclusion by local authorities that if the bottle had hit the policeman, it might have killed him.

The National Chairman asked that a letter be sent to Zev expressing our sincere thanks for the job he has been doing in Americus.

New York CORE:

The National Director, who was appointed trustee of New York CORE by the National Action Council at its November meeting, reported that he had called a meeting of the executive committee of this chapter (the committee in operation prior to the recent elections).

This committee was dissolved and a committee composed of one representative from each of the factions and two neutral persons was appointed. At a subsequent meeting with the group, it was agreed that the National Director would be represented by the Associate Director Richard Haley or the Director of Organization Jim McCain, when necessary.

Active membership as of the last election date was frozen. The books will be audited. New York CORE's office is presently being managed by Mr. Haley with the help of his secretary. All press releases must be cleared and approved by the National Office. Any demonstrations by this group will have a reporter-observer from the National Office present. There are to be no new projects unless the trustee or his representative is notified.

The trusteeship was explained to the membership at a subsequent meeting on December 4th.

One problem is the inability to agree on voting procedures; for purposes of the election, the only criteria for voting will be paid dues through the month of September 1963.

Continuation of the trusteeship for a two-month period following the election was recommended, and it was suggested that each voting member be required to attend meetings and participate in projects for a stipulated period following the election. Procedures have been set in motion for proper record-keeping of future activities. The Chapter's constitution is to be revised.

The National Director was thanked for the job he is attempting to do with New York CORE and asked to continue working with this chapter.

Civil Rights Legislation:

The National Director reported on a 55-minute meeting with President Johnson, during which he proposed to Mr. Johnson a crash remedial education program for the entire country. The President seemed very interested and asked if Mr. Farmer would submit suggestions both on the setting up and operation of such a project. The President also asked for suggestions on personnel, particularly specialists in the various areas of education. Mr. Farmer stated

that he had done some thinking on possible specialists who might be called upon for the proposed educational program. Specifically, he feels these might come from the Bank Street School of Education in New York, Columbia University, and the Harlem Youth Opportunity Unlimited Project. Such persons would be asked to present specific recommendations on how best to carry out such a program.

Alan Gartner injected here that Cardinal Cushing of Boston has voiced his support of a civil rights bill and its discharge from the House Rules Committee.

Reporting on the discharge petition, Marvin Rich pointed out the importance of activity by all CORE groups in support of it. As of this date, 171 Congressmen have agreed to sign; 52 are doubtful, and some, of course, are very critical. Telegrams have gone out to our chapters asking that they start work as quickly as possible, beginning by contacting their local Congressmen.

Salary of the National Director:

The National Chairman introduced the subject of an increase in salary for the National Director. On a motion by Alan Gartner, seconded by Julius Hobson, and unanimously adopted by the Committee, with the abstention of Mr. Farmer, the National Director's annual salary was increased from $11,500 to $12,500.

Toys of Violence:

Wilfred Ussery of San Francisco CORE, and National CORE's Second Vice Chairman, sent in a resolution regarding toys which depict violent acts. The resolution proposes that CORE sponsor a program to foster non-violence as a way of life and to discourage the use of toys of violence, as a memorial to the late President Kennedy. Alan Gartner moved that we indicate to the public our adherence to President Johnson's statement on lawlessness and request a ban on toys of violence at this Christmas season. Other Committee members suggested that the assasination of the President is linked to the overall picture of atrocities and violent actions in the South.

Bond Fund:

Carl Rachlin reported on meetings of some of the civil rights organizations, and the National Council of Churches, to discuss the possibilities of establishing a Bail-Bond Fund. CORE would be expected to raise approximately $100,000 for deposit in such a fund.

The matter was referred to the National Director for further consideration.

Community Relations Report:

Marvin Rich reported that CORE's Christmas store in New York's Greenwich Village was doing quite well. Sammy Davis, Jr. did a benefit in Los Angeles on December 6th. There will be published shortly a book by Lillian Smith and Bob Adelman, proceeds from which will go to CORE.

Rudy Lombard mentioned a picture pamphlet which had been distributed by Syracuse CORE, and it was suggested that they be distributed to CORE chapters by the National Office. Val Coleman gave a report on the Odetta concert and the "Jazz for Freedom" record, which has been selling very well. The Gandhi Award Dinner will be held on December 9th. This year's award goes to Isaac Reynolds.

Marvin Rich reported that Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company of Durham, North Carolina has cut back Negro employees who were recently upgraded in that company. The union here is segregated. Negro workers are calling for a national boycott if these matters are not resolved. Carl Rachlin moved that CORE support the Durham campaign nationally, including the boycott and resort to the N.L.R.B., if necessary. The motion was seconded and passed by the Steering Committee.

Velma Hill, who was recently added to CORE's field staff, tendered her resignation to the Steering Committee will make recommendations to the National Action Council for filling this vacancy.

Legal Conference:

Carl Rachlin advised that a Legal Conference has been scheduled in New York City, January 31 through February 2, 1964. The theme of this conference will be "The Changing Role of the Lawyer in an Era of Non-violent Direct Action." The Steering Committee unanimously approved the Conference.

National Action Council Meeting:

The next meeting has been scheduled for February 21, 22, 23, 1964, in New York City.

1964 Convention:

Several Steering Committee members expressed a preference for a campus set-up, if this is feasible. Ike Reynolds and Dave Dennis asked that consideration be given to a centrally located area, not too far removed from the South. The Committee agreed that priority should be given to a South-Central area, and the National Director and staff were authorized to proceed with selections of a spot.

Report of the Program Director:

A series of Area Conferences have been, and are, taking place; so far New York, New Jersey and Connecticut have been centers of such conferences. Program Director, Norman Hill, requested and was authorized to present a written report with suggestions on Programming throughout the country in the areas of housing, schools and employment to the NAC.

The National Director voiced the opinion that the NAC should do some thinking in depth on future action and programming. Alan Gartner agreed and suggested that at least one half day of the next NAC meeting be devoted to this topic. General Counsel, Carl Rachlin, volunteered to work with Norman Hill on a presentation for the meeting.

Rudy Lombard suggested that serious thought be given to utilizing the talents of individuals who may not be entirely action-oriented, but who may have excellent ideas on programming, etcetera, in organizational structure.

Rudy Lombard suggested that there should be an effective follow-up to Action Projects when the impact of a direct action campaign wans.

Southern Office:

The Director of Organization, Jim McCain, pointed out certain prerequisites necessary to the establishment of a Southern office. Foremost among these, a mature, responsible and experiences coordinator to head such an office and act as a liaison with the National Office. Among the duties of this person would be to give assistance on programming and public relations and to work with the field staff and task force. The matter is still under discussion.

Philadelphia Slums Campaign:

The National Director sent a wire to the Mayor of Philadelphia expressing the National Office's support of Philadelphia CORE's campaign for adequate low income housing and the utilization of local labor in the construction now taking place in that city.

December 13, 1963

MEMORANDUM

TO: National Action Council Members

FROM: Gordon R. Carey

Re: Steering Committee

The next meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Action Council will be held Friday, January ~~17~~ 24, 1964, in the National Office at 6:00 p.m.

This will be the only meeting of the Steering Committee prior to the NAC which meets February 21, 22 and 23. A proposed Steering Committee agenda will reach you prior to the January ~~17~~ 24 meeting.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
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Ralph Abernathy
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Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
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Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
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Dorothy Norman
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Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

OFFICERS
Floyd B. McKissick
chairman
Rudolph Lombard
1st vice chairman
Wilfred Ussery
2nd vice chairman
Ralph Rosenfeld
secretary
Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Norman Hill
program director
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

MEMORANDUM

TO: NAC Members

January 9, 1964

FROM: Gordon R. Carey

Re: Steering Committee

Below is the tentative agenda for the January 24, meeting of the Steering Committee. An earlier announcement of this meeting apparently did not reach all N.A.C. members due to a clerical error.

1) Chapter Affiliation
2) Program Department Report
3) Community Relations Department Report
4) Financial Report
5) Field Report
6) Report on New York CORE trusteeship
7) National Action Council
8) National Convention
9) Union Contract Ratification

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Lewinson and Louis Smith January 15, 1964

FROM: Gordon R. Carey

Re: Proportioning of Convention Votes

The first meeting of this Committee which was appointed by Chairman McKissick at the NAC in Los Angeles was held on January 4, at the home of Robert Curvin in Newark. The Committee was charged with dealing with the problem of proportioning convention votes among the CORE chapters, and we were instructed specifically to deal with the problems of large metropolitan areas and related topics. At the first meeting were present Robert Curvin, Carl Rachlin and Gordon Carey.

The next meeting of the Committee is to be held at the law office of Vladek and Elias (Rachlin's office), 280 Broadway, New York City, at 10 A.M. on Saturday, January 25.

Those members of the Committee present came up with a number of suggested changes in voting procedure, which will be discussed below, along with some of the rationale for making the changes. It should be pointed out that most of the suggestions are contingent upon acceptance of the first recommendation, which is to reduce the number of votes per chapter to three.

It was unanimously recommended that the number of votes per chapter at the Convention be reduced to three, with one person able to carry two votes. If two representatives of a chapter are present, then one would carry two votes and the other one, and if there are three persons present each would cast one vote. The primary reason for this change is to insure that the National Convention of CORE shall remain a viable, working body which can engage in meaningful debate and discussion. With the growth of the organization, an undue number of delegates voting on the floor would tend to produce a convention in which discussion is not possible. It was the feeling of the Committee that three delegates could well represent the views of any chapter and would still encourage sufficient numbers of persons to attend.

Furthermore, since under the present set-up two persons can carry the entire vote of a chapter, it will be noted that two persons are still required to cast the total vote of the chapter under the suggested change. Therefore, we are not encouraging a great reduction in the number of delegates. Likewise, by reducing the representation across the board, no inequity is worked upon any idividual chapter. This change would also simplify the voting procedure. At the present time, it is required that we count three separate kinds of votes on the convention floor. Under the new system we would only have to count two different kinds of votes.

The second suggestion deals with college chapters. There are two alternatives which we have not yet been able to resolve. The first alternative is to reduce the representation of college chapters to two votes and require that two persons be present, in order to cast the entire quota of votes for the chapter. In other words, one person could cast no more than one vote. The second alternative is to reduce the representation of college chapters to one vote.

The Committee agreed unanimously that it was necessary to reduce the representation of college units in proportion to the representation of the community units. One reason is that with the multiplication of chapters in metropolitan areas and with the potential of a large number of college chapters in these areas, we are simply going to end up with an over-representation from the larger cities. It was felt that it should be recognized that the college chapters do not play the same role as do the community chapters. They generally do not function throughout the year, they generally represent a smaller community, and their effectiveness is usually limited as compared to a community chapter. Many college units carry on their projects primarily in conjunction with community chapters, and many members of college chapters hold dual membership in other chapters. A reduction in the voting power of college units will relatively enhance the voting power of other chapters and will go a long way to alleviate the problem of domination of the convention by three or four metropolitan areas.

The next suggestion had to do with the process of affiliation of chapters. It was suggested that "before the NAC or Steering Committee may consider affiliation, it must have a report and positive recommendation in writing from the director of organization." This report, of course, could be done by a staff member and approved by the director of organization. It will be noted that this would prevent the Steering Committee or NAC from affiliating a chapter against the wishes of the director of organization, but they could still vote against affiliation of a chapter that comes recommended. It should also be noted that this provision would still permit the convention to affiliate without recommendation from the director of organization.

The next recommendation has to do with multiple chapters within a city. It is recommended that a second or subsequent chapter in any city must be affiliated by a 2/3 majority of those members voting at a meeting of the NAC or National Convention. Under this change it would still be

possible to affiliate additional chapters within a city when necessary, but the process of affiliation would become somewhat more difficult. The Steering Committee would no longer be able to affiliate more than one chapter in a city, but this action would have to be taken by either the NAC or the Convention.

It was also agreed that some kind of limitation of potential votes within each city must be worked out. The Committee did not yet arrive at a working formula but believes that the number of potential votes which a city might have should be based on the population of the city. The idea of granting proportional votes at the convention based on numbers of active members in a chapter was rejected. It was rejected, because the Committee felt this put a premium on gettin active members regardless of quality. Furthermore, it is quite easy for chapters in the North to get large numbers of members, but this is not always the case in many smaller Southern communities. Likewise, it was not felt that the merits of a chapter can be judged by the number of members, since a small chapter may be a great deal more active than some of the larger chapters.

If a limitation of potential votes for the combined chapters in a given city is worked out on the basis of the population of that city, then this will give recognition to the necessity of having multiple chapters in the large metropolitan areas of the country. It will also maintain the equality of votes amongst the chapters (with the exception of the college units) but will recognize the greater responsibility in the metropolitan areas.

One schedule of potential votes for a given city was suggested but not adopted by the Committee. I am including it here, however, simply as an indication of the trend of our thought. This limitation on votes would not include college chapters. If the college representation at the convention were reduced to one vote per chapter, then there would be no need to limit the number of college chapters that can be formed. If, however, the voting strength of college units is more than one vote per chapter, their votes would have to be included in some suggested formula:

Potential Votes Per City

Population	Potential Convention Votes (Excl. College Units)
Up to 500,000	3
500,000 to 1,000,000	6
1,000,000 to 2,000,000	9
2,000,000 to 4,000,000	12
4,000,000 to 6,000,000	15
Over 6,000,000	18

The schedule above or a variation thereof could be worked out so that none of the non-college chapters in New York City would lose any votes. Nor

would any chapters in any other parts of the country have their representation reduced. However, since New York City already has six community chapters, this limitation would virtually freeze the formation of other than college chapters in the city. If other chapters were formed, then all of the chapters in the area would have to have their voting strength reduced slightly.

That completes the list of suggestions. We hope that the full Committee will be able to consider these points and any other points which should be considered so that we may present a full report and a recommendation to the NAC which meets in New York City February 21, 22, and 23. Most of the changes that we have suggested require constitutional changes and would have to be made at the convention.

cc: James Farmer
Richard Haley
James McCain
Marvin Rich
Norman Hill
Floyd McKissick
Rudolph Lombard
Wilfred Ussery
Ralph Rosenfeld
Alan Gartner
Jim Peck

STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

January 24, 1964

Present: Curvin, Dodson, Farmer, Gartner, McKissick, Peck, Rachlin, Smith

Staff: Carey, C. Coleman, Haley, N. Hill, V. Hill, Hoffman, Locket, McCain, Rich, McKenna

At the beginning of the meeting there was less than a quorum present; the Chairman used his authority to ratify said quorum. Before the conclusion of the first report, the last three members of the Steering Committee arrived, effecting a quorum.

Department of Organization:

Following chapters were recommended for affiliation: (A report on their activities was given, and in each case the chapter had been recommended by a field person)

Los Angeles State College
Pomona Valley, California
Vallejo, California
West Feliciana, Louisiana
San Antonio, Texas
Wheeling, West Virginia

The chapters were affiliated on a motion by Mr. Farmer, seconded by Mr. Rachlin and a unanimous vote by the Steering Committee. There is a proviso that the Pomona Valley chapter be clarified as to its name, since the area takes in several cities.

Jim McCain next reported on the location of his field staff. He stated that the only changes have been Mary Hamilton who now working in Plaquemine Parish, Louisiana; Winston Lockett who has been brought East to work with New Haven CORE; Ike Reynolds who has spent two weeks in Texas; and Marvin Robinson now working in West Virginia. John Schaefer is in Philadelphia. Bruce Baines is currently in Texas to take over while Ike makes a trip to Louisiana. Also, several Task Force people have been added to work in Mississippi. Ed Hollander has been hired as a Field Secretary working directly under Marvin Rich.

In voter registration the totals for January are as follows: South Carolina, 1,879; Florida, 63; Louisiana, 174, making a total of 2,016 additional voters in three states. A voter registration campaign in being set in the Tallahassee, Florida area by Pat Due, assisted by Judy Benninger who will be placed on the Task Force in that area.

(continued)

Jim McCain gave a brief report on the operation of the Manpower Development and Training Act to aid functional illiterates in South Carolina. A large percentage of the group is Negro. South Carolina has received a grant of five and one-half million dollars to aid persons in this unfortunate category. Mr. McCain suggested that CORE's Field Staff acquaint themselves with these programs to attack poverty in areas where they work and lend their aid in securing all possible help for minority groups.

School Boycott:

CORE is a member of the City-Wide Committee for School Integration, and is actively supporting the February 3 boycott. Bronx CORE Chairman, Herb Callander, has been assigned to work full time on mobilization for the boycott which at this point seems to be gaining momentum. The Board of Education has stated that it will submit an integration plan on or before January 31.

Lou Smith asked for clarification on National Office policy regarding boycotts by chapters in other cities in support of the New York boycott. The National Director explained that chapters were not being urged to support the New York boycott but rather that they work on their own particular school problems.

A memorandum is to be sent to all CORE chapters asking that they contact the National Office before affiliating themselves with any groups on joint projects. The subject is to be further discussed at the staff Conference and NAC meeting.

Internal Affairs:

A. New York CORE

At a meeting on January 19, attended by Messrs. James Farmer, Richard Haley, Marshall England, and members of New York CORE, the losing faction in the recent election asked for permission to form a separate chapter with headquarters in East Harlem. The National Director suggested that the second group present its program and activities along with its official request for affiliation. It was agreed that boundary lines would be drawn and that "Harlem" would not be used as part of the name of the new chapter. Also that persons who wish to leave New York CORE would submit a resignation to the group, so advising. There was further agreement that all information given to the press would be cleared through the National Director. Mr. Farmer will recommend to the NAC that the trusteeship be removed, effective February 1, but that Richard Haley be assigned to work with New York CORE qs a consultant for a period of one month. He would be asked to see that proper machinery is set up regarding the constitution, financial records, membership records and orientation meetings. Orientation sessions are to be established, supervised by the chapter working with the Program and Organization Departments of National CORE. Both groups accepted the above proposals.

This report was accepted by the Steering Committee with two abstentions.

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B. Brooklyn CORE

The National Director called a meeting with the Executive Committee of Brooklyn CORE to discuss certain of their actions and statements which it is felt are damaging to the CORE image. After discussion, the chapter agreed to clear future press releases with the National Office. The chapter also agreed to establish orientation sessions for its membership. Jim Peck offered a motion that a memorandum be prepared for all CORE chapters regarding issuing of statements, charges, etc. that are not in keeping with CORE philosophy. The memorandum is to cover public statements by one chapter which affect other local chapters without consultation with said chapters. This motion was seconded by Carl Rachlin and unanimously adopted by the Steering Committee.

Another item to be added to the NAC agenda was introduced at this point: The education of CORE membership in non-violence, including civil disobedience through orientation sessions.

C. New Haven CORE

This chapter is having serious political problems resulting in a breakdown in orientation within the group. Winston Lockett has been working with the chapter and reported that it sincerely desires proper orientation and education, but that outside influences make this very difficult. New elections have been set for May. There is also a direct action project scheduled for tomorrow, January 25, which Winston feels will be an orderly demonstration.

D. Chicago CORE

Norm Hill is to visit Chicago CORE within a day or so to clarify the affiliation of Southside CORE as reported in the minutes of the December 7 meeting. There has been evidence that remnants of the old Southside CORE are still in existence, creating some problems for the new group. Norm will confer with both Chicago chapters on these and other problems and report to the National Director.

E. Cleveland CORE

This chapter's request for financial aid in the form of bond money for Mae Mallory was turned down on a motion by the National Director, seconded by Alan Gartner and a unanimous vote by the Steering Committee.

The Steering Committee unanimously adopted a motion that CORE groups will not participate with other groups (specifically, the Monroe Defense Committee) in action on the Mae Mallory case. Cleveland CORE is to be so advised by letter.

F. Los Angeles CORE

There is evidence of some Communist Party infiltration in this chapter. In a recent election the desirable faction of the group won. However, the dissident faction then set up a separate group calling itself a CORE group. It was

(continued)

advised by the National Office that it could not use the CORE name, and after some insistence the group complied.

G. Dayton CORE

Two factions exist here. Richard Haley will attend elections next week and report on the outcome.

Automobile Leasing:

Insurance problems on cars owned by and loaned to the organization resulted in looking to the possibility of leasing cars in areas where needed. Gordon Carey is handling this matter which was approved on a motion by Carl Rachlin, seconded by Alan Gartner, and unanimoulsy adopted by the Steering Committee.

Financial:

Total receipts December 1 - December 31, 1963	$ 88,432.39
Disbursements for December 1963	104,257.32
Total disbursements, June - December 1963	557,673.29
Total receipts, June 1 - December 31, 1963	590,435.31
Balance in checking	15,000.00
Balance in savings	50,800.00 (approx.)
CORE's Christmas store gross	6,000.00 (approx.)

The Community Relations Director suggested that if internal problems are correctly handled, the financial picture should brighten during the next months.

This report given by Treasurer Alan Gartner was accepted by the Steering Committee.

Union Contract

The union contract which was negotiated by a committee composed of Carl Rachlin, Floyd McKissick, Alan Gartner, and Gordon Carey was reviewed for the Steering Committee and was accepted on a motion by Mark Dodson, seconded by Bob Curvin, and unanimously adopted by the Steering Committee.

Pension Plan

A pension plan to protect CORE employees whose prime earning life has and is being spent full time with the organization was presented for action by the Steering Committee. Possible plans and terms of each have been investigated and copies of the proposed plan will be sent to members of the NAC for further study.

(continued)

Delta Project

A statewide organization in Mississippi known as COFO, composed of representatives of CORE, SCLC, NAACP, and SNCC is currently working on an intensive voter registration drive. It is also their hope to establish community educational centers throughout the state. As reported in the December 7 minutes, CORE authorized $1,000 to establish such a center in Canton, Mississippi. It is reported that the National Council of Churches is interested in this project and may provide financial and physical support.

Jim McCain is scheduled to visit Mississippi within a very short time and make recommendations on extended CORE involvement in these programs.

Cooperative Industry:

Richard Haley advised that Eric Weinberger, who established the tote bag cooperative in Haywood County, Tennessee, is interested in setting up sample industries in other Southern states and would like to choose locations in which there is an active civil rights group or groups. Mr. Weinberger specifically requested limited travel expenses from CORE. The Steering Committee approved cooperation as far as is feasible with Mr. Weinberger in setting up these projects.

Freedom House:

Chairman Floyd McKissick advised that there is an available building in Durham, North Carolina which could be used as a training center and as living accommodations for CORE personnel engaged in civil rights activities in that area. The building would require some $6,000 for repairs and enlargement. The Steering Committee adopted unanimously a motion to support the principle of Freedom House. Details are to be worked out.

Literacy Program in South Carolina:

(Part of the President's Equal Opportunity Program aimed at functional illiterates.)
Jim McCain reported that an integrated literacy program is in operation in South Carolina. The majority of functional illiterates in South Carolina are Negroes, and it has been found that special efforts must be made to acquaint them with the program. McCain pointed out that these programs will be operating throughout the South, and CORE field personnel can play an important role in aiding Negroes who qualify. Participants are paid while training.

NAC Vacancies:

There are currently three vacancies--Velma Hill, Patricia Due, and Carl Rachlin are now working full time for the organization. This will be an agenda item

(continued)

at the next NAC meeting where all recommendations will be considered.

Convention:

Letters were sent to all CORE chapters in the Upper and Mid-South asking if they were interested in hosting the 1964 Convention. No replies have been received. At the moment Kansas City how seems the most likely prospect. It is understood that Memphis, Tennessee might also be interested. If no additional invitations are received, the decision will be left to staff. Tentative Convention dates are July 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Summer Project:

Will probably center around voter education activity in Louisiana and in Mississippi.

North Carolina:

Chapel Hill is the center of nonviolent direct action against segregation in public accomodations. (A survey shows that 25% of such accommodations are still segregated in this citadel of higher education) There were 235 arrests during December. Demonstrations have been highly successful from the point of view of mobilizaing the Negro community. Some violence has been encountered.

The Board of Aldermen met, supposedly to pass a public accomodations desegregation bill, but it is understood that they instead appointed a committee to work on such a bill. If no clear cut action results by the first of the month, direct action is to resume. The Governor of North Carolina asked for a private meeting with Mr. Farmer and Mr. McKissick, but they declined, as the Governor had publicly denounced the desegregation efforts in Chapel Hill before calling for such a meeting.

The situation in Chapel Hill strongly points up the need for the public accommodation section of the civil rights bill, and it was the consensus of the Steering Committee that all CORE chapters be apprised of the situation in North Carolina and urged to initiate action on desegregation of public facilities. The Committee further authorized the staff and the National Chairman to step up to whatever degree necessary the activities in Chapel Hill. Any aid possible from other CORE chapters is welcome in Chapel Hill.

General Counsel:

CORE's various legal entanglements have taken a great deal of the General Counsel's time, curtailing much of his own private practice. He now finds it possible to devote almost full time to organizational needs. In order to

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function efficiently, he would need a desk on the CORE premises and part-time secretarial help. The Steering Committee approved this and authorized an annual salary of $12,000, which represents a small increase over Mr. Rachlin's previous retainer fee.

The Steering Committee voted against Mr. Rachlin's continuing as an NAC member while employed full time by the organization and expressed its gratitude for his past services on the NAC.

St. Louis Globe Democrat:

This St. Louis, Missouri daily carried a series of 10 articles on alleged Communist infiltration of CORE. It also printed a statement supposedly made by a CORE Field Secretary that no check of a person's political background is made by CORE chapters prior to granting membership. The Steering Committee discussed a possible libel suit against the paper in conjunction with suits by some of its Advisory Committee members, also attacked by the paper.

Specifically, the following action is to be taken:

1. A clarifying statement from the Field Secretary to the newspaper, asking that said statement be published.
2. A statement of CORE policy from the National Director to the newspaper, requesting its publication.
3. Demand retraction of its charges and a public apology from the newspaper.
4. CORE's General Counsel and its National Director will consult further and proceed with whatever action is advisable.

Another agenda item at the forthcoming NAC meeting will be CORE's policy regarding endorsement of political candidates. CORE's varied activities in voter education and registration demand that this subject be seriously discussed; particularly, what constitutes an endorsement.

file NAC

AGENDA FOR STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

January 24, 1964

1 - Organization Department Report

2 - Chapter Affiliation

3 - School Boycott

4 - Internal Affairs

- a - New York
- b - Brooklyn
- c - New Haven
- d - Chicago
- e - Cleveland
- f - Los Angeles

5 - Automobile Leasing

6 - Delta Project

7 - Summer project

8 - Cooperative Industry

9 - Literary Program

10 - North Carolina Report

11 - Freedom House

12 - Union Contract

13 - Pension Plan

14 - General Counsel

15 - NAC Vacancies

16 - Community Relations Dept. Report

17 - Financial Report

18 - National Action Council

19 - Convention

20 - St. Louis Globe Democrat

21 - Letter from Lambard

A - Affiliation blank in B Constitution C Recommended
D - Report form

Bakersfield, Cal. - A
Bruin Core, LA Cal - B
Central Core-LA Cal. -
Fresno Cal. -
Long Beach Cal. - A-B ✓
Oakland Cal. -
Oxnard Cal. -
Palm Spring, Cal -
Richmond Cal. -
S. Alameda Cal. -
San Bernardino, Cal -
Stockton Cal. - B-D
Univ of Cal. -
Boulder Colo. - A-D
Greeley Colo. - A-B
Bridgeport Conn. - A
Fairfield-Westport Conn. - A-B
Stamford Conn. -
Waterbury Conn -
Stetson Univ. - A/A.
Madison, Ill. -
Des Moines, Iowa - A
Hammond, Ind. -
Hammond, La. -

Manhatten, Kan. -
Minneapolis, Minn. - B
Camden, N.J. - A-D
Jersey City, N.J. -
Middlesex, N.J. - ○
Roth-Dodg
New Brunswick, N.J. - A-B-D
Pass A-C, N.J. -
West Orange, N.J. -
Borough Hall —
Binghamton, NY - A-B
Brooklyn College -
Buffalo - B
Chelsea Neighborhood - NYC
no money
7 AAAs - A-B ○
E. River - A-B ○
New Rochelle -
NW N.Y. Core - A-B
Queens Coll. - D
Queens, N.Y. - A. B X
Yonkers -
Niagara Falls.
Rockland County - A-B-D
Suffolk County - A-B ○
Utica Core - D
So. Jamaica ○

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Chapel Hill, N.C. -
Duke Univ-N.C. -
Gastonia, N.C. - A-B-D ←
Goldboro, N.C. - A
New Bern, N.C. - D
N.C. State -
Winston-Salem -
Akron, Ohio - B-D
Middletown Coke - A-B-D ←
Yellow Springs, Ohio -
Oklahoma City - A
Tulsa - A-B-C-D-O.K
Springfield, Ohio -
Eugene, Oregon -
Chester, Penn. -
Providence, R.I. - A-B-D ←
Chattanooga, Tenn. -
Houston, Tex. -
Tri, Cities, Wash. - A-B ←
Huntington, W. Va. -
Kenosha, Wis -
Milwaukee-Wis - A-B-C-D-O.K ←

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Mac

Louis Smith suggested that the Steering Committee propose to CORE Chapters throughout the country an investigation of Social Security agencies in their areas. Mr. Smith stated that discrimination in job promotion has been found in his local agency and that he has been told that this is the pattern throughout the country.

Mr. Smith asked the National Director to lead a demonstration and appear at a rally planned for Chester, Penna. at an early date.

Norman Hill suggested that there is a lack of unity in the Negro community and a loss of political initiative by the organization, both locally and throughout the country. He suggested the following:

1. Direct programmatic confrontation with elements hostile to CORE's philosophy. Val Coleman Concurred.
2. Allocate resources and exercise responsibility necessary to enable CORE chapters to move concretely on the school issue as well as other vital issues in the civil rights field.
3. Authorize immediate employment of an Assistant to the Program Director.

Mr. Hill requested Tom Kahn. The National Director voiced reservations regarding Mr. Kahn, as follows:

A. His ability to project to chapters, due to his theoretical approach to matters.

B. His socialist orientation, which might overweight the organization in this direction.

C. His writings, some of which have compared CORE unfavorably to another organization (The Unfinished Revolution).

D. His article in "New America" attacking Whitney Young's publicly stated position on preferential hiring, ~~in opposition to a policy~~ which was a position already endorsed

by CORE.

Motion by Shirley Lacey, seconded by Mark Dodson: Tom Kahn be hired as Assistant to the Program Director. The Motion carried with six in favor, three opposed.

Norman stated that as his assistant, Mr. Kahn would be assigned primarily to administrative tasks in the department, for which he is well qualified, and would have very limited direct contact with chapters.

Rudy Lombard, Ed Lewinson and Mark Dodson suggested that because of Mr. Kahn's competency in the area where Program's needs are so great and immediate, he be hired with the hope that the questions raised will not result in organizational problems, and, if so, necessary steps be taken at that time.

Val Coleman suggested that in view of the numerous urgent problems confronting the organization, it might be wise to take a hard look at the present time consuming demands being made on the National Director to see if revisions of his schedule, where possible, could leave more time to deal with these urgencies and give direction to the organization. The Steering Committee agreed that the leadership qualities of Mr. Farmer are needed in all possible areas, but felt that revisions of his schedule must be done at his discretion and judgment.

Motion by Charles Oldham, seconded by Bob Curvin: An Evaluation Committee be established for discussions on Staff and with Staff, on possible steps to improve the operation of the organization and make recommendations to the NAC. Unanimously adopted. The following Steering Committee members volunteered for the Evaluation Committee: Bob Curvin, Mark Dudson, Floyd McKissick.

Summer Program:

Norm Hill reported that training sessions for volunteers going into Mississippi this summer will be held in Berea, Kentucky. Among the organizations participating will be the National Lawyers Guild, invited by COFO. CORE will be responsible for the Fourth Congressional District (Canton and Meridian).

Norm proposed that CORE sit down with all COFO representatives and their national representatives to work out program coordination and coordination of activity at the political conventions. Questions on personnel contral and financing are to be studied further.

George Wiley suggested that the National Office Staff initiate action to deal with the problems posed during this meeting, and those that arise daily, and make necessary decisions to solve said problems when possible.

Carl Rachlin and Bob Curvin are to establish

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procedures for the May 1st hearing on Brooklyn CORE's "Stall-In".

Minutes of the May 22, 1964 Steering Committee Meeting

Summary of Discussion on Washington, D.C.
CORE

I Washington Congress of Racial Equality vs. Rowena Rand:

Miss Rand, Washington CORE member expelled on March 3, 1964 requested and received permission for a hearing before the steering Committee. The Steering Committee reversed Miss Rand's expulsion on the following grounds:

1) The by-law under which she was expelled was passed after the "disorderly conduct" incident.
2) She received no statement of the charges against her prior to expulsion.
3) She was not present at the meeting when expulsion took place. The vote was 7 for reversal of the expulsion and 1 not voting.

II Charges against Julius Hobson:

Some members of Washington, D.C. CORE brought charges to the Steering Committee seeking the expulsion from CORE of Julius Hobson.

The two factions of this chapter were represented as follows:

Complainants: Gordon Adams, Naomi Eftis, Karl Gregory, Anna Holden, Barbara Insley, Wardel Linsay, Sheila Maclis, Norma Shelton, Reginald Webb.

On behalf of Mr. Hobson: Rimsky Atkinson, Abdullah Azeeze, Richard Brown, Jack Goodwin, Julius Hobson, Elwood Jackson, Richard Scupi (counsel).

Procedure for the hearing, as set forth by the Steering Committee, was accepted by both sides.

Karl Gregory, representing the complainants, set forth the following charges against Julius Hobson:

1. He administered the chapter in an undemocratic and irresponsible manner.
2. Violated CORE rules and procedure in action projects.
3. Violated by-laws of the organization in regard to internal disagreements and news media.
4. Misuse of his role as a regional representative
5. Violated CORE's Constitution and permitted irregularities in the membership list.

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Summary of Discussion on
Washington, D.C. CORE

The complainants presented in writing, prior to this meeting, details of the above charges, and spoke further on them during the meeting. Mr. Hobson contested the above charges and stated that the complainants had:

1. Walked out of a recent meeting, refusing to nominate a slate for the election;
2. Unruly conduct during meetings;
3. Accused him of anti-semitism;
4. Participated in unauthorized picket lines in the name of CORE.

Allegations from both sides were extensively discussed by Steering Committee members, with the following revelations:

1. Steps to incorporate the Chapter had been taken, without any notice to CORE's General Counsel, and without vote of the general membership.
2. All Committee Chairmen had been removed from office following the election.
3. An action project had been cancelled without a vote of the general membership.
4. A project had been initiated by Mr. Hobson as a "regional project."
5. A project had been initiated without a general membership vote.
6. A regional secretary had been hired by Mr. Hobson, who stated that $400.00 in salary was paid her from his personal monies and $100.00 from funds voted by the Executive Committee of the Chapter for voter registration work in the area.

Gordon Carey who attended the election meeting of Washington CORE on May 12, 1964 as an observer, reported that the meeting consisted of roll call, election of unopposed candidates and adjournment.

STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

May 22, 1964

Present:

Steering Committee -- Curvin, Farmer, Gartner, Hobson Lacey, Lewinson, Peck, Smith, Wiley

Staff -- Carey, C.Coleman, V.Coleman, N.Hill, V. Hill, Hoffman, McCain, McKenna, Murphy, Rachlin, Rich, Rhodell

Department of Organization (McCain) :

Queens CORE has been cooperative in its meetings with the Director of Organization present. The group is currently engaged in direct action projects. Elections will be held on June 10th, after which Mr. McCain will have a recommendation for or against affiliation.

A Field Secretary was assigned to Chester, Pa., but during a full week in that city was unable to develop any meaningful relationship with the movement and was transferred. CORE will keep as close touch as possible with the Chester movement, but will not directly involve the organization at this time. Allegations of police brutality will be sent to Governor Scranton.

Robert Gore, formerly in the Community Relations Department, has been appointed Assistant to the Director of Organization.

Civil Rights Bill (M. Rich) :

Although some amendments have weakened the FEPC and public accommodations sections of the bill, the bill remains a reasonably good one. The Steering Committee voted unanimously to adopt a motion by Ed Lewinson, seconded by James Farmer, that CORE plan for direct action on the Civil Rights Bill if cloture is not voted by June 15. The Staff is authorized to implement said action.

Program Department (N. Hill) :

Norman Hill reported meeting with Bob Moses and other SNCC and COFO representatives to discuss a meeting with President Johnson on the Mississippi program. It was agreed that if such a meeting takes place, it would be with the

heads of the COFO organizations and Mississippi represenatives of COFO. The COFO-sponsored June 9 hearing in Washington D.C. is to take up such issues as police brutality, harrassment, etc.

The training site for the Mississippi Summer Task Force has been changed from Berea, Ky., to Oxford, Ohio and will begin June 12th. Some 500 people will be involved in this project.

Training for the Chicago Summer Project will get underway the week of May 25th.

Details of policy, finances, endorsements, etc. for activity centered around the political conventions this summer are to be worked out during the coming week. Overall policy will be worked out between CORE, SNCC, SCLC, and the Negro American Labor Council.

Financial Report (June 1, 1963 through May 21, 1964) :

Balance June 1, 1963	$ 1,398.23
Income	859,541.85
Disbursements	871,898.93
Expense above income	10,958.85
Bills payable thru April 30,1964	65,310.20
Balance in checking April 30,1964	1,129.25
Balance in V.E.P. April 30,1964	3,318.04
Carver Federal	66.26

CORE National Convention :

Details to chapters, NAC members, etc. have gone out in separate memoranda. The Convention will be held at the Muehlebach Hotel in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. A joint Staff - NAC meeting is scheduled for Tuesday evening, June 30, all day Wednesday, July 1, and, if necessary, Thursday morning, July 2.

African Affiliations :

Mr. Farmer advised that a group of Nigerian University students known as ASCORE and a "CORE" group in Monrovia, Liberia formed by a former St. Louis CORE member have inquired into the possibilities of a working liason with National CORE. It is the consensus of the Steering Committee that no one can represent National CORE outside of the United States, but that we are anxious to promote

a mutually beneficial fraternal relationship.

Mr. Farmer read a letter from Clarence Funnye of New York CORE announcing the establishment of a Department of Urban Renewal of New York CORE. Among its goals is the minimization of hardships connected with dislocation of families accompanying urban renewal programs. The Steering Committee voted to encourage further exploration in the area of urban renewal, details to be worked out by the Program Department of National CORE, under direction of the National Director.

Brooklyn, Bronx, and New York CORE Chapters :

Mr. Farmer reported receipt of letters from each of these chapters accepting the NAC May 2nd resolution. Each protested item 4, regarding affiliation with other groups.

Minutes of the NAC Steering Committee Meeting of May 22, 1964

Resolution of the Charges against Julius Hobson

Instructions from the Steering Committee to Julius Hobson, Chmn. Washington, D.C. CORE

It being our belief that the general substance of the charges made are substantial, serious and valid, we instruct that the following be done:

1. In regard to the conduct of all meetings, full parliamentary procedure is to be followed and respect for all members' rights is to be guaranteed.
2. In regard to all action projects, none shall be initiated or terminated except by vote at a general membership meeting.
3. In regard to news media, the NAC resolution regarding chapter problems is to be strictly adhered to--all statements to news media are to be accurate and in accordance with CORE Rules for Action.
4. In regard to the office of Regional Representative, no public statements are to be made or actions taken in this capacity except for participation in and voting at Steering Committee, NAC and Convention meetings.
5. The papers of incorporation are to be immediately withdrawn and no further action is to be taken in this regard.
6. There are to be no suspensions or expulsions from active membership in Washington, D.C. CORE for 90 days, except with approval of the Steering Committee.
7. Appointment and removal of Committee Chairmen shall be ratified by the membership at a regular meeting.

The charges are considered to be current and pending, and are to be reviewed at the next Steering Committee meeting, and at such subsequent meetings as is deemed desirable.

The matter above is to be considered internal business of CORE, and is not to be aired publicly.

The Steering Committee has asked Louis Smith to act as its representative in an advisory capacity to Washington, D.C. CORE.

November 27, 1963

Mr. Sam Riley
Chairman, Chicago CORE
5h West Randolph
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sam:

As you will remember, I am a member of the committee which is to select the site for the 1964 National Convention. Chicago is one of the locations which we would like to consider. In 1962 Chicago bid for the 1963 convention and again in Dayton your chapter indicated that it would like to host the coming convention.

If Chicago CORE is still interested in having the 1964 convention around the Fourth of July weekend, I would like to get your response immediately. You will recall that a strong preference was urged for a campus or camp site. Please let me know what facilities in or close to Chicago might be appropriate and available. We will undoubtedly want accommodations for five hundred to seven hundred and fifty persons.

Two sites which have been mentioned are the YMCA Camp near Chicago and the Garrett Biblical Institute or Northwestern University Campus in Evanston.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience. We must make arrangements immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon B. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GBC:lp

December 23, 1963

Dear Chapter Chairmen:

The Steering Committee has instructed me to seek a location in the upper South for the 1964 Convention. This letter is going to your chapter as well as to the other affiliated chapters in Arkansas, Kentucky, Kansas, Missouri, North Carolina and Tennessee.

The Convention will probably be scheduled to last about five days and will take place over the 4th of July weekend. If your chapter is interested in hosting the 1964 Convention, we would like you to inquire immediately about facilities for the Convention and then correspond with us. I imagine that several chapters will be interested, and those chapters that first submit to me adequate facilities will be given preference. Time is of the essence, since the convention is only a few months off.

We would like to hold the Convention at either a camp site or on a college campus. The facilities would have to be large enough to accommodate a minimum of 500 persons and a maximum of 750. Cost is, of course, of prime consideration, and we will have to select those facilities which we can get most inexpensively. The facilities will, of course, have to provide full meal service.

The place that we choose for the Convention will also have to be reasonably close to transportation facilities. This means that an airport must be close by and that it must be serviced by either bus or rail transportation.

If your chapter is interested in holding the Convention and can provide adquate facilities at a reasonable rate, please contact me immediately. As I mentioned before, the first satisfactory proposals that we get may very likely be chosen.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

December 24, 1963

Mr. Sam Riley
1933 South Homan Avenue
Chicago 23, Illinois'

Dear Sam:

After already having made contact with you about the 1964 National Convention, I am terribly sorry to have to give yourthis report. But the last Steering Committee Meeting of the NAC voted to change our plans and look south for a Convention site. Therefore, I will have to ask you to hold back on any arrangements you may be attempting to make for a site in or near Chicago for the Convention.

I am sending out immediately letters to many of our chapters in the border states asking them to submit bids for the Convention. I assume that we will be successful in finding a site in the upper South. If this is not possible, then we may still have to turn to some other place such as Chicago. But, I suspect that this will not happen. I am certainly sorry if this has inconvenienced you, but it is beyond my control.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

December 24, 1963

Mr. Sam Riley
1933 South Homan Avenue
Chicago 23, Illinois'

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Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

Corey

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FEB 24 1964

Congress Of Racial Equality

18 ~~106~~ Clark Street - Hartford Connecticut

Phone: ~~[redacted]~~ 525-0586

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

February 21, 1964

Gentlemen:

The Hartford Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality appreciates the opportunity to offer a bid to ~~host~~ the 1965 National Convention of C.O.R.E.

At this time, however, this Chapter does not feel adequate to handle such a responsibility.

Thank you sincerely.

Respectfully yours,

(Mrs.) Elsie S. Atkins

wha

11 March 1964

Miss Judith Rutherford Marechal, P
48 Charles Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Miss Marechal:

After seeing "In White America" as your guests, Mr. Farmer and I talked with the cast. We were more than enthusiastic about the performance, and they just as enthusiastically indicated their willingness to present the play at some point for CORE.

CORE is having its National Convention July 2 - 6 in Kansas City. I would very much like to discuss with you the possibility of presenting "In White America" to the Convention at that time. I will call you in a few days to discuss the possibilities. Thanks ever so much for your cooperation.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for the contribution of $7.00. I am glad to know that the play is doing better now.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

call before 2:00 p.m. Exp. 7.00 Gordon

FEB 25 1964

JRM

48
Charles
Street

New York
14
N. Y.

WA 9-
5692

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Please let me refer to my letter of November 1, 1963 in which we offered to turn over to your organization 1% of the weekly gross over our break even point from IN WHITE AMERICA. The show has not done as well each week as publicity would have it, though it is consistent and even now, building.

Enclosed then you will find our check for $7.00, which represents payment for the period from the opening of the play through the end of December 1963. We are also sending a copy of the statement of operations for the subject period.

Sincerely,

Judith Rutherford Marechal, Producer

JRM/sr

February 20, 1964

JUDITH MARECHAL ETAL.

EXHIBIT "B"

DBA AM COMPANY

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS

	Previews & Week Ended 11/3/63	Week Ended 11/10/63	Week Ended 11/17/63	Week Ended 11/24/63	Week Ended 12/1/63
Income	$ 1,916.30	2,561.77	3,381.32	2,167.45	3,574.34
Expenses					
Rent	1,125.00	750.00	750.00	750.00	650.00
House Staff & Maintenance	558.00	377.00	195.00	350.00	350.00
Box Office Expense	--	11.64	5.32	13.50	--
Manager's Fees	* --	* --	100.00	100.00	100.00
Production Assistant Fees	75.00	75.00	75.00	75.00	75.00
Payroll: Cast	540.00	540.00	540.00	582.84	548.13
Stage Manager	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Publicity	144.40	144.40	144.40	144.40	144.40
Technical Assistants	75.00	57.00	51.00	53.00	49.00
Royalties: Author	* --	* --	169.05	* --	178.70
Director	* --	* --	67.62	* --	71.48
Designer	--	--	--	--	--
Costume	15.00	15.00	15.00	10.00	10.00
Music	* --	* --	33.81	* --	35.74
Advertising - Space	212.64	586.48	1,227.58	536.00	682.98
Publicity Expense & Misc. Promotion	41.00	25.30	45.51	63.10	20.00
Printing & Mailings	30.00	--	64.00	--	--
Sets & Props	--	--	--	--	--
Rentals	--	--	20.00	--	--
Costumes - Purch. & Maint.	--	--	--	--	--
Signs & Photos	2.98	--	--	--	13.26
Tickets	92.97	61.97	61.98	61.98	61.98
Twofers	10.00	17.21	17.21	17.21	17.21
Cast Dinners	10.50	5.43	4.40	4.97	--
Scripts	--	--	--	--	--
Programs	31.10	20.74	20.74	20.74	20.74
Sound & Electrics	40.00	--	--	--	--
Stage Manager & Misc. Expense	25.00	5.97	25.05	20.75	26.81
Opening Night Party	32.25	--	--	--	--
Health & Welfare	--	--	--	--	--
Insurance - Estimate	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00
Legal	20.00	40.00	40.00	40.00	40.00
Audit	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00
Office Expense	--	--	--	5.00	10.00
Telephone	10.42	10.42	10.41	10.41	10.41
Bank Charges	--	--	--	--	14.10
NYC Gross Receipts Tax	--	--	--	.10	14.30
NYC Commercial Rent Tax	56.25	37.50	37.50	37.50	32.50
Payroll Taxes	62.68	62.03	61.82	63.44	62.03
Total Expenses	3,386.19	3,018.09	3,957.40	3,134.94	3,413.77
Net Profit or (Loss)	$ (1,468.89)	(456.32)	(576.08)	(967.49)	160.57

Total Operating (Loss) For Five Week Period Ended 12/1/63 $(3,308.21)

Notes: *Waived ( ) Indicates Red Figure

EXHIBIT B

JUDITH RUTHERFORD MARECHAL, ETAL,
DBA AM COMPANY
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS

	Week Ended 12/8/63	Week Ended 12/15/63	Week Ended 12/22/63	Week Ended 12/29/63
Income	$ 2,859.87	3,393.13	3,294.77	4,219.60
Expenses				
Rent	750.00	800.00	750.00	800.00
House Staff & Maintenance	350.00	360.00	350.00	350.00
Box Office Expense	70.51	10.00	10.00	34.00
Manager's Fees	125.00	125.00	125.00	125.00
Production Assistant Fees	* --	* --	75.00	75.00
Payroll: Cast	600.00	540.00	540.00	540.00
Stage Manager	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Publicity	144.40	144.40	144.40	144.40
Technical Assistants	53.00	51.00	53.00	25.00
Royalties: Author	142.95	169.65	154.50	210.95
Director	57.18	67.86	61.80	84.38
Designer	24.48	24.48	24.48	24.48
Costume	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Music	28.59	33.93	30.90	42.19
Advertising - Space	431.27	434.41	381.84	379.61
Publicity Exp. & Misc. Promotion	67.10	54.74	61.35	9.30
Printing & Mailings	69.55	69.55	69.55	69.55
Costumes - Purch. & Maint.	112.97	30.28	28.03	28.53
Signs & Photos	13.52	--	--	10.40
Tickets	--	--	--	--
Twofers	63.28	63.31	63.31	63.31
Cast Dinners	29.80	34.20	34.40	37.20
Programs	12.48	12.48	12.48	12.48
Sound & Electrics	20.00	20.00	20.00	20.00
Stage Manager, Misc. & Rehearsal Exp.	47.17	73.08	80.08	83.09
Health & Welfare	46.47	46.47	46.47	46.48
Insurance - Estimate	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00
Legal	76.50	40.00	40.00	40.00
Audit	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00
Office Expense	16.00	10.00	3.95	5.00
Telephone	99.34	99.34	99.35	99.37
Bank Charges	--	--	--	5.34
NYC Gross Receipts Tax	11.43	13.58	13.18	16.88
NYC Commercial Rent Tax	37.50	40.00	37.50	40.00
Payroll Taxes	78.11	73.59	73.75	71.69
Total Expenses	3,763.60	3,626.35	3,569.32	3,678.63
Net Profit or (Loss)	$ (903.73)	(233.22)	(274.55)	540.97

Total Operating (Loss) For Four Week Period Ended Dec. 29, 1963	$ (870.53)
Add: Operating (Loss) Through Dec. 1, 1963 - Per Report #1	(3,308.21)
Total Operating (Loss) Through Dec. 29, 1963	$(4,178.74)

Notes: * Waived
( ) Indicates Red Figure

11 March 1964

Mr. Michael Harrington
43 Cummins Street
New York, New York

Dear Mike:

On behalf of CORE I would like to invite you to lead the workshop on the economics of discrimination and the employment problem at our National Convention. The meeting is to be held July 2 through 5, in Kansas City. We have tentatively scheduled the workshops for Friday, July 3.

If you could let us know within a few days whether or not you can lead the workshop, it would be most helpful to us. I would appreciate it if you could call me here at the office so that we could discuss this matter in a little more detail. I will look forward to hearing from you and am very hopeful that you can accept. Thanks for your co-operation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

11 March 1964

Mr. Wallace Nelson
3509 Baring Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Wally:

CORE would like you to lead its workshop on nonviolence and philosophy at our National Convention in July. The Convention will run from July 2 - 5, in Kansas City (whatever's determined which one yet!), and the workshops are tentatively scheduled for Friday, July 3. Participation in the workshops will be limited to about thirty people, and the format that we plan to use is to have the same workshop rerun three times for three different groups. It is my opinion that the workshop we are asking you to lead is one of crucial importance to CORE and to the movement. While we are finally getting to the working class in the cities and are developing new and militant techniques, I am afraid that we are failing in relating means to ends and failing in developing the commitment which must go with acts of civil disobedience.

I hope very much that you will be able to lead this workshop for us. CORE will, of course, pay for all of your expenses. If you could drop me a line within the next few days indicating your acceptance, it would be most helpful, and we can get together later to discuss more details. Thanks ever so much.

It will be good to see you again, and I believe that your wealth of experience and background in CORE can serve us well.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

11 March 1964

Mr. Robert Spike
Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Spike:

It was a pleasure to meet you the other day in Jim Farmer's office. The role that your commission has been playing in the civil rights movement has been an impressive over the past few months.

You may recall that I mentioned briefly here in the office that CORE would like to invite you to lead the workshop on the relation of religion and the churches to the civil rights movement. CORE's National Convention is to take place in Kansas City from July 2 thru 5. In all likelihood, the workshops will be held on Friday the 3rd. I do not believe that there is anyone more qualified than yourself to handle this particular workshop.

I would appreciate very much hearing from you within a few days whether or not you will be able to lead this workshop. I certainly trust that you will be able to accept. If you can call me here at the office, we will be able to discuss this matter a little more in detail. Thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

11 March 1964

Mr. Walter Thabit
76 Bonds Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Thabit:

It was a pleasure to meet you at the Staff Conference in New Orleans. I was very much impressed with your presentation as were others on the staff.

We would like very much to invite you to lead the workshop on housing at the National CORE Convention July 2 - 5,in Kansas City. Although the schedule is not fully determined yet, in all likelihood the workshops would take place on Friday the 3rd.

We would like to include in the content of the workshop the same type of presentation that you made in New Orleans, but we would also like to include additional material on CORE-type action programs to implement our approach to housing.

It would be most helpful if I could hear from you within the next few days. I certainly hope that you will be able to do this for us. If it is convenient, please call me at the office so that we can discuss this matter further. Thanks ever so much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

11 March 1964

Mr. James Wechsler
New York Post
75 West Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wechsler:

CORE would be most happy and honored to have you lead the workshop at our National Convention on community relations. The Convention this year will be held in Kansas City from July 2 thru July 5. The workshops are tentatively scheduled for Friday the third.

The precise content of the workshop would be left up to you and Marvin Rich. But generally, we would like to use this workshop a means of educating our chapters in improving their relations with various segments of the communities such as the labor unions, churches, social groups and business communities. The chapters need help in means of interpreting their programs to the public through the media of press, television, etc.

I hope very much that you will be able to undertake this responsibility for us. It would be appreciated if you could call me at your convenience here at the CORE office to discuss this matter in more detail. Thanks ever so much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

12 March 1964

Mrs. Pat Sexton
248 Lexington Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Sexton:

CORE would like to invite you to lead the workshop on schools at the National Convention in Kansas City from July 2 thru 5. The workshops are tentatively scheduled for Friday the 3rd.

While the Convention primarily deals with plans and business matter, we hold a number of workshops each year, and many of us feel that these workshops are the most important part of this annual meeting. The workshops will probably be of an hour's duration, but repeated three times in order to afford larger participation and still maintain the size of the workshop so as to permit good discussion.

We would like the workshop to include an analysis of the school problems that--North and South; the relationship between quality and integrated education; and techniques applicable to CORE for bringing about integrated quality education North and South.

I hope very much that you may be able to accept this responsibility. It would be helpful to me if you could drop me a note within a few days to let me know of your acceptance. Then we would be in a position to be able to discuss the workshop more in detail and to make further plans. I will look forward to hearing from you. Thanks ever so much for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

13 March 1964

Mr. Ernest Calloway
1641 South Kingshighway
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Mr. Calloway:

CORE would like to invite you to lead the workshop on political education and action at the National Convention meeting in Kansas City, July 2 thru 5. The workshops are tentatively scheduled for Friday, July 3.

We would like to see the content of the workshop include the relevancy of voter registration--North and South--to the civil rights movement and a discussion of what comes after voter registration. If you are able to lead the workshop, as we sincerely hope, then we will have one of our staff members communicate with you further in regard to the details.

I would be helpful if I could hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

16 March 1964

Mr. Eugene Sourwine
5780 Westminister Place
St. Louis 12, Missouri

Dear Gene:

So far no arrangements have been made for the Convention other than to decide upon one of the Kansas Cities. I have been in touch with Constance Timberlake of the Missouri chapter and Lelia Hawks of the Kansas chapter, and they have made preliminary contacts with some large hotels which indicate that they can house the Convention.

Your job, therefore, will be to pick the hotel (and therefore the city), negotiate some kind of a commitment from the hotel to us in writing. You will also have to cope with any political problems, vis-a-vis the relationship between the two chapters.

The dates for the Convention are July 2 thru 5. This would mean that the Convention will actually start the evening of July 2 and end Sunday afternoon, so that in most cases housing for delegates would not be desired the night of the 5th. A couple of weeks ago these dates were available, apparently, to hotels in both cities. The dates have already been sent out to the chapters, so it would be most difficult (although I suppose still possible) to shuffle them.

We will expect about 750 people. This is a very rough estimate, but it is the best that we can do now. We should be able to have a more accurate estimate sometime in June. Usually the hotel has a reservation card especially for conventions which they can supply for us to mail out to the delegates to be returned directly to the hotel. The two hotels with which the chapters have made contact are the Town House in Kansas and the Muehlebach in Missouri. At the Town House we were quoted rates of $12 per couple and $8 per single, and were quoted a rate of $100 per day for the ballroom (for the general meetings) and $8.50 to $15 for smaller meeting rooms.

5

Continued.....

At the Muehlebach we were quoted figures of $11 per day double and $7 per single. Actually we would use very few singles and I would think we should be able to negotiate a price of no more than $8 for a double or possibly $9 per person based on three to a room.

I suppose that $6 would not be unreasonable for a single. Generally for a convention of this size, the hotel will not charge for the convention meeting rooms.

On the face it appears that the Muehlebach in Missouri is preferable due to lower rates and the probability of no additional charge for the convention hall and other meeting rooms. Also, the Town House indicated that they did not have facilities for a banquet which we will probably want to hold.

In addition to a meeting room where the entire body can convene, we will need during the day on Friday about eight rooms for workshops. Each room should have a capacity of from 75 to 100 persons. We may have to juggle this based on what they have available. We will also need facilities for a banquet, an I mentioned) a press room; and a small office space large enough for a couple of typewriters, a mimeograph machine, a desk and two or three people.

I believe that about does it. You will just have to do your best to locate the required facilities at the best price. You will have to use your own discretion in certain matters, but feel free to call me during the negotiations if necessary. You will not be in a position to sign any contracts or binding agreements, and as a matter of fact, more negotiations could conceivably be required after your first visit. In all likelihood, any further negotiations could be carried out by letter. It is important that you determine which hotel chain the chosen hotel belongs to, since we would be able to negotiate or at least put pressure on from the national office.

That's about all I can think of for now. If you have any question, just call. Good luck!

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Office

GRC:LP

P.S. Mrs. Shank's phone is HA 1-0531;
Mrs. Timberlake's is WA 1-0834

6 May 1964

Mr. John E. Kitchens
Conference Coordinator
Kansas State University
Manhattan, Kansas

Dear Mr. Kitchens:

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) would like to request that Kansas State University host our 1964 annual Conference--Convention, July 2 through 5. This is the time when CORE chapters from across the nation come together to share common experiences, undergo training in nonviolence and carry on the business of the organization.

We expect to have close to 1,000 persons in attendance. As soon as I receive conformation from you, I will be able to send out a memorandum to the chapters and within a few weeks will be able to have a better approximation of the number of persons expected to attend.

I understand through our representative, Eugene Tournour, that if CORE is able to meet at your university, you will be able to supply adequate housing, food and meeting facilities. I furthermore understand that housing will be available at slightly less than $3.00 per day per person and that meals in the cafeteria would likely amount to about $3.00 as well. Mr. Tournour informs me that the other facilities would be available free of charge with the exception of one hall for which there would be a 25¢ per caput charge.

We are now planning our program and schedule, so I can only submit at this time a rough approximation of said program. We intend to begin the evening of the 2nd with a major address which will keynote the Convention--Conference. Friday the 3rd will be primarily devoted to training workshops in the following areas: employment and the economics of discrimination; community relations; the relation of religion and the church to the civil

continued.....

rights movement; housing; schools; and the philosophy of nonviolence and interracialism. Among those speakers invited to attend as workshop leaders are the Rev. Robert Spike, Director of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches; Ted Poston, author and reporter for the New York Post; Michael Harrington, author and economist; Wallace Nelson, former CORE field secretary; Ernest Calloway, union official and Walter Thabit, City Planner. We would like to invite university staff participation in these workshops and I would like to discuss further with you the most meaningful way in which your staff could be integrated into our program. I suspect that the most fruitful involvement would be as commentators and critics of the presentations made. The workshops will involve talks and group participation.

Saturday, Sunday will be devoted primarily to business sessions and committee meetings. When I receive conformation from you, I will be in a position to submit a more formal schedule for your approval.

I hope that CORE will be able to meet on the university campus and am certain that we can arrive at arrangements which are mutually satisfactory. Excuse my delay in replying to your earlier letter. Since there are less than two months now before the Convention, it would be most helpful to receive conformation as soon as possible. When that confirmation is made, I would appreciate, if possible, if you would call me collect so that I may proceed with a memorandum to our groups, even before receiving your official letter of conformation.

One other matter that I would like to bring to your attention. The two days prior to the Conference--Convention,, we would like to spend in a joint staff and National Action Council meeting. It would be most convenient if this meeting could also be housed at the university. I would expect about 50 persons at such a meeting.

Let me thank you very much for you consideration and cooperation. CORE is looking forward to a meaningful annual meeting and continued cooperation with you.

Most sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Mr. David Benson

MAY 4 1964

Kansas State University

Manhattan, Kansas

Division of Extension
Department of Continuing Education
Umberger Hall

May 1, 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

Your telegram of April 16, 1964, is acknowledged. No follow-up letter has been received and I am under increasing pressure from campus officers for a final answer.

Please do not mis-interpret my letter as "offer to host CORE Conference." My letter was only to supply you with information, which I had been requested to do by Professor David Benson. The matter of Kansas State University hosting your conference will have to be decided when your plans are in writing and are in my hands. Until that time, only tentative availability can be contemplated. The policy statement I sent was meant to communicate the fact that any activity on our campus is a Kansas State University activity with both fiscal control and program content in the hands of the University. Part IV of that policy statement emphasized the degree of cooperation necessary in program planning.

I would like to hear from you at your earliest opportunity. If final plans are not made quite soon, other activities will have scheduled all available space.

Very sincerely,

John E. Kitchens

John E. Kitchens
Coordinator
Conferences & Short Courses

JEK:jw

Night letter 15 April 1964

John E. Kitchens
Conference Coordinator
Kansas State University
Manhattan, Kansas

Acknowledge letter and offer to host CORE Conference-Convention. July 2 - 5. Information from Tournour received. CORE confirms tentative arrangements made. Certain we can satisfactorily comply with University requirement. Will invite university staff participation in conference. Letter to follow

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

Kansas State University

Manhattan, Kansas

Division of Extension
Department of Continuing Education
Umberger Hall

April 14, 1964

APR 15 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

I have been requested to write to you explaining certain requirements for conference sponsorship and operation at Kansas State University. Mr. Tournour has inspected our physical facility and will, I assume, report those items to you.

Enclosed you will find a statement of University policy covering conferences. I have underlined parts of each section which pertain especially to your organization's plans. Our concern with sponsorship is to insure that we do not become merely a host providing low-cost housing to groups, but rather that we make a real contribution to those activities occuring on our campus by providing educational opportunities to which our faculty can make serious contribution. My only reason for underlining the item in the section on "Priorities" is to indicate what financing would be expected in the section following. The only specific charge I am able to report is a 25¢ per delegate per day charge to cover costs in the Student Union. Other charges would have to be assessed after the plans of the group are known. The last statement underlined is to indicate that we feel we have to be actively involved in the planning of any activity which is going to be sponsored by Kansas State University.

If you feel you need additional information about Kansas State University, please feel free to write.

Very sincerely,

John E. Kitchens

John E. Kitchens
Coordinator
Conferences & Short Courses

JEK:jw
Enclosure

CONFERENCE CRITERIA, SCHEDULING AND ADMINISTRATION

In its many aspects of service to the public, Kansas State University is asked to serve as host for many organizations and activities wishing to hold a conference on the campus. Many of these are directly associated with the University's programs of research, instruction and service. Others are only remotely related. In order to clarify the terms for sponsorship of these activities and to provide a suitable system of priorities for the scheduling of University facilities the following policies will govern:

I. Sponsorship

Each conference must be sponsored by the University through one or more of the departments or administrative divisions or officially approved student organizations normally concerned with the purposes of the conference, be educational in nature so that the main purpose of those attending is to learn rather than to conduct organizational business, be in the public interest, be financially self supporting, and have University or other facilities available.

II. Priorities

Preferences for space reservations will be given in order of first priority to University groups involving activities related to instruction, extension and research; second priority to All-University conferences involving one or more departments or schools and supported financially by the University; third priority to University affiliated conferences involving off-campus persons, but including faculty membership and bearing a close relationship to the University's programs; and fourth priority to other University sponsored conferences.

III. Financing

Income and expenditures will be accountable through regular University fiscal channels. No overhead will be charged except for the fourth priority conferences for which there will be general overhead and special service charges to recover all costs to the University. Other conferences may collect a registration fee to cover out-of-pocket expenses at the option of their planning committees.

IV. Procedures

Conferences of all kinds, involving off-campus personnel, shall be coordinated by the Conference Coordinator's Office in the Department of Continuing Education. That Department will advise concerning most suitable dates and list the conference on the Master Calendar. The Conference Coordinator's Office in Continuing Education will commit physical plant facilities with the responsible university agent, render all conference administrative services as are necessary, coordinate the college conference with other campus and community activities, and except in those cases where non-fee funds are available to schools and departments collect conference fees and make disbursements. Program content shall be the responsibility of the academic discipline departments. Overall conference planning shall normally be the joint responsibility of a committee composed of representatives from Continuing Education, academic department(s) and the off-campus group(s).

K.S.U. Administrative Council Minutes - September 20, 1961

APR 6 1964

2070 College Heights Road
Manhattan, Kansas
April 2, 1964

Mr. Gordon Cary
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Cary:

Mr. Carl Randolph and Mr. Gene Tournour visited with the Manhattan, Kansas, chapter of C.OOR.E. this past Sunday to examine the facilities that could be offered for the national convention this July. Perhaps Mr. Tournour has informed you of the visit.

Kansas State University is willing to host the convention and is able to provide more than adequate facilities. University dormitories are available to accomodate up to 1,000 persons at a cost of $8.00 per person for three days. This fee includes soap, towels, and linens. Cafeteria facilities are available for meals. The cost of three meals per day would, for most persons, be between $2.00 and $2.75. Banquet facilities ate also available. Noon banquets abe priced form $1.55, and evening banquets from $1.75.

There are two meeting halls which would accomodate groups of 1,000 or more, several which would accomodate from 250 to 500 and many smaller areas to accomodate workshops and small meeting groups. Mr. Tournour seemed interested in the Student Union, which could provide facilities in one building for all of the meetings ofthe convention. There would be a 25¢ per day per delegate fee for the use of the Union for meeting purposes. This fee would not apply to use of other meeting facilities on the campus or to use of the student union banquet facilities.

Audio-visual equipment and other instructional devices are available from the University.

Manhattan is accessable by two major bus lines, a major railroad and by Central Airlines. There are, I believe, four regularly scheduled air flights from Kansas City to Manhattan per day.

Our C.O.R.E. chapter and others in the community are greatly interested in the National Convention and hope that it will be held in Manhattan. If I can provide you with any additional information please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

David Benson

David Benson
Chairman, Manhattan Kansas
Chapter of C.O.R.E.

James Baldwin

MAY 22 1964

May 18, 1964

Gordon R. Carey'
Assistant to the Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Carey:

Our office has been immobolized by the production of "Blues," which should partly explain the delay in acknowledging your letter of March 13.

Since Mr. Baldwin will be out of the country during June, July and August, we regret he is unable to accept your invitation to be guest speaker at CORE's National Convention in July.

Thank you for your patience.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Gloria E. Davis
Secretary

13 March 1964

Mr. James Baldwin
470 Westend Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I would like to invite you to attend the National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality and table our main speaker. It is the feeling of the entire staff that your presence and message should set the tone for CORE's Convention and for our program in the coming year.

This annual meeting which brings together the activists from our more than 100 chapters across the nation will take place July 2, 3, 4 and 5, in Kansas City. Since the schedule has not yet been prepared, you could select from the days mentioned the most suitable time for you. While we do not want to impose one your time, we would like you to spend at least a couple of days with us. We will be having business sessions, workshops and probably a banquet and public meeting. Specifically, we would like you to speak at the public meeting and also to address the delegates from our chapters.

I would appreciate very much receiving a call from you either at this office or at my home, MI 5-5106, to discuss this further. In the meantime I shall continue to try to reach you by telephone. You are a hard man to get hold of!

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

P.S. I am eagerly awaiting the opening your play the middle of April.

24 May 1964

Mr. Carl Randlogh
940 Greeley
Kansas City, Kansas

Dear Mr. Randolph:

As you should be aware, Kansas State University notified us last week that we would be unable to use their facilities. I have concluded an agreement with the Muehlebach Hotel and the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri.

In line with your earlier correspondence, we trust that this can be co-hosted by the two Kansas City CORE chapters. I am enclosing now an additional Convention announcement. It will be necessary for me to come to Kansas City early in June to complete the arrangements. HE will be looking forward to seeing you their.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

enc.

25 May 1964

Mrs. Constance Timberlake
4729 East 44th Terrace
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Mrs. Timberlake:

Negotiations with Kansas State University have fallen through. We have made arrangements with the Muehlebach Hotel and the Municipal Auditorium which can supply the required facilities. It is my understanding, in line with our earlier correspondence that the Convention can be co-hosted by the two Kansas City Chapters.

It will be necessary for me to come to Kansas City early in June to complete arrangements. We will have to plan and discuss promotion of the public meeting and banquet; and we have as yet not made arrangements for meals. I am enclosing an additional copy of the Convention announcement and look forward to seeing you in Kansas City shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

ENC.

Farmer

Leave OK

Mr. Farmer says please get them out today

CR

31 May 1964

Dr. Martin Luther King, President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 30303, Georgia

Dear Martin:

The 22nd Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality will take place this year at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri, July 2 - 5. I need not point out the crucial nature of the coming year for CORE as well as for the entire freedom movement.

have On behalf of CORE I cordially extend an invitation to a representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at this annual meeting. It will be helpful if you can let me know who will be present. In the event that you are not able to have someone join us in Kansas City, a telegram of greetings would be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

100-10128

FBI 1-4000

JUN 11 1964

DENOMINATIONAL EMERGENCY COMMISSIONS ON RELIGION AND RACE

Rev. Frederick C. James (AME)
215 West Bartlett Street
Sumpter, South Carolina

(1) X

Rev. Arthur S. Walmsley (EPIS.)
815 Second Ave.
N. Y., N. Y. 10017

Mrs. Josephine H. Kyles (AME Zion)
1363 Kalmia Road NW
Washington 12, D.C.

Rev. William Youngdahl (Lutheran)
231 Madison Ave.
N. Y., N.Y.

(2) X

Dr. Gayraud Wilmore
CORAR UP USA
475 Riverside Drive, Room 367
New York 27, N.Y.

Dr. Grover Bagby(Methodist)
100 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington D.C. 20002

Rev. Robert Stone
CORAR UP USA
475 Riverside - Room 367

The Rev. Lee Whipple(Chur. of the Brethren)
1451 Dundee Ave.
Elgin, Illinois

Rev. Metz Rollins
CORAR UP USA
475 Riverside - Room 367

Rev. Ian McCrae (DISC.)
222 S. Downey Ave.
Indianapolis, Ind. 46207

X

Dr. S. Garry Oniki (UCC)
289 Park Avenue South
N. Y. 10, N.Y. 10010

Rev. Elizabeth J. Miller
American Baptist Convention
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

REGULAR DENOMINATIONAL COMMISSIONS ON RELIGION AND RACE

Mr. Francis G. Brown ~~(Nat'l Bapt. Conv. USA)~~
1515 Cherry Street (Friends)
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Herbert S. Huffman (5 Yr. Meeting of Friends)
101 Quaker Hill Drive
Richmond, Indiana

Rev. Sandy Ray (Nat'l Bapt. Conv., USA)
562 Madison Street
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Rev. Malcolm P. Calhoun (Presbyterian)
8 North 6th Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

REV. F. P. Stocker (Moravian)
69 West Church Street
Bethlehem, Pa.

Rev. C. Burton Nelson (Covenant Christian Citizenship Comm., Evangelical Mission of Covenant Church of Amer
3225 Foster Avenue
Chicago 25, Illinois

Mr. Edgar Metzler
Peace Section, Mennonite Central Cmte
Akron, Pennsylvania

Rev. Donald H. De Young (Reform Church)
171 East 121st Street
N. Y., N. Y.

Bishop Hermann W. Kaebnick (EUB)
Third & Reilly Streets
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

C. D. Coleman (CME)
850 S. Wellington Street
Memphis 6, Tennessee

2 June 1964

Mr. Douglas Levin, Manager
Local 99, Office & Distribution Employees
151 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Doug:

The 22nd Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality will take place this year at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri, July 2 - 5. I need not point out the crucial nature of the coming year for CORE as well as for the entire freedom movement.

On behalf of CORE I cordially extend an invitation to have a representative of Local 99 at this meeting. It will be helpful if you can let me know who will be present. In the event that you are not able to have someone join us in Kansas City, a telegram of greetings would be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

2 June 1964

Mr. Walter Reuther, President
United Auto Workers' Union
8000 East Jefferson Street
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Walter:

The 22nd Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality will take place this year at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri, July 2 - 5. I need not point out the crucial nature of the coming year for CORE as well as for the entire freedom movement.

On behalf of CORE I cordially extend an invitation to have a representative of the United Auto Workers' Union at this annual meeting. It will be helpful if you can let me know who will be present. In the event that you are not able to have someone join us in Kansas City, a telegram of greetings would be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

2 June 1964

Dr. Martin Luther King, President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 30303, Georgia

Dear Martin:

The 22nd Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality will take place this year at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri, July 2 - 5. I need not point out the crucial nature of the coming year for CORE as well as for the entire freedom movement.

On behalf of CORE I cordially extend an invitation to have a representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at this annual meeting. It will be helpful if you can let me know who will be present. In the event that you are not able to have someone join us in Kansas City, a telegram of greetings would be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

2 June. 1964

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Don:

The 22nd Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality will take place this year at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri, July 2 - 5. I need not point out the crucial nature of the coming year for CORE as well as for the entire freedom movement.

On behalf of CORE I cordially extend an invitation to have a representative of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO at this annual meeting. It will be helpful if you can let me know who will be present. In the event that you are not able to have someone join us in Kansas City, a telegram of greetings would be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

2 June 1964

Mr. Charles S. Zimmerman
Vice-President of the ILGWU
218 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sasha:

The 22nd Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality will take place this year at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missour, July 2 - 5. I need not point out the crucial nature of the coming year for CORE as well as for the entire freedom movement.

On behalf of CORE I cordially extend an invitation to have a representative of ILGWU at this meeting. It will be helpful if you can let me know who will be present. In the event that you are not able to have someone join us in Kansas City, a telegram of greetings would be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

2 June 1964

Mr. David Livingston
District 65
13 Astor Place
New York City, New York

Dear Dave:

The 22nd Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality will take place this year at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri, July 2 - 5. I need not point out the crucial nature of the coming year for CORE as well as for the entire freedom movement.

On behalf of CORE I cordially extend an invitation to have a representative of District 65 at this annual meeting. It will be helpful if you can let me know who will be present. In the event that you are not able to have someone join us in Kansas City, a telegram of greetings would be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

file

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Chapter Chairmen
FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assis. to the Nat'l. Director

June 8, 1964
Re: National Convention

Enclosed you will find a green "Certification of Delegates" which will also serve as advance registration for your delegation. Please have it filled out and returned along with the $5.00 registration fee per person (including delegates, alternates and observers) to this office by June 20. Make checks for convention registration payable to "CORE" and mark "convention registration" on the face of the check. There will also be late registration at the Convention. However, your delegates may not be seated without a signed certification.

Also enclosed is a sample reservation blank for the Hotel Muehlebach. When you return the green certification or the blank at the bottom of this memorandum we will send your chapter sufficient hotel reservation cards for your delegation. Please note that a deposit of the first night's rent must be sent to the hotel along with the reservation card.

Featured personalities at the Convention will be:

James Farmer

Louis Lomax

Dick Gregory

Farmer will speak at a public meeting Thursday evening, July 2. Lomax and Gregory will probably close the Convention Sunday afternoon or evening. A complete schedule and agenda will be sent to you shortly.

If you have not yet returned a blank similar to this one sent you last month, please do so immediately.

.....

Name of chapter_____

We will_____; will not_____be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend_____.

Signature_____ Title_____

Address_____

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Return

JUN 12 1964

June IO, I964 #7.

Dear James Farmer,

An episode of disturbing consequence occurred at the present Berkeley CORE membership meeting, held on June IO, I964. Enclosed is the relevent section from minutes taken at the meeting by myself, substituting for the official recording secretary- absent due to illness.

It was moved and passed thatBerkeley CORE send delegates to a National Convention of the Du Bois Club, inspite of objections raised by the vice chairman (Watkins), former vice chairman (Leonard), and corresponding secretary (myself). I desire that this information be kept confidential, while warranting thorough examination, by those for whom it may concern.

Yours sincerely,

Barbara Zamora

Corresponding Secretary

of Berkeley CORE

C O R E M E M B E R S H I P M E E T I N G

June 10, 196[illegible]

XIII New Business

It was moved and seconded by Joanny Isom that Berkeley CORE send elegates to the founding convention of the National Du Bois Club, - which was identified as a Socialist organization.

Objections were raised by John Watkins and Roselyn Leonard as to the legality of being involved with a political organization.

Lucas. The Du Bois Club identifies itself as Socialist. I know of four political organizations that identify themselves as Socialist. They are : the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers' Party, and the Socialist Labor Party. Is the Du Bois Club an adjunct of any of these ? Or, is it an independent and non-political organization ?

No answer was given concerning the political affiliation of the Du Bois Club.

Vote For- 9 Against- 6 (Watkins, Lucas, Leonard and 3 others)

Motion carried

Motion (Watkins) to change name from delegate to observer.

Motion carried

The following CORE members volunteered as observers: Howard Harowitz, Jaonny Isom, George Murray, Jack Weinberg.

Fraternally submitted,

Barbara Lucas

11 June 1964

Dr. Gaynaud Wilmore
Commission on Race and Religion
United Presbyterian Church of the United States of America
475 Riverside Drive, Room 367
New York 27, New York

Dear Dr. [redacted]:

The 22nd Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality will take place this year at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri, July 2 - 5. I need not point out the crucial nature of the coming year for CORE as well as for the entire freedom movement.

On behalf of CORE I cordially extend an invitation to have a representative of the United Presbyterian Church of the United States of America at this annual meeting. It will be helpful if you can let me know who will be present. In the event that you are not able to have someone join us in Kansas City, a telegram of greetings would be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

11 June 1964

Rev. Arthur S. Walmsley
815 Second Avenue
New York City, N.Y. 10017

Dear Mr. Walmsley:

The 22nd Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality will take place this year at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri, July 2 - 5. I need not point out the crucial nature of the coming year for CORE as well as for the entire freedom movement.

On behalf of CORE I cordially extend an invitation to have a representative of the Episcopal Church at this annual meeting. It will be helpful if you can let me know who will be present. In the event that you are not able to have someone join us in Kansas City, a telegram of greetings would be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

June 17, 1964

JUN 18 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

This will acknowledge your letter of June 3 inviting us to have an NAACP representative attend the Annual meeting of CORE in Kansas City, Missouri, July 2-5th.

We are most grateful for your kind invitation, and deeply regret we will be unable to have an official representative attend. However, I will be happy to forward our greetings.

With best wishes for a most successful convention, I am

Very sincerely,

Roy

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

RW:crn

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Official Organ: The Crisis

18 June 1964

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
President of the United States
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The Congress of Racial Equality will be convening its 22nd Annual Convention at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri on July 2. Our Convention may very likely coincide with your signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill of 1964.

The year ahead can be a great year for Negro Americans and for Americans of every color and creed. CORE's desire is to create the truly democratic society toward which you and other American leaders aspire.

I realize that your presence at this meeting would be most unlikely. We would, however, be greatly honored by the presence of your representative at our public meeting on Thursday evening, July 2. If this is impossible, we would hope that you would see fit to send us by wire your personal greetings.

Very truly yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

18 June 1964

The Honorable John Dalton
Governor of Missouri
State Capitol Building
Jefferson City, Missouri

Dear Sir:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence and greetings at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F. B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

18 June 1964

The Honorable Ilus Davis
Mayoxofof Kansas City
City Hall
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Sir:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence and greetings at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F. B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE Natxmnal Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

18 June 1964

The Honorable John Anderson
Governor of Kansas
State Capitol Building
Topeka, Kansas

Dear Sir:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence and greetings at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F. B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

18 June 1964

The Honorable Paul Mitchum
Mayor of Kansas City, Kansas
City Hall
Kansas City, Kansas 66104

Dear Sir:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence and greetings at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F. B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

18 June 1964

Mr. Carl W. Glatt
Kansas Commission on Civil Rights
1117 Jane
Topeka, Kansas 66604

Dear Mr. Glatt:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence and greetings at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F. B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

19 June 1964

Reverend Father Francis Maher, Chairman
Human Relations Commission
509 Armstrong
Kansas City, Kansas

Dear Reverend Maher:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

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The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely yours,

JF:JZ

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Mr. George Walters, President
Kansas City Kansas Branch N.A.A.C.P.
3600 Sloan
Kansas City, Kansas

Dear Mr. Walters:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F.B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely yours,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Reverend Warren Ebinger, Executive Director
Council of Churches of Greater Kansas City
417 East 13th Street
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Reverend Ebinger:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F.B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Reverend C. Shrum Burton, President
Council of Churches
Country Club Methodist Church
57th & Wornall Road
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Reverend Burton:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

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Sincerely,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Mr. Russell Rine, Regional Director
National Conference of Christians & Jews
916 Walnut
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Mr. Rine:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F.B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

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Sincerely,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Mr. Lee Swinton, President
Kansas City Missouri Branch N.A.A.C.P.
231 Lincoln Building
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Mr. Swinton:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, Floyd McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

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Sincerely yours,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Dean Frederic Lewis, Chairman
Human Relations Commission
City Hall
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Dean Lewis:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

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Sincerely,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Mr. Lonnar Pemberton, Executive Secretary
Urban League of Kansas City
1020 McGee
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Mr. Pemberton:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F.B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

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Sincerely,yours,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Reverend F. Lemoyne Whitlock
Ministerial Alliance
Bethel A.M.E. Church
2329 Flora Avenue
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Reverend Whitlock:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F.B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

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Sincerely yours,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Reverend John W. Williams, Minister
St. Stephens Baptist Church
1414 Truman Road
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Reverend Williams:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored if you would deliver the platform benediction at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F.B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely yours,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Bishop Edward Welles
Episcopal Diocese of West Missouri
1199½ Wornall
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Bishop Welles:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

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Sincerely yours,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

19 June 1964

Rabbi William B. Silverman
Congregation of B'Nai Jehudah
712 East 69th Street
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Rabbi Silverman:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored if you would deliver the invocation at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F.B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely,yours,

JF:jz

James Farmer
National Director

18 June 1964

Gordon;

So far my stay here has been most pleasent, and I think that we really have a good crew going down to Mississippi this summer. The campus is really something else, and I have just been eating and putting on some needed weight. Well down to business.

First: Would you send me a copy of the plans that Kansas CORE has sent in, if they have, concerning the convention, so that I will know what to expect when I get there.

Second: Did anyone get a definet commitment from Gregory? If not I will send another letter to his home in Chi.

Third: Is there anything more that I should know about the conventin or is there anything that you or Marv want done either here or in Kansas City?

Fourth: My finances are holding out well, though I could use another dollar or two. So if you don't want to send me any expense money, then how about mailing my check to me.

Fifth: I will be leaving here next week, on either Tuesday, 23, or Wed. 24 for Kansas City, so please answer this as soon as you can.

Looking foward to hearing from you soon, and I will see you in Kansas City.

Bruce

JUN 22

19 June 1964

Mrs. Nathan Shechter
State Chairman B'Nai B'Rith
5723 Windsor Drive
Shawnee Mission, Kansas

Dear Mrs. Shechter:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas chapter of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, F.B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of Struggle for equality.

Sincerely,

JF:JZ

James Farmer
National Director

CORE 1964
CNW

19 June 1964

Mrs. Virginia Jacobs
Chairman of Independence CORE
912 North McCoy
Independence, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Jacobs:

Thank you for your letter of June 16. It is perfectly agreeable for your delegation to pay the registration fees at the opening day of the Convention. However, you should be aware that the registration fee is $5.00 per person and not per chapter.

I understand that your chapter is not yet affiliated. I am turning the copy of the proposed by-laws to Robert Gore of the Organization Department. If you have filed an application for affiliation along with the $10.00 affiliation fee, and if your chapter can be recommended by a representative of National CORE, you would probably be able to be affiliated at the Convention itself. Your attendance at the Convention is important eventhough you were not affiliated, but voting is of course limited to delegates from affiliated chapters.

I will be looking forward to seeing you in Kansas City on July 2.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Bob Gore

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI CHAPTER OF C. O. R. E.

JUN 18 1964

June 16, 1964

Gordon R. Careym CORE,
38 Park Row.
New York City, 10038, N. Y.

We are sorry you haven't recieved our registration fees,. We were not sure of the delegates who could attend. Also we will not need to make reservation for room and board, as we are living in the suburban area of Kansas City, Missouri. It only takes twenty minutes to reach the main down town area. We will pay our fee as a group at the first meeting, We understand the fee will be$5.00 per chapter

Yours truly,
INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI CHAPTER
OR C. O. R. E. CHAIRMAN
Mrs. Virginia I. Jacobs
912 North McCoy
Independence, Missouri

1964
CORE CHW

19 June 1964

Mr. Clifford Montiero
25 Providence Street
Providence, Rhode Island

Dear Mr. Montiero:

Each of the local CORE chapters is arranging for its own transportation. There is no bus that is being chartered for the National Office delegation, so therefore the regular fare will be charged for each passenger. I am sorry that I cannot help you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

JUN 15 1964

Mr. Clifford Montiero
25 Providence Street
Providence, Rhode Island

June 12, 1964

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Sir:

In regard to the 1964 National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality, to be held July 2, thru July 5, at Kansas City, Missouri.

The Rhode Island Chapter of Core is planning to send three delegates to said convention. We would appreciate being informed of the means of transportation selected by your delegation. Also we would like to know whether it would be possible for the Rhode Island delegation to join you, thus possibly reducing the cost of transportation for each person.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford L. Montiero

Clifford Montiero
Chairman of Rhode Island
Delegation

L 6

June 21, 1964

JUN 23 1964

Congress of Racial Equality
1505 E. 12th St.
Kansas City, Missouri

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National Director
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Re: Letters of invitation to Public Meeting, National Convention

Dear Mr. Carey:

In regard to your communication including information about letters sent from National Office for the Convention Open Meeting, the local program committee (Mr. Hugh Shanks and myself, Co-Chairman) along with local Chapter Chairmen, suggest the possibility of letters being sent from your office to the following three persons:

Most Rev.
Bishop Charles H. Helmsing
Catholic Diocese of Kansas City
300 E. 36th St.
Kansas City, Missouri

Rev.
Mr. Peter Robertson, State Director
Missouri Commission on Human Rights
Room 234, State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri

Mr. Leonard Carter, Regional Secretary
N.A.A.C.P.
231 Lincoln Bldg.
Kansas City, Missouri

Bishop Helmsing is a very staunch advocate of civil rights. Mr. Robertson's counterpart in the state of Kansas, Mr. Carl Glatt, has been sent such a letter from National, I believe. As you mentioned, we are sending other letters from the local chapters.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Etta Lou Wilkinson
Etta Lou Wilkinson, Co-Chrman (Program) Comm.
2404 Brooklyn Ave.
Kansas City, Missouri

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
STATE OF MISSOURI
JEFFERSON CITY

JOHN M. DALTON
GOVERNOR

June 22, 1964

JUN 25 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 18 inviting me to extend greetings at the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality, to be held in Kansas City, Missouri, opening on the night of July 2nd, at 7:30 p.m.

I do appreciate your kind invitation but for several weeks I have been committed to attend and participate in the program in connection with the national meeting of the American Library Association, to be held in St. Louis, July 2nd and 3rd, following which I have commitments in connection with the St. Louis Bicentennial Celebration.

Therefore, it will be impossible for me to accept your invitation, but I did appreciate your courtesy in writing me.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Dalton

Governor

JUN 26 1964

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
STATE OF KANSAS
TOPEKA

JOHN ANDERSON, JR.
GOVERNOR

June 23, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your cordial invitation to attend the public meeting to be held in the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City on July 2, during the Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality.

I would indeed be pleased and honored to be able to accept, but unfortunately, prior commitments on this date will make it impossible to join you at this meeting. Certainly, I am sorry for the conflict.

With kind regards, and personal best wishes for a most successful Convention, I remain

Sincerely yours,

John Anderson Jr

JOHN ANDERSON, JR.
Governor

Convention 1964

THE TEMPLE *Congregation B'nai Jehudah*

712 East Sixty-Ninth Street • Kansas City 31, Missouri
Telephone: EMerson 3-1050

DR. WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN, Rabbi

June 25, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

JUN 29 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I will be pleased to deliver the invocation at the public meeting of the Twenty-second Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality in Kansas City on Tuesday evening, July 2 at 7:30 P. M.

With kindest regards and every good wish for the realization of civil rights and social justice, I am

Most sincerely,

Rabbi William B. Silverman

WBS:jv

AIRMAIL

F. F/L
1964 CORE Convention

JUN 29 1964

June 26, 1964

Gorden Carey
CORE
38 Park Road
New York, New York

Gorden:

We'll need to know the following things as quickly as possible. This is to back up our phone call today.

1. Response to letter sent to VIP who have accepted our invitation for the public meeting Thursday, July 2.

2. Schedule for the entire convention i.e. workshops that are to be held; subjects to be and by who, meetings that will be open and meetings that will be closed to the press and public, general theme of convention, and anything else concerning the convention schedule. I need this information so that I can mimeograph a schedule for the press and for the convention kits and for delegates.

3. May I arrange Jim intenarey as I see fit, press conference, places to visit, and big cats to see.

4. Agenda for Thursday night meeting anything in particular you want to include?

5. Would it be possible to get the St. Louis CORE Singers here for Thursday night?

6. Please send all materials as soon as possible for the convention kits.

7. Please send eighty membership kits, forty to Kansas City, Kansas CORE , and forty to Kansas City, Missouri CORE as soon as possible.

8. Please send a letterhead with CORE symbol or anything else with prominent CORE symbol for offset printing on programs.

Will send you a budget air mail special Saturday. Is there anything else you can think of I need to know? Will send you report what has been accomplished along with the budget.

Sincerely yours,

Bruce

June 26, 1964

Most Reverend Bishop Charles H. Helmsing
Catholic Diocese of Kansas City
300 East 36 Street
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Reverend Helmsing:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri, and the Kansas City, Kansas, chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri, from July 2 through July 5.

CORE would be honored by your presence at the public meeting to be held in the Auditorium's music hall at 7:30 P.M., Thursday, July 2. The featured speakers at this program will be CORE National Chairman, Floyd B. McKissick of Durham, North Carolina, and CORE National Director, James Farmer.

The Convention may very likely coincide with the signing of the historic Civil Rights Bill. Our aim is to make the dream of that Bill a reality. I know that you will want to be with us as we begin our new year of struggle for equality.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

June 26, 1964

Mr. Peter Robertson, State Director
Missouri Commission on Human Rights
Room 234, State Capitol
Jefferson City, Mo.

Dear Mr. Robertson:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-sponsored by the Kansas City, Missouri, and the Kansas City, Kansas, chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

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Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

June 26, 1964

Mr. Leonard Carter, Regional Secretary
N.A.A.C.P.
231 Lincoln Building
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Mr. Carter:

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality is being co-hosted by the Kansas City, Missouri, and the Kansas City, Kansas, chapters of CORE. We will be meeting at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri from July 2 through July 5.

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Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GLQ

HOWARD W. BREWER, CHAIRMAN
WICHITA
WADE R. COFFEY
WINFIELD
CHRIS PALACIOZ
NEWTON
POWERS G. PORTER
OLATHE
RAYMOND C. SMITH
FORT SCOTT

STATE OF KANSAS
JOHN ANDERSON, JR., GOVERNOR

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
ROOM 1155W, STATE OFFICE BUILDING TOPEKA, KANSAS 66612
PHONE 913, CE 5-0011, EXT. 8011

June 26, 1964

CARL W. GLATT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PERRY W. HOOKS
EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR
WALDEN SILVA
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
THOMAS A. EBENDORF
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
NORMA J. HODISON
SECRETARY
MARY JO DIXON
STENOGRAPHER

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

JUN 29 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for the personal invitation to be present at the public meeting of the 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality at 7:30 p.m., Thursday, July 2, 1964 at the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City, Missouri. I certainly do plan to be present, more so because of your invitation.

Let me express my personal appreciation to you for the good work your organization is doing throughout the nation in bringing civil rights problems to public attention that there may be lasting solutions to these problems. This Commission has had good relations with the Kansas City, Kansas CORE Chapter, which though newly formed has already had effect on community sensitivity to civil rights problems. We think there is a great deal of value if all civil rights organizations in every community could cooperate in common efforts. Our own role as a government agency administering a civil rights law does have limitations, but we think these limitations can be minimized and our efforts strengthened with firm and understanding support from organizations such as yours.

Best wishes for a successful convention.

Very truly yours,

Carl W. Glatt

Carl W. Glatt
Executive Director

CWG:nh
c.c. Mr. Carl Randolph, President, Kansas City, Kansas CORE

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. • TN 7-8400

JUN 29 1964

June 26, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Your letter of recent date addressed to the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley inviting the Episcopal Church to have a representative at CORE's National Convention in Kansas City is much appreciated.

Father Walmsley and the other members of our staff regretfully will be unable to attend. We, however, have arranged to have two representatives at the Convention. Our staff is comparatively small and the demands which are made of it are great, especially at this time.

The two persons who will be representing the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church are: Mr. Charles E. Curran and Mr. Robert S. Staples. Both gentlemen are outstanding and concerned Episcopal laymen who live in Kansas City.

Indeed, the coming year is a crucial one in which the very fibre of our nation will be tested again and again. We are willing to do whatever we can to help in this struggle. At the present time, we are cooperating with the Commission of Religion and Race (National Council of Churches) in their efforts to have ministers aid in the Mississippi summer project.

Sincerely yours,

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

Carroll Greene, Jr.

Carroll Greene, Jr.
Associate Secretary

CG:lm

1964
Con conv

26/6/64

NITE LETTER:

TO: Wilfred Ussery
Wester Sweet
Richard Rapp
Doris Hollis
Sam Riley
Charles Oldham

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

RECEIVED NO CONFORMATION YOUR ATTENDANCE AT NAC AND CONVENTION NOON JUNE 30. THRU JULY 5. MAKE YOUR OWN TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS. WE WILL REIMBURSE IN KANSAS CITY.

GORDON R. CAREY

Philip Murray Building

JAMES B. CAREY
President

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS

AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE 3-6094
1126 SIXTEENTH STREET N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

June 26, 1964

Convention 64

JUN 29 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial
Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your invitation to attend your National Convention. I would very much like to have attended but, unfortunately, I have previous commitments which I cannot break.

The relationship between our two organizations has been long and gratifying. Your presentation to our Full Citizenship Conference was warmly received and is still frequently the subject of conversation and discussion.

On behalf of IUE may I extend our warmest fraternal greetings and heartfelt wishes for years of additional service to the cause of individual freedom and justice.

Very truly yours,

Jim.

James B. Carey
President

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pla

JUN 29 1964

CITY OF KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

PAUL F. MITCHUM, MAYOR

convention 64

June 26, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for your letter dated June 18, 1964, extending the invitation to me to extend greetings and a welcome to the 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality which will be held in the Municipal Aduitorium in Kansas City, Missouri, from July 2 to July 5.

I am marking this down in my datebook. Unless something unexpected should happen, I will plan on being at the meeting on Thursday, July 2, 7:30 p.m., to extend greetings from Kansas City, Kansas.

Looking forward to meeting you personally on that date.

Sincerely yours,

Paul F. Mitchum
Mayor

PFM:nd

convention
64

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Telephone 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

JUL 1 1964

June 29, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

We are pleased to have been asked to send a representative to the CORE Convention on July 2-5. We will be represented by one of our board members, James E. Youngdahl, an attorney from Little Rock, Arkansas.

For a long time Mr. Youngdahl has been associated with us and with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and was recently elected to our board. He serves as chairman of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, and is an able labor lawyer.

I hope the two of you will have an opportunity to chat during the meeting. Good luck for a successful conference.

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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SY SIA497 NL PD SI NEW YORK NY 30 1964 JUN 30 PM 7 46
JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR CORE
38 PARK ROW NYK

JUL 1 1964
Convention
1964

MY GREETINGS TO CORE'S 22ND ANNUAL CONVENTION. I AM CONFIDENT THAT CORE WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IN THE CRUSADE FOR FULL CITIZENSHIP AND EQUIALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS. OUR NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAW REPRESENTS A VERY GREAT ADVANCE. BUT IT IS ONLY A TOOL WHICH MUST BE USED EFFECTIVELY IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE THE GOALS TO WHICH WE ARE COMMITETED. THESE INCLUDE NOT ONLY CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS BUT DECENT JOBS, DECENT HOMES AND QUALITY EDUCATION. WE NEED NOW THE KIND OF MILITANT, SUSTAINED AND UNITED EFFORT THAT WILL MAKE THE RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF OUR DEMOCRACY REALITY IN THE EVERY-DAY LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE. IN THIS CAUSE, MAXIMUM UNITY IS THE BEST ASSURANCE OF MAXIMUM PROGRES

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

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SY S1A497/2

CHARLES S ZIMMERMAN GEN MGR DRESSMAKERS JOINT COUNIL ILGWU PM 7 45

AFL CIO.

convention 1964

?

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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Roger N. Baldwin
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A. J. Muste
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A. Philip Randolph
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Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
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Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

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secretary
Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Norman Hill
program director
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

July 1, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
% Hotel Muehlebach
Baltimore & Wyandotte @ Twelfth
Kansas City, Mo. 64105

Dear Boss:

Warmest greetings (it's 98°)!! Here are the letters and telegrams I told you about. I'm also enclosing an article from today's Times which I thought you would want to see.

BBC called. They are unable, for organizational reasons, to make a contribution to CORE, but will cover your hotel expenses for the whole of your stay in London. They also ask that you do not accept offers from the opposition (ITV). I told them that if you did receive any other requests for lectures, etc., you'd check with them first.

Ryan's office called yesterday to say that your passport had already been cleared by the State Dept., so we should have it tomorrow or Friday at the latest.

Val had asked me to check on the proceeds from the Blues For Mr. Charlie benefit. I spoke with Mrs. Lanier of Actor's Studio today, who told me that, so far, $4,600, ~~xxxxxxx~~ has come in, and more is being received. We should receive the check by the end of this week. She also told me that Second City is doing a similar benefit next Monday evening, July 6, all proceeds to CORE.

Please let me know as soon as possible: (1) whether or not you will be testifying in San Francisco on Friday, July 10; and (2) whether or not you will be stopping off in Washington next Monday, so that I can notify the Scranton people.

Have a good Convention, and all that jazz!

Glenda

P.S. It won't surprise you to learn that your wife has changed her flight. She will now be arriving FRIDAY at 4:13 pm on TWA 399!!

1 July 1964

Mr. Everett P. O'Neal
2449 Victor
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Mr. O'Neil:

Mr. Whitney Young has informed us that you will represent the National Urban League at our 22nd Annual Convention to meet in Kansas City from July 2 through 5. We will be most happy to have you present and to read an official message from the Urban League to the Convention.

Enclosed is a copy of our agenda and the Convention schedule.

We will be looking forward to having you with us.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

cc: Mr. Whitney M. Young
Executive Director, National Urban League, Inc.

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

JUN 19 1964

National Urban League, Inc.

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • AREA CODE 212 – 751-0300

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HENRY STEEGER
Senior Vice-President
MALCOLM ANDRESEN
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John G. Lewis, Jr.
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Louis E. Martin
Mrs. O. Clay Maxwell, Sr.
Ivan C. McLeod
Mrs. Jerome Z. Morris
Joseph J. Morrow
Edward C. Myers
James F. Oates, Jr.
Everett P. O'Neal
Henry G. Parks, Jr.
Hobson R. Reynolds
Hilyard R. Robinson
Winthrop Rockefeller
Burns W. Roper
Ramon S. Scruggs
Martin E. Segal
Louis Simon
Henry Steeger
Harry Van Arsdale, Jr.
William O. Walker
Frank H. Wyman
Clayton R. Yates
Thomas G. Young

Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

June
Eighteenth
1 9 6 4

Dear Jim:

We are very happy to inform you that our National Trustee, Everett P. O'Neal of Kansas City, Missouri, will represent us at your 22nd Annual National Convention to be held July 2 - 5.

Mr. O'Neal may be reached at: 2449 Victor, Kansas City, Missouri. He will be prepared to read an official message from us.

As an early CORE member more than twenty years ago, it is a source of gratification for me to witness its growth and the significant contribution it is making.

God bless you,

Cordially,

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • AREA CODE 212 – 751-0300

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Martin E. Segal
Louis Simon
Henry Steeger
Harry Van Arsdale, Jr.
William O. Walker
Frank H. Wyman
Clayton R. Yates
Thomas G. Young

Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

The National Urban League is proud to congratulate the Twenty-second Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality at this historic moment.

As an early member of your organization, I am profoundly gratified to witness and pay tribute to CORE'S growth and expansion.

Some gains have been made, but it is our conviction that the great victories lie ahead and can be finally achieved only through intensified efforts of all organizations and their leaders.

The National Urban League stands prepared to assist and cooperate with CORE in pursuit of our mutual objectives to secure equal opportunity and justice for the masses of Negro citizens and thus establish a new period of greatness for the entire nation.

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director

New York, New York
July 1, 1964

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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file 1964 Convention (CORE)

1964 JUL 1 AM 11 25

VU141 MES SAU ST

SSE024 NBB096 CA033
PD CHICAGO ILL 1 957A CDT
JAMES FARMER, COMMITTEE ON RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK
VERY MUCH REGRET THAT INVOLVEMENT IN CHICAGO PREVENTS ME
FROM BEING PRESENT AT YOUR NATIONAL CONVENTION
~~ON~~ IN KANSASCITY TO REPRESENT THE COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND
RACE OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U S A. I HAD
HOPED TO BRING OFFICIAL GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES
MARSHAL L SCOTT CHAIRMAN
(08).

8041 St. Lawrence
Chicago, Ill.
June 28,1964

JUL 22 1964

Norm,

There may not be time for you to answer this letter in which case I hope that we will be able o talk for a few minutes when we get to Kansas City.

What I wanted specifically was to try and find out what the hell is likely to come off at this convention. Rumors are all over the place. We've heard that this convention may very well wreck CORE. I have been getting regularly, mail from both the N.Y. and Brooklyn chapters, none of which I have really been able to understand. Some how they wanted various chapters to get their heads together before the convention. I assume there was some motive behind this.

I shall try to get to Kansas City during the early evening of the 2nd. Will look you up when we get there as I assume you will get there before then.

See you then .

Milton

sent to Riley also

27 July 1964

Mrs. Virginia Burton
1450 Acton Crescent
Berkeley 2, Calif.

Dear Mrs. Burton:

Apparently you did not read the July 17 memorandum from Floyd McKissick correctly. While all members of the NAC are also members of the Steering Committee, CORE brings to Steering Committee meetings only the five national officers and the five regional vice-chairmen. Therefore, CORE is unable to pay your expenses to the August 8 and 9 meeting.

Let me explain that notices of Steering Committee meetings are sent to all NAC members so that the entire NAC may keep apprised of these meetings and so that they may attend if they choose at their own expense.

I am terribly sorry for the confusion, and am assuming that you will not attend the August meeting. You will be brought to the NAC which meeting next in October.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

P.S. Staff is not brought into these meetings either, so Chet Duncan will not be attending.

I will ✓ will not ____ attend the August 8 & 9 Steering Committee Meeting.
Please send me an airline ticket. ✓.
Please make housing arrangements for Saturday night ✓.

(Return the above blank to Gordon R. Carey at the CORE National Office.)

Mrs Virginia Burton
Signed

(over)

JUL 27 1964

Dear Sir:

If I may make a suggestion, I think National can save a bit in the purchase of my ticket by my traveling with Chet Duncan, as Mrs Chet Duncan. (Yes, I have his wifes permission!) The airlines offer 25% off for wives. We did this when we went to Washington D.C. and I'm <u>sure</u> even that small savings can add up to help in Mississippi.

Thank you

Virginia Burton

17 August 1964

Mr. Floyd R. Hinsh
Business Representative
Local 31
1017 Washington Street
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Mr. Hinsh:

CORE received a bill from R. F. Greene, Head Usher, for $30.75. This bill was paid on July 15 with our check number 2036. We have no record of any other bill.

If there is another bill outstanding, please send me a copy of same and it shall be paid forthwith.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION

1964 AUG 14 PM 3

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
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VUA051 NBB275 KB110
K LLK150 PD AR KANSAS CITY MO 14 122P CST
CORE
38 PARK ROW NYK
KINDLY ADVISE WHY STATEMENT FOR STATE HANDS ON CORE CONVENTION
IN KANSAS CITY JULY 2ND TO 5TH HAS NOT BEEN PAID
FLOYD R NINCH BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVE LOCAL 31 1017 WASHINGTON
STREET KANSAS CITY MISSOURI

25
(42).

#2036
R. F. Greene, Head usher
Tues 15) 1964
$30.75

$20 registration fee enclosed

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the MIAMI chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. A. D. Moore	2
2. ~~Prudence Barry~~	~~1~~ 1
3. Hazel Crawford	
4. Irvena Prymus	2
5. ~~Steve Baum~~	~~1~~

A. D. Moore
Chapter Chairman

Prudence J. Barry
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Central Life Insurance Company
Of Florida

Miami Core

DISTRICT OFFICE: Miami, Florida

DATE: June 21, 1964

JUN 23 1964

Enc. 20.00

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Assist. To The Nat'l. Director
Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Gordon:

Herewith enclosed please find check in the amount of $20.00 for registration, and a list of Miami Core's 4 delegates to the 1964 National Convention.

Please send me by return mail information relative to Hotel reservations in Kansas City.

Very truly yours,

Albert D. Moore

~~District Manager~~ Chairman

ADM/
Encls.- 3

registration fee not paid

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Phoenix, Arizona chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. William Brown	1
2. James Williams	1
~~3.~~ Marshall Grigsby	1
~~4.~~ Russel Cook	1
5. Robert Mc Namara	1
	5

Marshall Grigsby - vice chairman
Chapter Chairman

Willie M. Arnold
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Fort Smith, Arkansas chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
(3)	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	(5)
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

1 3 3

* NAME no. votes 5

1. Reginald Watson 2
2. James Adams 2
3. Alean Atkins 1
4. if he leaves Sunday, Carol
5. Watson for substitution

Reginald Watson
Chapter Chairman

Ruby Rogers
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Bakersfield, Calif chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

Enc 5.00

* NAME	no. votes
1. Mrs. Marion Chaves pd	5
2. ~~Richard~~ Roberson	
^ 3. ~~Walter~~ Kaufmann	
4.	
5.	

~~Sterling~~ Jones
Chapter Chairman

Pauline Hale
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

^ Ten dollars have already been sent for Richard and Walter. Please rush this through.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

~~FRESNO, CALIF.~~ - BAKERSFIELD, CALIF.

521 "H" Street
18 June 1964

JUN 22 1964

SUBJECT: Deligates to National CORE Convention:

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find a check for ten dollars ($10.00) which is to pay the registration fees of our two deligates. It may be necessary to change the names of the deligates at a later date, we hope this will be possible, also you mentioned in one letter that it would be possible for a few people to register at the convention. If this is true perhaps we may be able to send another deligate later on. Due to financial and other reasons, it is hard to be too definate at this early date.

Our two deligates expected to attend (at this date), are:

Walter Kaufmann (legal advisor and Attorney)
(Is in the East at present can be contacted c/o 1123 Keith Ave, Berkeley, Calif.)
Richard Roberson
(c/o 521 "H" at this time as he is enroute to East Coast for summer.)

We expect to be in contact with them and if they for some reason are unable to attend we will name alternative delifates. We also may be able at a later date to send another deligate. If you need further information please let us know.

CORE, $10.00 (for 2 delegate)

CORE dially

Sterling Jones,
Chairman,
Bakersfield CORE

Delegates Certification

One of the delegates will carry on his person the proper form to certify our two delegates.

The two persons designated as official delegates are:

M. Harold Brown, Chairman, S.D. CORE

Mr. Ambrose Brookes, 1st. Vice Chairman

These delegates will not be able to arrive in time for registration, but we trust that the full 5 votes will be allowed them.

Registration fee has been paid for both delegates.

For Freedom Now!!

Mildred Gustafson, corresponding secretary

931 - 32nd

San Diego, Calif. 92114

JUN 15 1964

$10.00 enc.
OK
Reg. pd

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Berkeley chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
(2)	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
~~Mrs~~ Virginia Burton	3
~~2.~~ Mal Burnstein	2
3.	
4.	
5.	

Mrs Virginia Burton
Chapter Chairman

Mrs Ann Dawson
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Axe Valberg

(Santa Ana?) Registration fee not enclosed

JUN 29 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Los Angeles chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

*	NAME	no. votes
1.	Silvia Richards	1
2.	Barbara Brittin	1
3.	~~Robert Middleton~~	1
4.	Arthur Silvers	1
5.	~~not yet chosen~~ ~~Tom Boyd~~ Charles Britton R. Le	1

Arthur H. Silvers
Chapter Chairman

Barbara A. Brittin
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

#5 Von Avellera - ~~Absence~~ delegate
" Charles Britten -

Fees not paid

JUN 23 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Marin County chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. Douglas Jewett	
2. John Hawthorne	
3. Dan Callaghan	
4. Bernard Callaghan	
5. ~~Edna Bradshaw~~	

Douglas Jewett
Chapter Chairman

Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Dallas chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5

1 3 3

* NAME no. votes

1. Douglas Jones
2.
3.
4.
5.

Douglas Jones
Chapter Chairman

Jakki Anne Newton
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

91.77
9.00
100.77
16.00
116.77

5 - Rec'd

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Pasadena, Calif. chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. ~~Don~~ Wheeldin	3
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Jeremiah W. Moore, M.D.
Chapter Chairman

Margery Yett
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Pomona Valley chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. FRANKLIN W. GLOVER	3
~~2.~~ BRUCE BOYD	2
3.	
4.	
5.	

June 26, 1964.
It is intended that Bruce Boyd replace Francina Thomas as our delegate. Thus these credentials supercede the earlier one mailed in.

John Greaves
Chapter Chairman

Virginia H Fossum
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Pomona Valley chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

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5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

JUN 22 1964

* NAME	no. votes
1. FRANKLIN W. GLOVER	3
2. FRANCINA THOMAS	2
3.	
4.	
5.	

John Greeves
Chapter Chairman

Virginia D Lassiter
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter POMONA VALLEY CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2.

JUN 12 1964

John Greeves — Signature

Chairman — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Conv 10 00
Reg. Fd 2 persons

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the San Diego, Calif. chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. ~~Harold K. Brown~~	~~2~~
2. ~~Ambrose Brodus, Jr.~~	~~1~~ 3
3. ~~remaining~~	~~1~~
4.	5
5.	

Harold Brown (m.g.)
Chapter Chairman

Mildred Gustafson
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

↓ over

* Bill Leasure
* Bob Russell

FROM: San Diego CORE

TO: Gordon Carey
National CORE

RE: DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION

Because of increased activity and probable arrests, we will not be sending the number of delegates as specified in previous communication.

If it is necessary for a new form to be filled out, please send one promptly, as we are very much aware that we need to have the five votes allowed us.

We will be sending two delegates, the designated one being Mr. Ambrose Brodus, Jr.

Previous communication has indicated three delegates, with two votes going to each of the two designated delegates, and one to the extra person.

I repeat, it is very important to us to have the alotted votes, so if further action is necessary, please send the required forms.

For FREEDOM NOW

Mildred Gustafson

Mildred Gustafson
Corresponding Secretary
931 56th Street
San Diego, California 92114
264-3045 or 234-2586 (CORE)

San Fernando Valley Co. RC.
Box 696
Pacoima, Calif

JUN 22 1964

Gentlemen,

Sorry to have taken so long in in forming you about our delegates to the convention.

Here is the slate as voted in by the active membership.

Carol Aronson
Bob Bailey
John Cochran
David Fulton
Lee Fawcette

Our alternate delegate is Sue Kovner.

Sincerely,
Selma Surkin

registration fee included
JUN 25 1964
Con. 20.00

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the San Fernando Valley chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5

1 3 3

* NAME	no. votes
1. John N. Cochran Chairman	2
2. Dave Fabbri Treasurer	1
3. Ira Faudith	1
4. Sal Corenel Koerner	1
5.	

Not coming

John H. Cochran
Chapter Chairman

Glory M. Roberts
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

WESTERN UNION

QUICK SERVICE LOW RATES

MONEY ORDER NOTICE

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

No. L VYA179

MAIN, KANSAS CITY, MO.
OFFICE JUN 1964 DATE 19

To LE ANN FAUCETTE
MR., MRS. OR MISS

HOTEL MUEHLEBACH
ADDRESS

Bring This Notice With You.

We have received a telegraphic money order for you with the following message;

INADEQUATE MONEY OTHERS NOT COMING REARRANGE VOTES INFORM M ME
ANYTHING NEEDED RETURN AAA CARD

To receive the money, please call at our office at N.E. CORNER 7th & WALNUT
-OR-
as soon as possible and in no case later than 72 hours, since at the end of that time we are required to cancel the order and return the amount to the sender.

Please bring this notice with you and furnish evidence of your identity in accordance with the paragraph that has been checked below.

XMXMXMXM ☐ Some of the following, or any other documentary evidence of your identity which you may have.

Membership cards — Letters addressed to you — Automobile license
Receipted bills — Bank book — Western Union collect card

☐ The sender of the money has instructed us to require positive personal identification. Please, therefore, bring with you some responsible person known to us who can identify you. Or failing this, bring such evidence as will serve to establish your identity beyond question.

WU 75 (R 1-54) THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

1103 Baltimore

$25.—
Reg. fee paid

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the San Francisco Calif. chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
(3)	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5

1 3 3

* NAME no. votes

1. William H Bradley Jr.
2. Benny Holmes
3. Mary Lu Murphy
4. Beverly Axelrod
5. Susan Williams

William H Bradley Jr.
Chapter Chairman

Tom Wiggins
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

JUN 19 1964

Fee not pd

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the San Francisco chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. William Bradley, Chairman	
~~2.~~ ~~Bonnie Holmes~~ Joan Wiggins	
3. ~~Mary~~ Lu Murphy	
~~4.~~ Beverly Axlerod - Alternate	
5. ~~Susan Williams~~ James Bennett	
Charles Johnstone	

William H. Bradley
Chapter Chairman

Joan Wiggins
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Please
call Helen
at Hi4-3094

(& I'll feed you)

Enc. 15.00
JUN 29 1964
$10 due on registration

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the DENVER chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. RICHARD RAPP	EACH WILL HAVE ONE VOTE
2. ~~RAYMOND STUART~~	
3. HELEN WOLCOTT	
4. PEGGY CANADY	
5. RUTH STEINER	

RAYMOND STUART
Chapter Chairman

PEGGY CANADY
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Shirley chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME — no. votes

1. Carolyn Hyslop
2. [redacted]
3.
4.
5.

Charles W Lake
Chapter Chairman

Gayle Banks
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

JUN 17 1964 $10 — Reg. paid

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the New Haven chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. Grace Lockett	3
2. Walter Brooks	2
3.	
4.	
5.	

Grace L. Lockett
Chapter Chairman

Lonnie Harris
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CONGRESS OF NEW HAVEN
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

LOUISE HARRIS, SEC.
16 WAVERLY STREET
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

6/15/64

Norman Hill
Program Director
National CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38. NY.

Enc. 35.00

[redacted] 17 1964

Dear Norman.

Enclosed you will find 2 checks totaling thirty five (35) dollars. The ten dollar check is the certification of our two delegates to the National Convention. You will also find the certificate enclosed with their names and allotment of votes. The twenty five dollar check is for 2 things Ten dollars for Affiliation dues and fifteen (15) dollars as a donation to National Core. Since we have taken office we have no complete record of last years happenings or expenses, although we do ~~not~~ know the assets were practically nil. However the Executive Board voted the 15 dollar assessment. We hope it will help a little. We wish you every success in the National Convention. I'm sure Allan will bring you up to date on new Haven Core Activities.

Sincerely Yours
Louise Harris

Reg. not paid

JUN 18 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Chicago chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

*	NAME		no. votes	
~~1.~~	~~TED MANHART~~	Marlene ~~Monroe~~ Dixon	1	
2.	LUCILLE GIBSON	Bob Hoyt	1	
~~3.~~	JOHN WRIGHT		1	
~~4.~~	JOHN BARR		1	
5.	~~MARSHA EMMONS~~	Bob Lucas	1	R.C.

Mr. Charles Smith
Chapter Chairman

Miss Charlotte Holiday
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

ALTERNATES

BARBARA RIDDLE
JAMES CAGE
BILL DEVINE
MARLENE DIXON
BRUCE ~~Rapport~~ RAPPAPORT
JOHN HILL
Teddy Williams

Observer:

Anthony Henry
Linda Johnson
Bob Lloyd
Jim Neuman
Bob Conzin
Ruth Friedlander

Delegate

Bob Lloyd - by Lucy
Lunch Gibra -
G. Lewis

registration not enclosed

JUN 29 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. HOMER G. RANDOLPH	
2. JIM PEAKE	
3. TAYLOR JONES	
4.	
5.	

Homer G. Randolph
Chapter Chairman

Ella Smith
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

~~TAYLOR JONES~~

LILLIE SMITH

FRANKIE SEABERRY

registration fee
~~not enclosed~~
paid

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Harvey Area chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. John Hebert	3
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

John Hebert
Chapter Chairman

Annabel Simea
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

registration fee not enclosed

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Metropolitan(Southside)Chicago chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
pd Garfield Harris	1
2. ~~Jerry~~ Fentress Ron Woodard	1
3 ~~Ron Dyer~~ Ayn "	1
pd Tom Bohanan	1
pd Milton Davis	1

Milton Davis
Chapter Chairman

Ayn Woodard
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Alternates

Ayn Woodard

JUN 24 1964

Enc. 20.00 registration paid in full

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the DES MOINES (IOWA) chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

*	NAME	no. votes
1.	MRS. STANLEY GRIFFIN	NONE
2.	DR. STANLEY GRIFFIN	
3	MR. JESSE TAYLOR MRS JACKIE TAYLOR Not pd	
4	MISS RETA DUNN	
5.		

Edna Griffin, Chm.
Chapter Chairman EDNA GRIFFIN

Bonnie Finkler
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Dave Ber

7

aux. letter

Reg. Fee paid for 5 only

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Manhattan, Kansas. chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

*	NAME	no. votes
1.	Dave Benson -	1
2.	David Williams + Sharon Beaver	1
3.	Mary Lou Goertzen -	1
4.	Dolores Nichols -	1
5	Linda Postmore -	1

David Benson
Chapter Chairman

Dolores Nichols
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Alternates

Howard Hill

Ben McLaurin.

JUN 19 1964

Enc. 23.00

Manhattan Chapter of C.O.R.E
P.O. Box 414
Manhattan, Kansas
June 16, 1964

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Gordon R. Carey;

Enclosed you will find the list of delegates of the Manhattan Chapter and the check to cover the registration fee to the National Convention. Traveling with our delegation will be a member of the press, Miss Jan Jernigan. Her paper, the Kansas State University Collegian, has assigned Miss Jernigan to do a in depth study article about C.O.R.E.. We feel Miss Jernigan's article will be an important aid to our cause here in Manhattan, Kansas. Kindly let us know if her presence at the convention would be welcome even though she is not an official member of C.O.R.E.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. Frank T. Wood III
Mrs. Frank T. Wood III
Vice Chairman of the Manhattan
Chapter of C.O.R.E.

Name of chapter Washington, CORE

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 10 .

Signature Joyce W. Gabel Title Recording Secy.

Address 206 Douglas St., N. E., #1, Wash., D. C. 20002

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

✓

Enc. 25.00

JUN 22 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter WASHINGTON CORE

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 10 .

Signature

Chairman, Communications Committee
Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

MAY 27 1964

Name of chapter MIAMI CORE

We will ✓; ~~will not~~ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 4.

Signature [illegible] Title Chm.

Address 1315 N.W. 51 Terrace Miami, Fla.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Enc. 20.00

Fla. State U.

Jane - re: National Convention
please send information

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE
June 10, 1964

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

JUN 12 1964

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Sirs:

Could you please send me the dates for your national convention at Kansas City. I will probably be attending as a delegate from Tallahassee but we are uncertain as to the exact dates. We understand that the convention opens on July 2nd but we are uncertain as to its duration and closing dates.

I would appreciate a prompt reply as it is necessary to arrange my schedule in advance. Thank you.

Sincerely,
James A. Geschwender

James A. Geschwender

Name of chapter Harvey Area Chapter Of Core

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 1.

Signature John Hebert Title Chairman

Address 15131 Halsted St. Harvey, Illinois

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Enc. 5.00

Name of chapter Metropolitan(Southside) CORE ,5050 S. Michigan, Chicago, ILL.

We will X ; will not _____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 8 .

Signature Milton O. Davis Title Chairman

Address 8041 St. Lawrence, Chicago, Ill.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

JUN 29 1964

Sorry to be late!

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

P.O. Box 901
New Haven, Conn.

Name of chapter New Haven C.O.R.E.

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

~~Approximate~~ Number of persons who will attend two .

JUN 10 1964

Grace L. Lockett, Chairman

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Two authorized representatives only, they are: Walter S. Brooks, Vice-Chairman
44 N. Sheffield St, Hamden, Conn.

and: Grace L. Lockett, Chairman
62 1/2 Dixwell Ave, New Haven, Conn.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter BROOKLYN C.O.R.E.

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 5 delegates
5 alternates
10 observers

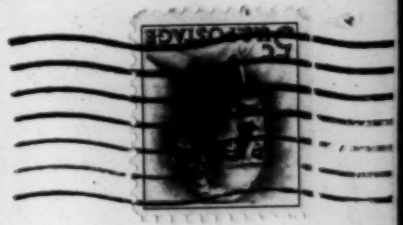
Fran Crayton — Co-Chairman
Signature — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Sandra Gershon
Ollie Leeds
Arnie Goldwag
Elaine Bibuld
Peggy Fulmore

New Haven C.O.R.E.
P.O. Box 983
New Haven, Conn.

NEW HAVEN
JUN 9 1964
AM
CONN.



Gordon R. Carey
National C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Re: Annual Convention

June 15, 1964
Lebanon, Tennessee

James T. McCain
Director of Organization

Dear Mr. McCain:

In reference to your letter concerning the National Conventional; Lebanon CORE will not be able to attend due to financial difficulties.

Yours for Freedom Now;

Maxine Cartwright

Maxine Cartwright
(Chairman)

Name of chapter Madison County Chapter

We will ____; will not X be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend None.

JUN 15 1964

Mrs. Lucile Wooten Vice-Chairman

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Name of chapter Southern Alameda County

We will ____; will not X be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend ____.

Signature Lyle G. Bancroft Title Chairman

Address 21574 Haviland Ave Hayward, Calif.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

[redacted] 18 1964

C.O.R.E.
SOUTHERN ALAMEDA COUNTY
23767 MAUD AVENUE
HAYWARD, CALIF.

HAYWARD JUN 16 PM 1964 CALIF.

5¢ U.S. POSTAGE

Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Fort Smith, Ark. CORE

We will X ; will not ___ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend four .

Reginald Watson — Signature
President — Title
Ft Smith Chapter

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 1 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Rhode Island CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 3.

Rev. Arthur L. Hardy — Signature

Chairman — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

R.S. Cliff Montiero has been appointed to chair the Rhode Island Delegation.

Name of chapter DES [redacted]

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 4 .

Signature Edna Griffin Title CHAIRMAN
EDNA GRIFFIN

Address 1608 - 44TH STREET
DES MOINES, IOWA

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Name of chapter Manhattan Chapter of C.O.R.E.

We will ✓ ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 5 .

Signature Mr. Frank T. Wood III Title Vice Chairman

Address P.O. Box 414 Manhattan, Kansas.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Enc. 25.00

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

JUN 23 1964

Name of chapter LEXINGTON (KY.) CORE

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2 1 only

Encl. 5.00 ✓

Abby L. Marlatt — Signature

Corresponding Secty. — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Delegate.

Mr. Ronnie Berrye
412 Ferguson St
Lexington, Ky

Lexington CORE
P.O. Box 498
Lexington, Ky 40501.

$5 Registration Fee Encl.

Name of chapter New Orleans Congress of Racial Equality

We will ✓; [redacted] be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2.

Signature Oretha Castle Title Chairman

Address 917 N. Robertson St.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

JUN 22 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Baltimore Chapter of CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2.

MAY 11 1964

James Griffin — Signature

Chairman — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Thursday, ...

Sunday, July 5, 1964 ... Kansas City, Missouri

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Boston

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 17.

Voting Representation: ... Changes ... delegates ... the entire ... coverage are permitted. Unaffiliated chapters ... voting power.

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Ann Arbor CORE

We will ✓; will not ___ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 5.

Walter A. Blackwell Chairman

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Name of chapter Detroit Chapt. Congress of Racial Equality

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 5 .

Signature Gloria Brown Title Chrm.

Address 3036 Northwestern Det. Mich. 48206

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Re: Convention Delegates June 10, 1964

JUN 12 1964

Gordon,

Detroit cars will elect delegates June 22, 1964. We will send names of delegates to you on the 23rd. There will be 5 possibly on ballot or two.

(Mrs) Gloria Brown

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Independence Chapter of C.O.R.E.

We will X; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 3.

Mrs. Virginia Jones, Chairman

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 18 1964

Name of chapter Independence, Missouri

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 3.

Signature William D. Russell Title vice-chairman

Address 1528 W. Waldo, Independence, Mo.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

JUN 17 1964

Those who plan to come:

Mrs. Virginia Jacobs - chairman
Mr. William D. Russell - vice-chairman
Mr. Roy E. Muir - former chairman

Bill Russell
1528 W. Waldo
Independence, Mo.

INDEPENDENCE MO. JUN 15 AM 1964

Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Name of chapter KANSAS CITY MISSOURI

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 25.

Signature James R. Ulland Title VICE CHAIRMAN

Address 1626 BROOKLYN, K.C., MO.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

JUN 22 1964
30.00

.....

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Middlesex County CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend two or possibly 3

William F. Williams — Signature

Chairman — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Middlesex County Core Chapter
POBox 21, Metuchen, N.J.

METUCHEN
JUN 8
PM
1964
N.J.

CORE

B. Carey

38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Tear off and ...

Name of chapter Newark - Essex CORE

We will ✓ ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 4 .

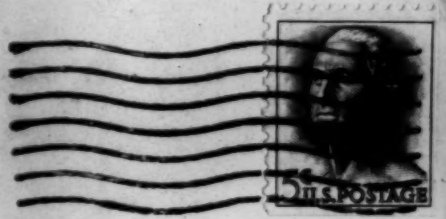
Gail Lisiek — 1st Vice Chairman

Signature — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 18 1964

Gail Lisiak
387 Ashley St.
Newark 12, New Jersey



Gordon R. Carey
CORE
38 Park Row
New York City 10038, N.Y.

Name of chapter DOWNTOWN CORE

We will YES; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 10.

Signature William Sprowal Title Chairman

Address 66 Delancey St.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

JUN 10 1964

DOWNTOWN CORE
64 DELANCEY STREET

BRONX 51 N.Y.
PM
9 JUN
1964

5¢ AIR POSTAGE

Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
NewYork, New York 10038

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter East River CORE

We will ____; will not ✓ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend ____.

Karin Bera — Signature

Secretary — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

It looks as tho we won't be able to send anyone; we're dead broke — but we're making every effort to send delegates — Karin

Tear off and re[illegible]nis blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter East River CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2.

Willie [illegible]

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 17 1964

T[redacted]k by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter LONG [redacted] CORE

We will ____; [redacted] ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 10.

Lincoln Pynch CHAIRMAN.

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

MAY 25 1964

X

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Queens CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 4.

✓

Mrs Dorothy Conway Acting Membership Ch.

Signature Title

111-04 204 St. St. Albans N.Y. 11412

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 1 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Rochester CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 5.

JUN 3 1964

Hannah Stein Chair

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

ROCHESTER N.Y.
PM
2 JUN
1964

"ABCD" MAIL
BETTER BUSINESS SERVICE

Mr. Gordon Carey
CORE, 38 Park Row
New York, 10038, N. Y.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Rockland County CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 1.

Charles W. James — Signature

Chairman — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 23 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Staten Island Chapter C.O.R.E.

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 1.

JUN 16 1964

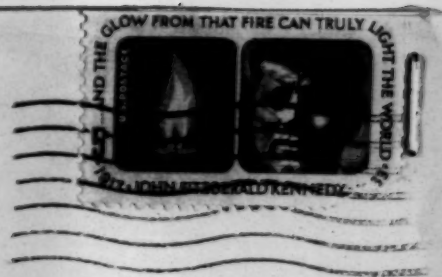
Catherine J. Swan — Signature

Treasurer — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Johnson
Wayne St
S.I. 10310

STATEN ISLAND
JUN 15
PM
1964
N.Y.



Mr. Gordon R. Carey
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 10038, N.Y.

Name of chapter Syracuse, New York

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2 .

Signature Edwin A Day 3rd Title Exec. Sec.

Address 326 Tallman Street, Syracuse, NY 13202

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Name of chapter WESTCHESTER CORE

We will ✓ ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2 .

Signature Donald J. Williams Title Secretary

Address 38 CORTLANDT Ave., New Rochelle, N.Y.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Enc. $10.00

---

please do so immediately.

Name of chapter Chapel Hill CORE

We will ✓ ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 5 .

Signature Joan Drake Title Chman

Address Box 382, Chapel Hill, N.C.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Durham Chapter CORE

We will ✓; will not ___ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 12.

Joycelyn D. McKissick Secretary
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Name of chapter Durham CORE

We will ✓; will not ___ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 12.

JUN 17 1964

Signature E. McKissick Title Chairman

Address 213½ W. Main St - Durham, N.C.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Name of chapter High Point Core

We will ✓; will not ___ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 1.

Signature James H. Garlington Title Chairman

Address 1424 Olga St - High Point, N.C. 27260

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

JUN 12 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter High Point Core

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2 .

James H. Garlington — Signature
Chairman — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 11 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter AKRON METROPOLITAN C.O.R.E.

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2 .

Mrs. Janet Lash — Signature
Recording Secretary — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 5 1964

CORE

1130 MERCER AVENUE
AKRON, OHIO 44320

AKRON JUN 4 3 1964 OHIO

5c U.S. POSTAGE

AIR MAIL

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
CORE 38 Park Row
New York City,
New York 10038

more information wil...

.....

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

JUN 15 1964

Name of chapter Cleveland C.O.R.E.

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 50.

Jim Crosswright Chairman Convention Comm.
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 15 1964

Cleveland Ohio
17406 Crawford Rd.
June 10, 1964

Convention Chairman:

I am unable to give you the names of our delegates as they will not be elected until our regular meeting on June 16. There will be five though. I will forward their names to you by special delivery as soon as they are elected.

Jane Crossmight

Convention Asst. Chairman

#40(8)

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Columbus Chapter

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 12 to 15 peoples

JUN 1 1964

Mary Hawkins — Signature

Chairge of Nat Conference plans — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Ohio

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Middletown Chapter of Congress of Racial Equality

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 10 P.

MAY 27 1964

Winifred A. Roberts Secretary

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Tulsa Chapter Congress of Racial Equality

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 10.

Milton T. Goodwin President

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 19 1964

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

123½ N. GREENWOOD
P. O. BOX 6158
TULSA, OKLAHOMA
LUther 3-1631

President
Milton T. Goodwin
Secretary
Faye Small
Treasurer
C. L. Robinson

Membership Committee
Alonzo L. Batson
Projection Committee
Bob Eaton
Finance Committee
Barbara Plumlee
Youth Committee
Shirlie Scoggins
Communications Committee
Louise Antell
Indistrial Committee
Warren Sylvan
Training Committee
A. C. Ivery
Investigation Committee
Richard Batterson
Negotiations Committee
Ray Freeman
Publicity
E. L. Goodwin, Jr.
Public Relations Committee
Dan Dryz

JUN 19 1964

To: Gordon R. Carey

From: Milton T. Goodwin President

Dear Sir.

Sorry for the delay in returning blank.

We have had several injunctions filed against us and have been in Court

Repectfully
Milton T. Goodwin
President

P. S.
Need more information on reservations etc.

Tulsa Oklahoma

Name of chapter Phila. CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 5.

Doris Taylor — Signature

Secretary — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 8 1964

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

PHILADELPHIA
CORE
2229 N. BROAD ST.
PHILADELPHIA 32, PA.
19132

Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Charleston Chapter of CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 6.

Frank McGregor Chairman
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 3 1964

Charleston CORE
21 Cannon Street
CHARLESTON, S. C. 29403

CHARLESTON JUN 1 PM 1964 S. C.

U.S. 175TH 1789 5¢ U.S. POSTAGE

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 10038, New York

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Sumter

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2-3.

Josie B. Rogers _____
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 8 1964

SUMTER, S.C. JUN 6 PM 1964

5¢ U.S. POSTAGE

Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Attn: Gordon R. Carey

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter San Antonio Chapter

We will X; [redacted] be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2.

Don Mathis Chairman
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 16 1964

C.O.R.E
P.O. 17

ATTENT

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter N. Virginia CORE

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2 .

Edward B Brooks Vice Chmn.

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

MAY 29 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 15 .

Arlene Johnson Treasurer

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 4 1964

R.E MILW. CHAPTER
1730 MILW. WISC.

MILWAUKEE, WIS. PM 3 JUN 1964

C.O.R.E.
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK CITY 10038, N.Y.

TENTION: GORDON R. CAREY

6/21/64

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$
S
E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

SACRAMENTO CORE:

WE HAVE NOT YET HEARD FROM YOUR CHAPTER IN REGARD TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION IN KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, JULY 2 THROUGH 5. IT IS URGENT THAT YOU BE AT THIS IMPORTANT ANNUAL MEETING. PLEASE LET NATIONAL CORE KNOW HOW MANY DELEGATES YOU WILL HAVE. IF YOU NEED MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT GORDON CAREY AT THE OFFICE IMMEDIATELY.

JAMES T. MCCAIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

Sacramento CORE will not be able to send delegate to National Convention.
Arby Hicks
Secretary

JUN 24 1964

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a message should order it repeated, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeated message rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, this is an unrepeated message and paid for as such, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the message and the Telegraph Company as follows:

1. The Telegraph Company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the unrepeated-message rate beyond the sum of five hundred dollars; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the repeated-message rate beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, unless specially valued; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines.

2. In any event the Telegraph Company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the actual loss, not exceeding in any event the sum of five thousand dollars, at which amount the sender of each message represents that the message is valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the repeated-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid and an additional charge equal to one-tenth of one per cent of the amount by which such valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.

3. The Telegraph Company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.

4. The applicable tariff charges on a message destined to any point in the continental United States listed in the Telegraph Company's Directory of Stations cover its delivery within the established city or community limits of the destination point. Beyond such limits and to points not listed in the Telegraph Company's Directory of Stations, the Telegraph Company does not undertake to make delivery but will endeavor to arrange for delivery by any available means as the agent of the sender, with the understanding that the sender authorizes the collection of any additional charge from the addressee and agrees to pay such additional charge if it is not collected from the addressee.

5. No responsibility attaches to the Telegraph Company concerning messages until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a message is sent to such office by one of the Telegraph Company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender; except that when the Telegraph Company sends a messenger to pick up a message, the messenger in that instance acts as the agent of the Telegraph Company in accepting the message, the Telegraph Company assuming responsibility from the time of such acceptance.

6. The Telegraph Company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties when the claim is not presented in writing to the Telegraph Company, (a) within ninety days after the message is filed with the Telegraph Company for transmission in the case of a message between points within the United States (except in the case of an intrastate message in Texas) or between a point in the United States on the one hand and a point in Alaska, Canada, Mexico, or St. Pierre-Miquelon Islands on the other hand, or between a point in the United States and a ship at sea or in the air, (b) within 95 days after the cause of action, if any, shall have accrued in the case of an intrastate message in Texas, and (c) within 180 days after the message is filed with the Telegraph Company for transmission in the case of a message between a point in the United States and a foreign or overseas point other than the points specified above in this paragraph; provided, however, that this condition shall not apply to claims for damages or overcharges within the purview of Section 415 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

7. It is agreed that in any action by the Telegraph Company to recover the tolls for any message or messages the prompt and correct transmission and delivery thereof shall be presumed, subject to rebuttal by competent evidence.

8. Special terms governing the transmission of messages according to their classes, as enumerated below, shall apply to messages in each of such respective classes in addition to all the foregoing terms.

9. No employee of the Telegraph Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

6-54

CLASSES OF SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICES

TELEGRAM

The fastest domestic service.

DAY LETTER (DL)

A deferred same-day service, at low rates.

NIGHT LETTER (NL)

Economical overnight service. Accepted up to 2 A. M. for delivery the following morning; at rates lower than the Telegram or Day Letter rates.

INTERNATIONAL SERVICES

FULL RATE (FR)

The fastest overseas service. May be written in code, cipher, or in any language expressed in Roman letters.

LETTER TELEGRAM (LT)

For overnight plain language messages, at half-rate. Minimum charge for 22 words applies.

SHIP RADIOGRAM

For messages to and from ships at sea.

Name of chapter KENOSHA, WISCONSIN

We will ____; will not X be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend _____.

Walter Vaughn — Signature
President — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Name of chapter PASSAIC COUNTY CORE

We will ____; will not ✓ be represented at the Convention.

JUN 15 1964

Approximate number of persons who will attend _____.

Signature Mrs. Robert Jene Title Chairman,

Address 251 E. 33rd St. Paterson, New Jersey

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

✓

Corey 13 June 1964

This is to inform you th at the Rutgers-Douglass Chapter of the Congress of Racial E- quality cannot meet the costs of sending any delegates to the National Conven tion in KansasCity this summer. Thank you for inviting us and we hope we will be able to send delegates to next year's Na- tional Convention.

S.R.Shapiro

JUN 15 1964

S.R.Shapiro
for Rutgers-Doug-
Lass CORE

Rutgers-Douglass Chapter of the
Congress of Racial Equality
Box 606
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

National Office of the Congress of Racial
Equality

38 Park Row

New York City, New York 10038

Name of chapter BAKERSFIELD CHAPTER CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

We will XXX ; will not _____ be represented at the Convention.

JUN 15 1964

Approximate number of persons who will attend THREE (3) to FOUR (4) ?

Signature Sterling J. Jones Title CHAIRMAN

Address 245 Northrup Street, Bakersfield, Calif.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Berkeley, California CORE MAY 29 1964

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 5.

Virginia Burton Chairman
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Berkeley Campus CORE

We will X; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2.

Gretchen Kittredge Chairman
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 8 1964

G. Kittredge - Chrm. Core Berk. Campus
2422 Grant St. # F
Berkeley

BERKELEY JUN 6 PM 2 1964 CALIF.

Gordon R. Carey
CORE
38 Park Row.
New York City 10038
New York

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Bruin (UCLA) CORE

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend at least 2.

Marlene A. Dixon 2nd VP
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Los Angeles

We will ✓ ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 5.

Barbara A. Britten Sec.
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 11 1964

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY CORE LOS ANGELES 15
1115 West Venice Blvd.

U.S. POSTAGE LOS ANGELES JUN-8 64 CALIF. 05 26 MET 264577

Gordon Carey
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

163 Return Requested

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter LOS ANGELES CORE

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 4-5 .

Arthur H. Silvers — Signature

Chairman — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 3 1964

Name of chapter Marin County

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 6 .

Signature Douglas Jewett Title Chairman

Address Box 34, Marin City, Calif.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Name of chapter Pasadena, California

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 1 .

Signature Don Wheeldon Title Vice-President

Address 411 E. Douglas St. Pasadena, Calif.

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Encl. 5.00

Name of chapter San Diego CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 3.

Signature Michael Gustafson Title Corresponding Secretary

Address 934 56th S.D. 92114

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

JUN 18 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

JUN 18 1964

Name of chapter SAN FERNANDO VALLEY

We will X; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2.

LeConn Faucette Action Committee Chairman
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

San Fernando Valley CORE
Box 696
Pacoima, Calif

SHERMAN OAKS JUN 15 AM 1964 CALIF.

FIGHT SUPPORT TB ASSOCIATION 5¢ U.S. POSTAGE

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

If you have not yet returned a blank similar to this please do so immediately.

Name of chapter La Jara da Valley

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 4 or 5 more.

Signature John H. Cooke Title Chairman

Address Box 676 Pacoima

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Name of chapter San Francisco C. O. R. E.

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend Four.

Signature William Bradley Title Chairman

Address 1821 Fillmore

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Santa Clara Valley

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

JUN 2 1964

Approximate number of persons who will attend Two or more.

Andrew Montgomery Chairman
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Denver C.O.R.E.

We will X; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 6.

Peggy Canady — National Corresponding Secy.
Signature — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 11 1964

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Greeley CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2.

Gail Banks (by C.U.) — Secretary
Carolyn Hyslop — Community relations
Signature — Title (former chairman)

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

(We will not need hotel reservations)

JUN 10 1964

1829 - 15 St.
Greeley, Colo.

GREELEY, COLO. JUN 8 AM 1964

Gordon R. Carey, CORE
38 Park Row
New York City 10038, N.Y.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter Norwalk CORE

We will ✓; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 4.

Wendy Yates — Signature
Chairman — Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

JUN 1 1964

Name of chapter NORWALK, CONNECTICUT

We will ____; will not X be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 0.

JUN 17 1964

Signature Edward Salem Title Secretary

Address 41 Wolfpit ave, Norwalk, Conn

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

CORE
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NORWALK CHAPTER
P.O. Box 734
SOUTH NORWALK, CONN.

NORWALK JUN 16 PM 1964 CONN.

U.S. POSTAGE 5

Gordon R. Carey
38 Park Row
New York City, N.Y.

C. W. VINEGAR
CHAPTER CHAIRMAN

J. ROBINSON
VICE CHAIRMAM

PHONE

221-2048 221-6886

CINCINNATI CHAPTER CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

3539 READING ROAD CINCINNATI 45229, OHIO

C. O. R. E.

HUMAN RIGHTS FOR DIGNITY CIVIL RIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS

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TREASURER
NANNIE CREWS
RESEARCH AND, EDUCATION
GLORIA FORD CHR.
PROGRAM COMMTTEE:
RON MAHON, CHR.
VICE-CHAIRMAN
LEROY OLVERSON,
MEMBERSHIP
COMMITTEE:
MARGUERITA COOPER, CHAIRMAN,
FRED TURNER VICE-CHR.
CLERK OF THE
ADVISORY BOARD
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PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS
LEONARD C. BALL
PROJECT ACTION COMM:
ROBERT GENTRY, CHR.
JEAN TIMBERLAKE, VICE-CHAIRMAN
FRANCIS KNIGHT
COMMUNITY
COORDINATOR

BOARD MEMBERS:

ROBERT McCLENDON
SYLVIA HENDERSON
ABRAHAM WOOLFOLK
CHARLESETTA NEW
KITTY FOX

June 18, 1964

JUN 22 1964

Mr. James McClain
Director of Organization
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. McClain:

Cincinnati CORE delegates for the National Convention will arrive in Kansas City the morning of July 2.

Chief delegate: Mr. C. W. Vinegar pd
Other delegates: Miss Debbie Bernstein
Mr. Thomas Porter pd
Mrs. Nannie Crew
Mr. Leonard C. Ball pd

Alternating delegates:
Mr. Jerome Robinson
Miss Jean Shoot
Mrs. Magueriette Ross
Miss Linda Riddick
Miss Stephanie Cramer

Approximately 15 people will be arriving in the motorcade from Cincinnati.

Yours in freedom,

C. W. Vinegar

C. W. Vinegar
Chairman

CWV:lor

$25 Req. ... Fee pd

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the CLEVELAND chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. ARTHUR EVANS JR.	1.
2. RUTH M TURNER	1.
3. ANTOINE PEROT	1.
4. JOANNE KLUIVSEK	1.
5. DAVID COHEN	1.

Arthur Evans Jr.
Chapter Chairman

David Cohen
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY CLEVELAND CORE CHAPTER

Phone: 791-4997

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

POST OFFICE BOX 5614 • CLEVELAND 1, OHIO

June 19, 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
Assistant to the Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Carey:

Enclosed please find our check for $25.00 for regular delegates registration fee for the 1964 National CORE Convention in Kansas City.

The five official delegates for the Cleveland Chapter as per the enclosed certification are:

Arthur Evans, Jr.
Ruth Turner
David Cohen
Antoine Perot
Joanne Klunder

A number of other persons are planning to go as observers or visitors from the Cleveland Chapter. Within the next day or two we will attempt to get their confirmation and forward the appropriate number of registration fees. We did not want to hold up the enclosed fees and names any longer while waiting for non-delegates to make up their minds or make their plans for the convention.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Best regards,

Eric Reinthaler

Eric Reinthaler, Chairman, Finance Committee
Cleveland CORE

CLEVELAND CORE CHAPTER

Phone: 791-4997

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

POST OFFICE BOX 5814 • CLEVELAND 1, OHIO

JUN 18 1964

June 17, 1964

C.R.Corey
National C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Chairman:

Here are the Names of the Cleveland Delegates to the National Convention.

RUTH TURNER
ART EVANS
ANTOINE PEROT
DAVE COHEN
JOANNE KLUNDER

Other members are planning to be there also.

Yours for Freedom now.

Gene Crosswright

OFFICE ROOM 203, LUXOR BUILDING • 1740 CRAWFORD ROAD • CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

Mrs. Alfred Crosswright
Ross Burnaugh
Robert Crosson
Barbara Crasson
Betty

registration not paid

JUN 23 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Columbus Ohio chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
~~1.~~ Jerry Zeller	1
~~2.~~ Abe Fowlkes	1
~~3.~~ Marlene Wilson	1
~~4.~~ Mary Hawkins	1
5. ~~Arthur Zebbs~~	1

Not Coming ~~Loretta~~ Blackburn
LORENA

Marlene Wilson
Chapter Chairman

Sue Smith
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Alternate

~~Lorena Blackburn~~

~~Elzetta Foulkes~~

~~Ruth Scarbrough~~

Gretchen Thomas

Dorothy Harper

Harold Woodford

pd Oscar Smilack

pd Edith Smilack

Congress of Racial Equality
881½ Mt. Vernon Avenue
Columbus, Ohio

regis fee
Paid

Mr. Cadoy

Mr. Casey

Enclosed is the money order for the registration fee for the following CORE delegates.

JERRY ZELLER
LORENA BLACKBURN
ABE FOWLKES
GRETCHEN THOMAS
MARY HAWKINS
~~MARLENE~~ WILSON
RUTH SEPHFUS
~~HEROLD~~ WOODFORD

JUN 29 1964

Enc. 40.00

Mary Hawkins
secy

registration fee included

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the MIDDLETOWN, (OHIO) chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
~~**~~ ~~1.~~ Winifred A. Roberts	1
~~2.~~ Leroy Hardeman	~~1~~ 2
~~3. Rev. Henry Earley~~	1
~~4. Barbara J. Johnson~~	1
5.	~~1~~

(Own)

Leroy Hardeman
Chapter Chairman

Winifred A. Roberts
Chapter Secretary

Winifred A. Roberts

* List alternates on other side.

~~** See other side~~

C.M. 20.00

JUN 24 1964

Alternates

~~Louis F. Cox~~

~~Barbara Johnson~~

~~Doris Jamison~~

Eric Gregory pd

~~Henry~~ Wesley

7/2/64
Paid $$.

See Ruchlin

registration fee not enclosed

JUN 29 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the

TULSA chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

*	NAME	no. votes
~~1.~~	Milton T. GOODWIN	2
2.	Austin BROWN	1
3.	RAY DRYZ	1
4.	DELLA CHAPPELLE	1
5.		

Milton T. Goodwin
Chapter Chairman

Faye C. Small
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Enc. 5.00
Rel
JUN 18 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the EUGENE chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
(1)	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. MARSHALL N. GOLDSTEIN	3
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Robert F. Agger
Chapter Chairman

Karen Reynolds
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Corey

JUN 18 1964

Registration not in pol
JUN 18 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the PHILADELPHIA chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
(5)	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. ~~James O. Williams~~ Arthur Alston	1
2. Ada Countee	1
3. ~~Doris Taylor~~ Bob DeRose	1
4. Dave Fineman	1
5. Martin Oppenheimer	1

Ste Lack
James O. Williams
Chapter Chairman

Doris Taylor
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

ALTERNATES:

1. ~~Robert Wilson~~
2. ~~Arthur Alston~~
3. ~~Bob DeRose~~
4. Lillian Taiz
5. Marva Amis pd

Jo Anne LESSER - OBSERVER

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

OFFICERS
Floyd B. McKissick
chairman
Rudolph Lombard
1st vice chairman
Wilfred Ussery
2nd vice chairman
Ralph Rosenfeld
secretary
Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor
Gordon Carey
program director
James T. McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

San Antonio C.O.R.E.

JUN 16 1964

Dear Sir,

We are sending as our delegates Mr & Mrs Homer Rockes. They will be staying at the home of some friends.

Thanks.

Ch. Don Stahlin

registration fee paid $10.00

JUN 22 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Northern Virginia CORE A Chapter of the ~~Congress of Racial Equality~~ chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5

1 3 3

* NAME	no. votes
1. John Robinson	3
2. Tom Proulx	2
3.	
4.	
5.	

John Robinson
Chapter Chairman

Tom Proulx
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Enc. 25.00 registration fees

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the

MILWAUKEE chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

*	NAME	no. votes
1.	JOHN H. GIVENS JR.	I
2.	LESLIE JOHNSON	I
3.	BARBARA GIBSON	I
4.	REV. LEO CHAMPION Alternate: Claretta Simpson	I
5.	CECIL BROWN JR.	I

Chapter Chairman

John H. Givens Jr.

Esther Hardy

Chapter Secretary

Esther Hardy, Acting Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Alternates

ERNEST GREEN
~~J~~UANITA ADAMS
~~CL~~ARETTA SIMPSON
CLARA WEAVER
FLORENCE KIRKLAND

Observer:
Arlene Johnson
Bruce Miller

Marin County, Cal
Douglas Quie
John Gardenh
Diane Call[illegible]gh
Edna Bogardus
Barnard Callagha

Pasadena, California a,p
Don Wheeldin

Pomona Valley, Calif. a,d
Franklin W. Glover
FrancinaThomas

San Diego, California a.p
Harold K, Brown
Ambrose Brodus, Jr.

San Fernando Valley, Calif. a.p.
Lee Faucette
Sue Movner

San Francisco, Calif. a.p.
William H. Bradley, Jr.
Benny Holmes
Mary Lu Murphy
Beverly Axelrod
Susan Williams

New Haven, Conn., a.p.
Grace Lockett
Walter Brooks

[illegible]

Lexington, Ky. a.p.
Miss Evelyn Jackson

Miami, Florida a.p.
A. D. Moore
Hazel Crawford
Irvene Prymus
Steve Baum

Chicago, Ill., a.d.
Ted Manhart
Lucille Gibson
John Wright
John Barr
Marsha Emanuel

alt: Barbara Riddle
James Cage
Bill Devine
Marlene Dixon
Bruce Rappaport
John Hill

East St. Louis, Ill. a.d.
Homer G. Randolph
Jim Peake
Taylor Jones
Lillie Smith
Frankie Seaberry

Boston, Mass. a.d.
Milicent Carpenter
Marjorie Phyfe

City Missouri a.p.
rol Brooks
. Howard Nelson
wen Wells
iari Culliver
oetta Brown
ames R. Willard (Alternate)

Harvey, Illinois
[illegible]
John Herbart

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1	Treas	Earlar R. Taylor				1
2		289 Pine St.				2
3		Baltimore Md				3
4		Baltimore C.O.R.E.		10—		4
5		Mary Hawkins				5
6		8 81½ Mt Vernon Pl.				6
7		Columbus, Ohio			40—	7
8		John Herbert				8
9		15121 Halsted				9
10		Harvey Lee			5—	10
11	Chairman	Raymond Stuart				11
12		2639 York St.				12
13		Denver, Colo			15—	13
14		Peggy Cassady	5.00			14
15		Ruth Steiner	6.00			15
16		Mrs Marian Chaves				16
17		1104 11th St.				17
18		Bakersfield, Calif			5—	18
19						19
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						45
						46
						47

The Treasurer will forward the fees under separate cover.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Kansas City, Kansas chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. Carl D. Randolph	1
2. Wallace Downs	1
3 Beatrice Gordon	1
4. Lela K. Shanks	1
5. Martha Crahan	1

Carl Randolph per SRL,
Chapter Chairman

Lela Shanks
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Alternates:

Hughes H. Shanks
Helen Freese
Fred Taylor
Eria Hatchett
Ossie Gordon

Youth Delegates:

Wendy Patton
Evelyn Gatson
Nedra Patton
Marva Young

not registration

JUN 30 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Seattle chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. John T. Cornethan	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Donald "Jim Martin
Chapter Chairman

Betty Lou Valentine
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Carey

Enc. 5.00

P.O. Box 498
Lexington. Ky 40501
June 24, 1964

JUN 25 1964

Dear ~~Historian Reid~~

Enclosed is slightly late registration
fee to National Convention for

Miss Evelyn Jackson *

who is the second official delegate from
Lexington COKE.

Please find my personal check for $5.00 &
$10 sent in

Sincerely yours
Abby Marlatt
Corresponding Secty.
Lexington COKE.

replaced by Ron Berry

Carey

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

7/2/64
Paid DD

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the New Orleans chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. Doratha Smith	3
2. [redacted]	[redacted]
3. Doris Jean Castle	2
4.	
5.	

Doretha Castle
Chapter Chairman

Doratha Smith sc
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Reg. not pd

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Boston chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. Milicent Carpenter	3
2. ~~June Carpenter~~	
~~3.~~ Marjorie Phyfe	2
4. ~~George Carpenter~~	
5.	

Chapter Chairman

June Carpenter
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

5 only pd

JUN 25 1964

25.00

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Detroit, Mich. chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. Gloria Brown	1
2. Clyde Cleveland	1
3. Larry Anderson	1
4. Christine McGee	1
5. Laveda Jones	1

Gloria Brown
Chapter Chairman

Grace Harris
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Cecil R. Robinson will attend as observer.

Carol Dunn
Allan Jones

Registration fee paid
$30

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the KANSAS CITY, MO. chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. CAROL BROOKS	1
2. DR. HOWARD NELSON	1
3. GWEN WELLS	1
4. SHARI CULLIVER	1
5. JOETTA BROWN	1

James R. Hilliard
Chapter Chairman (VICE)

Shari Culliver
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

(OVER)

ALTERNATE: JAMES R. WILLARD

Etta Lou Wilkinson

Marjorie King

Dorothy Wade

$20 pd.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Bergen County CORE chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. ~~Winifred~~ Farran	1
2. ~~Anne~~ Longstreet	1
3. ~~Deanne~~ Smith	2
4. ~~Roland~~ Dumpson	1
5.	

Chapter Chairman

Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Fees not yet

JUN 19 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Middlesex County chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. Willie F. Williams	
2. Priscilla B. Chenoweth. 1st Vice Chairman.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Willie F. Williams
Chapter Chairman

Katherine Hartwell
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

1.

~~Abolar King Alternate~~

Mrs Era Bentley.

JUN 18 1964

Reg. not paid

Check

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the NEWARK - ESSEX chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
pd. RAYMOND C. PROCTOR - CHAIRMAN	2
pd. GAIL LISSEK - 1st VICE CHAIRMAN	1
pd. RICKY LISSEK	1
4. DR. AUGUST MEIER $5	1
5.	

Ray Proctor
Chapter Chairman

Carol Pachmiel
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the CITY COLLEGE chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. GEORGE KNOWLES	3
2. Paid $5.00	
3.	
4.	
5.	

George Knowles
Chapter Chairman

Myra Cacchione
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

$25 reg. pd

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the DOWNTOWN chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
(5)	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. WILLIAM SPROWAL	1
2. LENNY SELIG	1
3. MURRY BOOKCHIN	1
4. HELENA LEVINE	1
5. SANDRA RODRIGUEZ	1

William Sprowal
Chapter Chairman

Geraldine Hrohawiz
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

~~Harry Halsey~~

~~Jim~~ Janice

~~Hay~~ Rentzer

~~George~~ Euré

Reg. Fees of $47.50 paid — $2.50 due

Pd in full for 1 L. delegate GRC

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the **New York** chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
~~1.~~ Marshall England	/
~~2.~~ Luther Seabrook	/
~~3.~~ Gladys Harrington	/
~~4.~~ Clarence Funnye	/
~~5.~~ Roy Innis	/

Marshall C. England
Chapter Chairman

Doris V. Funnye
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Alternates

1. Lulling Williams
2. Ed. Mollette
3. Q. Jobson
4. George Johnson
5. James Springer

NEW YORK CORE

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Julian "Cannonball" Adderly
Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Leon J. Davis
Ossie Davis
Ruby Dee
Hal Jackson
Murray Kempton
Mildred Kiefer-Wurf
Will Maslow
Samuel R. Pierce, Jr.
Rev. James H. Robinson
Hilda Siff
Thomas G. Weaver

THE COMMITTEE ON RACIAL EQUALITY, 2090 SEVENTH AVE., RM. 101, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK ▶ MOnument 6-0400

Dear Gordon,

Here is the current breakdown on the N.Y. CORE delegation to National Convention, Kansas City MO, July 2-5, 1964.

1. Marshall England -Delegate
2. Luther Seabrook -Delegate
3. Gladys Harrington -Delegate
~~4.~~ Clarence Funnye -Delegate
5. Roy Innis -Delegate
6. Ruppert Q. Jobson -Alternate
~~7.~~ George Johnson -Alternate
~~8.~~ James Springer -Alternate
~~9.~~ Robert Doughty -Observer
~~10.~~ Vickie Morris -Observer
~~11.~~ Mary Budesa -Observer
~~12.~~ Anthony Spencer -Observer
13. ~~Ed Hollis~~ WENDELL MOSLEY ~~-Alternate~~ OBSERVER

JUN 17 1964

$12.50 Enc

P.S. Cash by G. Johnson

To date we have sent you $47.50 and the additional $12.50 included will make the necessary amount, $60.00, covering the registration fee for the 12 people in the N.Y. CORE delegation.

Office Manager

George Johnson

George Johnson

THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE

A Graduate University and Research Center

NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK

Ck m. 5.00

JUN 19 1964

June 18, 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
National CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

Enclosed please find my check, in the amount of $5.00, to cover my registration fee.

I plan to be in Kansas City over the July 4th weekend as an observer from the New York Chapter of CORE.

Sincerely yours,

Susan Blecher

SB:gh

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the QUEENS chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME		no. votes
1. Mrs. Dorothy Conway	1st Vice Chairman	2
2. Dr. George Kaufman	(Special Rep.)	1
3. Mrs. Alberta Wright	Active Member	1
4.		
5.		

Edward R. Bragg
Chapter Chairman

Mrs. Grace Minns
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Registration fee enclosed

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Rockland County, N.Y. chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. DR. Charles W. JAMES	3
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Charles W. James
Chapter Chairman

John Trowell
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

registration fee not paid

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Syracuse, New York chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
~~1.~~ George Wiley	3
2. Rudy Lombard	2
3.	
4.	
5. Ron Davidson - Observer	

Bruce Thomas SH
Chapter Chairman

Edwin A. Dayson
Chapter ~~Secretary~~ Executive Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Syracuse CORE
326 Tallman Street
Syracuse, New York 13202
June 22, 1964

JUN 24 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Carey:

At the present we do not plan to send any delegates to the 1964 Convention in Kansas City.

We will be represented by George Wiley, of the National Action Council, and Rudy Lombard, first national vice chairman. George will be given three votes for the chapter and Rudy the remaining two.

George is out of town at present, but I believe both he and Rudy have already made arrangements for their hotel rooms, etc.

Sincerely,

Edwin A. Day

Edwin A. Day
Executive Secretary
Syracuse CORE

EAD:sm
enc.

Reg. Fee Pd

JUN 19 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the WESTCHESTER chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. Malcolm Williams - 38 Cortlandt Ave., New Rochelle, N.Y.	
2. Clifford Brown - 330 Union Ave., Mt. Vernon, N.Y.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Malcolm Williams
Chapter Chairman

Donalda Williams
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Westchester CORE is not an affiliated chapter.

OK

Alvin Thomas

Dr. Elizabeth Laizner

Greensboro CORE

Joyce Ware

Check for $60 sent in

Reservation not per

JUN 17 1964

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Durham chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

*	NAME	no. votes
1.	Miss Rosia G. Michaux	
2.	Jaycelyn D. McKissick	
3.	Cornelia Parrish	
4.	Athelyn Little	
5.	Minnie Fuller	
6.	David Riley	

[signature]
Chapter Chairman

Jaycelyn D. McKissick
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

7. Amos, George
8. Fuller, Joyce
9. Boyd, Ronald

Registration fees not enclosed

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the High Point chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. James H. Garlington	3
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

James H. Garlington
Chapter Chairman

Miss Regina Patterson
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Robert Brown - observer

JUN 22 1964
pd

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the Chapel Hill chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
(5)	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1. Joan Drake	1
2. James Foushee	1
[redacted] Kathy Fehl	1
Herman Holman	1
5. Harold Foster	1
	5

Joan Drake
Chapter Chairman

Kathy Fehl
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter 4 William H. Oliver, Co-Director Fair Practices Department - International Union, UAW

We will X ; will not ____ be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend 2 .

9 1964

William H. Oliver , Co-Director

Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

22nd Annual Convention

Thursday, July 2 thru
Sunday, July 5, 1964

Muehlebach Hotel
Kansas City, Missouri

Convention Topics:
*CORE's 1964-1965 Program
*Summer Projects
*Consideration of Constitutional Changes
*Election of National Officers
*Workshops and discussions

Voting Representation: Each affiliated chapter may have up to 5 voting delegates (however, 2 voting delegates may carry the entire 5 convention votes) and additional observers are permitted. Unaffiliated chapters are urged to send representatives but have no voting power.

Cost: $4.50 per night plus meals and $5.00 registration fee. Each chapter is to be responsible for delegates' expenses as well as transportation.

IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT EACH CHAPTER BE REPRESENTED
more information will be mailed shortly

.....

Tear off and return this blank by June 1, 1964

Name of chapter_____

We will____; will not____be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend_____.

_____ _____
Signature Title

Return to Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City 10038, N.Y.

CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES

1964 CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Persons listed below are the duly elected official delegates of the _____ chapter of CORE to the 1964 CORE National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., July 2 - 5, 1964. We understand that the maximum number of voting delegates from any affiliated CORE chapter is five, and that the allocation of individual votes from a chapter is as follows:

no. in delegation	no. votes per delegate	total votes of delegation
5	1 each	5
4	2 to 1 designated delegate 1 each to remaining delegates	5
3	2 each to 2 designated delegates 1 to the remaining delegate	5
2	3 to 1 designated delegate 2 to the remaining delegate	5
1	3	3

* NAME	no. votes
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

_____
Chapter Chairman

_____
Chapter Secretary

* List alternates on other side.

FINAL CONVENTION NOTES

Enclosed are the schedules of events and workshops for the Kansas City Convention. Your chapter chairman has already received pertinent information on hotel reservations, cost and certification of delegates. All persons attending the Convention are required to register and pay the $5.00 fee. Meals will be in local restaurants at your convenience.

This Convention comes at a crucial time for CORE. At this moment we do not yet know the fate of the three young men in Mississippi. We must come prepared to increase our dedication and our activities.

The tentative Convention agenda will be as follows:

Listing of delegates
Approval of agenda
Appointment of Committees
Affiliations-disaffiliations
Report of the National Director
Report on Mississippi situation
National projects: Louisiana, Mississippi, Chicago political conventions
Julius Hobson's appeal
Constitutional changes
Local chapter constitutions
Regional Action Councils
Treasurer's Report
Nomination and elections of officers and NAC
1965 Convention
Resolutions Committee Report

Officers and staff will be looking forward to seeing you in Kansas City.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Lewinson and Louis Smith January 15, 1964

FROM: Gordon R. Carey

Re: Proportioning of Convention Votes

The first meeting of this Committee which was appointed by Chairman McKissick at the NAC in Los Angeles was held on January 4, at the home of Robert Curvin in Newark. The Committee was charged with dealing with the problem of proportioning convention votes among the CORE chapters, and we were instructed specifically to deal with the problems of large metropolitan areas and related topics. At the first meeting were present Robert Curvin, Carl Rachlin and Gordon Carey.

The next meeting of the Committee is to be held at the law office of Vladek and Elias (Rachlin's office), 280 Broadway, New York City, at 10 A.M. on Saturday, January 25.

Those members of the Committee present came up with a number of suggested changes in voting procedure, which will be discussed below, along with some of the rationale for making the changes. It should be pointed out that most of the suggestions are contingent upon acceptance of the first recommendation, which is to reduce the number of votes per chapter to three.

It was unanimously recommended that the number of votes per chapter at the Convention be reduced to three, with one person able to carry two votes. If two representatives of a chapter are present, then one would carry two votes and the other one, and if there are three persons present each would cast one vote. The primary reason for this change is to insure that the National Convention of CORE shall remain a viable, working body which can engage in meaningful debate and discussion. With the growth of the organization, an undue number of delegates voting on the floor would tend to produce a convention in which discussion is not possible. It was the feeling of the Committee that three delegates could well represent the views of any chapter and would still encourage sufficient numbers of persons to attend.

Furthermore, since under the present set-up two persons can carry the entire vote of a chapter, it will be noted that two persons are still required to cast the total vote of the chapter under the suggested change. Therefore, we are not encouraging a great reduction in the number of delegates. Likewise, by reducing the representation across the board, no inequity is worked upon any idividual chapter. This change would also simplify the voting procedure. At the present time, it is required that we count three separate kinds of votes on the convention floor. Under the new system we would only have to count two different kinds of votes.

The second suggestion deals with college chapters. There are two alternatives which we have not yet been able to resolve. The first alternative is to reduce the representation of college chapters to two votes and require that two persons be present, in order to cast the entire quota of votes for the chapter. In other words, one person could cast no more than one vote. The second alternative is to reduce the representation of college chapters to one vote.

The Committee agreed unanimously that it was necessary to reduce the representation of college units in proportion to the representation of the community units. One reason is that with the multiplication of chapters in metropolitan areas and with the potential of a large number of college chapters in these areas, we are simply going to end up with an over-representation from the larger cities. It was felt that it should be recognized that the college chapters do not play the same role as do the community chapters. They generally do not function throughout the year, they generally represent a smaller community, and their effectiveness is usually limited as compared to a community chapter. Many college units carry on their projects primarily in conjunction with community chapters, and many members of college chapters hold dual membership in other chapters. A reduction in the voting power of college units will relatively enhance the voting power of other chapters and will go a long way to alleviate the problem of domination of the convention by three or four metropolitan areas.

The next suggestion had to do with the process of affiliation of chapters. It was suggested that "before the NAC or Steering Committee may consider affiliation, it must have a report and positive recommendation in writing from the director of organization." This report, of course, could be done by a staff member and approved by the director of organization. It will be noted that this would prevent the Steering Committee or NAC from affiliating a chapter against the wishes of the director of organization, but they could still vote against affiliation of a chapter that comes recommended. It should also be noted that this provision would still permit the convention to affiliate without recommendation from the director of organization.

The next recommendation has to do with multiple chapters within a city. It is recommended that a second or subsequent chapter in any city must be affiliated by a 2/3 majority of those members voting at a meeting of the NAC or National Convention. Under this change it would still be

possible to affiliate additional chapters within a city when necessary, but the process of affiliation would become somewhat more difficult. The Steering Committee would no longer be able to affiliate more than one chapter in a city, but this action would have to be taken by either the NAC or the Convention.

It was also agreed that some kind of limitation of potential votes within each city must be worked out. The Committee did not yet arrive at a working formula but believes that the number of potential votes which a city might have should be based on the population of the city. The idea of granting proportional votes at the convention based on numbers of active members in a chapter was rejected. It was rejected, because the Committee felt this put a premium on gettin active members regardless of quality. Furthermore, it is quite easy for chapters in the North to get large numbers of members, but this is not always the case in many smaller Southern communities. Likewise, it was not felt that the merits of a chapter can be judged by the number of members, since a small chapter may be a great deal more active than some of the larger chapters.

If a limitation of potential votes for the combined chapters in a given city is worked out on the basis of the population of that city, then this will give recognition to the necessity of having multiple chapters in the large metropolitan areas of the country. It will also maintain the equality of votes amongst the chapters (with the exception of the college units) but will recognize the greater responsibility in the metropolitan areas.

One schedule of potential votes for a given city was suggested but not adopted by the Committee. I am including it here, however, simply as an indication of the trend of our thought. This limitation on votes would not include college chapters. If the college representation at the convention were reduced to one vote per chapter, then there would be no need to limit the number of college chapters that can be formed. If, however, the voting strength of college units is more than one vote per chapter, their votes would have to be included in some suggested formula:

Potential Votes Per City

Population	Potential Convention Votes (Excl. College Units)
Up to 500,000	3
500,000 to 1,000,000	6
1,000,000 to 2,000,000	9
2,000,000 to 4,000,000	12
4,000,000 to 6,000,000	15
Over 6,000,000	18

The schedule above or a variation thereof could be worked out so that none of the non-college chapters in New York City would lose any votes. Nor

would any chapters in any other parts of the country have their representation reduced. However, since New York City already has six community chapters, this limitation would virtually freeze the formation of other than college chapters in the city. If other chapters were formed, then all of the chapters in the area would have to have their voting strength reduced slightly.

That completes the list of suggestions. We hope that the full Committee will be able to consider these points and any other points which should be considered so that we may present a full report and a recommendation to the NAC which meets in New York City February 21, 22, and 23. Most of the changes that we have suggested require constitutional changes and would have to be made at the convention.

cc: James Farmer
Richard Haley
James McCain
Marvin Rich
Norman Hill
Floyd McKissick
Rudolph Lombard
Wilfred Ussery
Ralph Rosenfeld
Alan Gartner
Jim Peck

Gordon

MEMORANDUM

TO: NAC

FROM: Carl Rachlin

February 20, 1964

RE: Proposed Constitutional Clause
Re: Trusteeship

1 - When requested by the presiding officer of any chapter, or by a majority of the governing board of any chapter, or by petition of 25 of the active members of any chapter,

or

2 - When a chapter, in a public activity, has acted in violation of the CORE Rules for Action,

or

3 - When a chapter has come under the domination of a group whose aims are inimical to the best interests of CORE and the civil rights movement,

or

4 - Where the officers or members of the chapter are so divided internally as to be unable to conduct the affairs of the chapter, or to act effectively,

or

5 - Where the finances of the chapter are not in reasonable good order, or are not kept in accordance with reasonable bookkeeping practices.

In such circumstances, and upon the recommendation of the National Director, orally or in writing, two-thirds of the Steering Committee or a majority of the NAC may direct the National Director to place the chapter in temporary trusteeship. The National Director may appoint such deputy or deputies to act in his place and stead. The trustee or trustee(s) shall:

1 - Have and assume all the powers of all the officers of said chapter as set forth in the chapter constitution, or any by-laws, or other empowering document of said chapter; and in order to carry out said duty, he shall keep all necessary records and accounts and appoint such necessary assistants as to assist him to carry out these functions, and expend necessary funds for such purpose.

2 - At any time hereafter, and upon the recommendation of the National Director, the Steering Committee may terminate the terms of any officers of the chapter and direct the National Director to conduct elections in the New York chapter, under such terms and conditions as he may determine with due regard to the preservation of all rights of the members of said chapter.

3 - That the said National Director shall forthwith demand that all membership lists, records, books of accounts, bank books, and cash and other assets of said chapter, and that the present holder or holders of these or any of them shall forthwith turn the same over to the National Director, and shall sign or execute any and all documents and assignments necessary for the National Director to carry out his duties hereunder.

4 - Use full power to preserve the assets of said chapter, pay all its debts now or in the future, and to collect all sums due and owing to it from all sources either from members or otherwise, to receive all gifts or donations, whether in money or property, and to deposit, or place same in a bank of his own choosing, and in his name as Trustee; that he shall dispense all necessary sums in his capacity as Trustee.

5 - Advise with and make recommendations to the Steering Committee of the NAC as to any problem existing, and the extent to which he has received or failed to receive all necessary cooperation to carry out his duties hereunder.

6 - Nothing herein shall in any way limit the right and duty of the Steering Committee to withdraw the charter of said New York chapter and to take all necessary steps attendant thereto.

7 - Upon the further recommendation of the National Director the Steering Committee may direct and instruct the National Director to take all necessary steps to terminate the aforesaid Trusteeship and turn back all appropriate powers and duties, as well as any assets then held by the National Director, to newly elected officials of said New York chapter.

8 - This Trusteeship shall last for 90 days from the date of the resolution instituting the Trusteeship unless sooner terminated as set forth above. Upon the recommendation of the National Director all powers granted herein, may further be extended by the aforesaid Steering Committee.

9 - If any part or parts of this resolution conflict with the laws of the United States or of any state, the remainder parts of this resolution shall be unaffected thereby and remain in full force and effect.

Accepted - Carl to draw up By-laws

MEMORANDUM

TO: NAC

FROM: Carl Rachlin, General Counsel

February 20, 1964

RE: Chapter Incorporation

1 - Despite our request from the chapters, very few have responded to our appeal for information as to chapter incorporation throughout the country. We do know that San Francisco Chapter has incorporated, for example, and several others either have, or contemplate incorporation. Several chapter attorneys have discussed this matter with me, such as those representing Los Angeles CORE, Binghamton CORE, Philadelphia CORE, etc. Accordingly, I should like to suggest the advantages and disadvantages of incorporation.

2 - The main advantage of incorporation is that there is a form of limited liability as a result of forming a corporation. A corporation is obtained by filing the necessary papers with the appropriate state officials. This, then, makes the corporation a creature of the state where incorporation has taken place and, therefore, subject to the laws and the courts of that state. When a body incorporates, it normally means that the individuals associated with the corporation are not personally liable for the obligations of the corporation. Thus, a benefit is gained in the normal contractual relationships of any chapter. Problems of leases, renting of cars, holding meetings, purchasing supplies would not affect the individuals in the chapter, if they were done in the name of the corporation.

On the other hand, non-contractual matters, commonly called "torts," committed by active members in the chapter, would still affect persons participating in action campaigns. For example, all persons participating in a picketing demonstration could be personally liable if something were to go wrong on the picket line. If a suit were

to be brought against us in a boycott situation, it is highly likely that the company boycotted would sue not only the chapter, but also the individual involved.

In fact, persons who authorize such activities, at a chapter meeting, for example, might also be personally involved if a company chose to bring an action against them. What I am suggesting is that incorporation will not help very much if anything in matters involving the active campaigns of the chapter. The only people who would be helped by incorporation during an action campaign would be the inactive people. The active people could be personally responsible.

3 - An additional fact which must be brought into consideration concerns the complications which might arise if a local chapter were incorporated, and it was necessary for the National Organization to suspend or remove the charter of the chapter. If a chapter is incorporated under the laws of the state, and there was a dispute in the chapter, the matter could be carried into the state courts where the chapter is located under the corporation laws of that state. Most states provide for such a proceeding if a corporation is paralyzed by internal dispute. So that whether we wished it or not, we could be involved in the courts of a state that might be very unfriendly. In any event, there might be a very difficult legal proceeding as to who controls the corporation. This would be a more difficult and more cumbersome procedure than preventing an unincorporated group from using our name without authority.

While some protection could be had by providing in every charter that they return to us the name on termination of or removal of the charter. This would be difficult to enforce because there are over a hundred chapters already in existence. Because of the autonomy of many chapters, we are not always aware of their incorporation and the terms and conditions which such chapters obtained incorporation. If we could provide for and police the incorporation granted to chapters, we might make certain that every certificate of incorporation has a clause in it that would provide that a

chapter could not use the name of the National Organization should it remove the charter. Even this, however, might still involve us in court fights because a corporation is a creature of the state, even though it might also be a chapter of CORE. States are paternal about corporations chartered under their laws.

4 - With regard to the benefit obtained in contractual matters, this could be handled in another way. There is no reason why we could not authorize the formation of corporations which do not use "CORE" in the corporate name. Therefore, leases, renting of cars, purchase of supplies, etc. would be done in the name of this kind of corporation. If it were necessary to discipline a chapter, there would be no great advantage to have a fight over control of this unimportant corporation.

5 - Accordingly, my recommendations are that we do not authorize chapter incorporation using the name "CORE but rather suggest to them if they choose to form corporations that their ~~commenced~~ Commercial activities would be handled in the name of this corporation.

6 - I also recommend that henceforth, every charter granted set forth specifically that the name "CORE" may only be used so long as the chapter is in good standing; that the new chapter agrees not to use the name "CORE" if at any time the charter is withdrawn.

ITEM #17

Appendix -5

MEMORANDUM

TO: National Action Council February 21, 1964

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: By-laws

At a recent meeting of the Steering Committee I was authorized to search through all records of official CORE policy meetings and extract the by-laws which have been passed but never catalogued Most of the by-laws which are to follow were not passed in the form of by laws, but were passed as policy of the organization. They have been extracted from Convention, Council, Executive Committee and/or National Action Committee or Steering Committees dating back to 1945. Some minutes have unfortunately been lost, but our records are fairly complete.

I have done some editing but in no case have changed the meaning or intent. Editing has simply been to correct the grammar or for example to insert "Steering Committee" in place of "National Action Committee."

The by-laws as extracted are:

I Regional Organization. Regional Organization may be established within the organizational framework of the National CORE organization Chapters in any region desiring to form a regional organization will inform the National Office of their plans with details of the planned organization. If a regional group of chapters applies to the National Office for such regional organization, and the National Action Council does not give its approval,

(continued)

then further action by the regional group will be postponed until the next Convention. (Convention 1950)

II Local Chapter Policy.

1. All chapters must submit to national CORE for approval the names by which they will be identified. (Action Committee 1961)

2. An individual who lives in one area and works in another may affiliate with either CORE chapter he desires, rather than being confined to the chapter of his residential area. (Action Committee, October 12, 1961)

3. Every affiliated chapter must report annually at least three months prior to Convention, a list of all chapter members, officers, committees and must include an outline of chapter policy and practice for granting active membership. Such a report will include the most recent revision of the chapter constitution and by-laws. (National Action Council Feb. 1964).

4. No local chapter is to engage in joint activity with other organizations unless that joint activity has been discussed and approved at a duly constituted meeting of the local CORE chapter. (Convention 1957)

5. Literature of other organizations cannot be distributed at CORE meetings, except with the consent of the chapter. (Convention 1957)

6. Local chapters are to issue active membership only after prospective members have been screened, the screening procedure to be established in the local constitution. (Convention 1957)

7. All CORE chapters endorsing issues or lending organizational support must do so in their own name and not in the name of the Congress of Racial Equality. (National Action Council 1963)

8. Before any local chapter may become incorporated, it must be in touch with the General Counsel; those chapters already incorporated must send a copy of their corporation charter to the General Counsel. (National Action Council 1963)

(continued)

9. If local chapters hire staff persons, National CORE may not subsidize such persons. (National Action Council, November 1963)

10. Local chapters are requested to investigate the need to register as a membership organization under local state law, and when this has been determined, they are to communicate this information to the General Counsel. (National Action Council, November 1963)

11. In the event of complaints received within 30 days of alleged irregularities in the conduct of an election wherein chapter or unit officers are involved, the National Director, or his agent, may after investigation, cause to be held, under his supervision, new elections if one or more of the following circumstances hold:

1 - requested by the candidates
2 - requested by 30% of the active members in good standing
3 - requested by the Director of Organization
4 - indicated in trusteeship situations

(National Action Council, Nov. 1963)

12. All CORE activities on a nation-wide basis, whether initiated by national CORE or a local chapter must be originally coordinated through the national office. (National Action Council, December 1962)

13. Forms shall be sent to the chapters for a formal report to the Convention that shall include budgets, projects, officers, and other pertinent information. Reports to the National Action Council will remain informal. (National Council, February 1961)

III Multiple chapters. The National Action Council may direct the chapters in a city to establish a coordinating body which will not affect the status or autonomy of any chapter but which may prohibit a chapter from taking unilateral action in city-wide affairs without approval of the majority of the chapters within that city. Such a coordinating council may also be directed to meet regularly to exchange information, to seek cooperation and to negotiate differences which may arise among the various chapters.

(continued)

IV International Fraternal Affiliations. The Office and the National Action Committee are authorized to investigate and establish fraternal relationships with race relations groups outside the continental limits of the United States. (Convention 1960)

V National Projects

1. Projects may be developed on a national level and presented to the local chapters for their action, as needed. Decision for participation is to rest with the local chapter. (Convention 1957)

2. CORE recognizes and affirms the right of all local CORE chapters to initiate and carry out projects in their own area within the framework of CORE Rules for Action. Whenever a local chapter participates in a national project, that chapter accepts the national organization's program of action. (Steering Committee, October 26, 1962)

VI National Officers. The National Action Council is authorized to handle any situation which may arise involving any difficulty with any of the national officers without waiting until the next Convention. Any charges against any officer will be sent to the officer involved and to all local chapters, and every effort will be made to get the officer present at the meeting where the affair will be discussed. (Convention 1950)

VII High School Students. High school students may generally be used in local projects, depending on local circumstances. It is CORE policy that persons under 18 years of age be used only on projects within their state. It is general CORE policy not to affiliate high school groups to the national body. However, there are three circumstances in which high school groups might be associated with CORE:

1. Organizations that are primarily, but not exclusively made up of high school students may apply for affiliation on the same basis as any other chapter.

2. High school branches may be organized by already

(continued)

existing chapters. In this case, the high school group would become a part of the older CORE chapter and would not affiliate with the national organization. Certain specifications or suggestions would have to be worked out for the relationship between the high school chapter and the community CORE group.

3. Other high school groups which want to work with CORE must receive permission from CORE in order to call themselves a student committee in support of CORE or by some similar name and then may cooperate with national and local CORE without affiliation. (National Council, February 1962)

VIII National Convention.

1. That the nominating committee nominate at least two persons for each office and that they be listed in alphabetical order. (Convention 1963)

2. There should be a form of certification of delegates to the Convention; and there shall be a credentials committee chaired by the secretary. (National Action Council, December 1962)

IX Steering Committee.

1. The Steering Committee shall continue to meet on the last Friday of the month. (National Action Council, November 1963)

2. Six National Action Council members must be in attendance in order to hold an official Steering Committee meeting. (National Action Council, July 1962)

3. Minutes of the Steering Committee shall be mailed to affiliated local chapters. (National Action Committee, Jan. 1958)

X National Constitution. The Constitution must be re-issued every time it is amended. (Convention 1958)

XI Political Restrictions.

1. Persons owing allegiance to Communist, facist and/or

(continued)

totalitarian philosophies shall be excluded from active membership. (Convention 1957)

2. No chapter shall be accepted as an affiliate of the Congress of Racial Equality, if it is known to be Communist controlled. If a member chapter becomes Communist controlled during its period of affiliation, such a group will be dropped from membership in the federation of CORE. (Convention 1948)

3. CORE chapters may not involve their organizations in political campaigns; all political work must be carried on as individuals. CORE members have the right to engage in political activities as individuals, but CORE as an organization is non-political. (Convention 1959)

XII Task Force. The Task Force shall be a permanent part of CORE and it shall be expanded at the discretion of the National Director. (Steering Committee April 26, 1963)

XIII Finances.

1. CORE shall not make substantial contribution to other organizations, except under unusual circumstances. (Convention 1957)

2. The treasurer shall prepare forms to be sent to all chapters as the basis for a uniform accounting system. (Convention 1954)

3. Chapters are free to contribute to their regional organizations after obligations to the National organization are met. (Convention 1950)

4. Only those persons authorized by the national office may collect funds in the name of CORE, and all chapters are given blanket authorization to collect funds. The national office shall make an effort to inform local chapters of persons authorized to raise money in their local area. (National Council February 1962)

5. When the national office of CORE provides local chapters with a major outside speaker or performer for a benefit, then the national office shall receive 2/3 of the net procedes from the benefit. The national office shall provide transportation from

(continued)

its share and the local chapter shall provide hospitality. The remittance to the national office can be charged against the 10% tax. (Steering Committee, August 5, 1963)

XIV Press Relations. All press releases on national projects must be cleared with the national office.
(National Action Committee, January 26, 1962)

.....

The following policy decisions were made at various national meetings as indicated. They do not appear to in the nature of bylaws, but should, in my opinion, be considered to reflect the policy of the organization.

Staff.

1. Rates and salaries paid to the staff is left to the discretion of the Steering Committee. (Convention 1957)

2. No person in the employ of CORE may receive personal gifts, either money, goods, or services for speaking, preaching or as personal contributions in any way connected with the employee's role in CORE; and any such gifts are considered as a mtter of policy not to have been received by the employee individually but by the organization as a contribution. The restriction is to include income received by employees from writing while they are employed by CORE. (National Action Council, November 1963 & Steering Committee, August 30, 1963)

3. All staff members should be sent into the field periodically. (Action Committee, July 25, 1963)

4. At least two annual staff meetings are to be scheduled. (Action Committee, July 25, 1960)

5. There shall be at least one annual visit by a field secretary to each CORE chapter. Where new groups are formed during the stay of one field secretary, it is desirable to have

(continued)

another field secretary make a subsequent visit.
(Action Committee, October 1958)

CORE List. Normally the CORE list will not be exchanged with groups with similar purposes unless such action is authorized by the Steering Committee. (National Council, February 1959)

Chapter Policy.

1. No CORE group should support or give the appearance of supporting "separate but equal" facilities. (Convention 1959)

2. Each local chapter shall be requested to donate 20% of its gross income to the national office. (Convention 1949)

3. The national office may request that each local chapter submit its own mailing list to the national office so that a communication may be sent along with the first fall issue of the CORElator inquring whether they wish to be place on the national list. National CORE shall have the right to solicit funds from those persons replying no more than twice a year; such appeals would be coordinated with the local financial efforts, so that there would not be two appeals going out at the same time.
(Convention 1949)

4. CORE will encourage college students to work first toward the development of community-wide chapters of CORE. Recognizing unique situations, we will consider the affiliation of autonomous campus chapters. Even when a community chapter exists, we will still consider autonomous campus affiliation if the students desire. In any case, students working in CORE should make the strongest efforts at close working cooperation with the adult community. It is generally agreed that the staff should work toward increased activities on college campuses both North and South. We should investigate the possibility of having a staff representative concentrating on increased student participation in CORE. it is also suggested that the CORE staff develop an informal, consulting committee of student leaders from non-CORE organizations to share student concerns. It is also deemed desirable to hold student conferences on a regional or even on a nation-wide basis. (National Council, February 1962)

5. Any affiliated local chapter can ask the national

(continued)

office to transmit a request for supplementary assistance from other affiliates. (Convention 1958)

Miscellaneous Policy.

1. It is strongly urged that at least one month before a National Convention, the National Director submit to at least three officers of all local chapters a proposed Convention agenda and any proposed constitution or policy changes proposed by the national office or by a chapter. Local CORE groups shall forward their recommendations to the national office at least six weeks prior to each Convention. (Convention 1960)

2. The Steering Committee is authorized to set up branch offices as the need arises, with the advice of representatives chosen by the region under consideration. First consideration in setting up a branch office should be given to the West coast. (Convention 1960)

3. On pamphlets other than the basic literature, the names of writers are to be given: this permits some personal expression of opinion. (Convention 1958)

4. The national office is authorized to ask national associate members to write letters, etc., either on national race relations matters or in aid of a particular project. (Convention 1958)

5. The Steering Committee shall procede with promotion of holiday cards. (Convention 1957)

6. National CORE is empowered to make an award, the nature of which to be determined by the National Action Council or the Steering Committee, to any CORE chapter at anytime upon completion of a project that it is felt is deserving. (Convention 1951)

7. The CORElator shall be printed, if possible, but it shall have last priority on national funds. (Convention 1949)

8. The statement "In Regard to Communism" was approved at the 1948 Convention. It will not be reprinted here.

(continued)

9. Policy that CORE may not endorse political candidates on either local or national level reaffirmed. (National Action Council, November 1963)

10. CORE shall make an annual contribution of $1,000 to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. (National Action Council, Nov. 1963)

11. The national office and the national treasurer shall have no authority to authorize loans to individuals. (National Council, February 1959)

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, N. Y. 38, N. Y.
March 12, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Floyd McKissick and Carl Rachlin

FROM: Gordon R. Carey

Re: National Convention

The workshops for the National Convention are tentatively scheduled for Friday, July 3. There are nine workshops scheduled and one of them is to deal with legal problems. This memorandum is simply to remind you both that you have the responsibility for developing this particular workshop. Thanks.

Congress or Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
26 May 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: CORE Chapter Chairman

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: 1964 National Convention

I Convention Agenda:

The agenda and schedule for the Convention will be sent later. Chapters wishing to place business matters on the agenda should submit them in writing to me no later than June 15, 1964.

II The 1965 National Convention:

Chapters wishing to host the 1965 National Convention should submit a bid in writing to the Kansas City Convention. A committee will consider the bids and make recommendations to the Convention floor. Your bid should include the proposed site (whether it be hotel, camp or campus); the capacity of the location; the approximate cost for housing, meals and meeting rooms. Meeting rooms required will be a large one for general sessions and smaller ones for workshops, office, etc. Also, please indicate the available dates. Suggested dates should probably be the last weekend in June or the 4th of July weekend.

III Hotel Reservations:

Your chapter will be supplied with reservation cards which are to be returned directly to the Hotel Muehlebach. Room rates at the hotel are as follows:

$4.50 per person based on 3 or 4 to a room in single beds.
$9.00 per single room.
$11.00 for double bed room (for 2 persons).
$12.00 for twin bed room (for 2 persons).

Regardless of the number of delegates you send, you can still qualify for the $4.50 rate by simply sharing the room with delegates from another chapter.

IV If your chapter has not yet sent in the form mailed to you last week with the approximate number of persons to attend, pl ase do so this week.

Home-school Association

Minutes of 8

Mtg: Called to order

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
26 May 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Carl Randolph & Constance Timberlake

FROM: Gordon Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: Convention

Bruce Gordon and I will arrive in Kansas City, Missouri, June 1, at 11:36 A.M. on TWA flight #67 from Kennedy International Airport. We plan to leave at 3:45 on Wednesday for New York. It would be helpful if you could arrange for someone to meet us at the airport.

While in Kansas City We would like to do the following things:
Check on arrangements and work out details with the Hotel and the Auditorium; discuss promotion of the public meeting and the possibility of the banquet; and other problems connected with the Convention.

Bruce works with the Community Relations Department and will be primarily interested in promotion of the meeting and banquet. We will probably need to arrange for him to return to Kansas City again prior to the Convention, but we can talk about that on the 1st.

If all of this is okay, we will simply count on being met at the airport--if it is not okay, please contact me posthaste.

Telephone | 38.90 ~~installation~~ monthly
30.00 installation
plus tax

10 installed per few days notice
8.95 + tax measured ser. 100 per.
1 meter voter

MEMORANDUM

TO: Gordon Carey
FROM: Clora Coleman

DATE: May 28, 1964

RE: EQUIPMENT AND PERSONNEL NEEDED FOR THE CONVENTION

As far as I can determine, we will need the following personnel to staff the office and registration desk at the CONVENTION: Two people on the desk during the first two days of the Convention, aided by two or three local people. I suggest that Bruce Gordon be put in charge of the desk; Dorothy Pitman, who has volunteered to pay her own transportation could be his assistant.

FOR THE OFFICE: I request Carlos Rijos to be in charge of memographing. We should have two good typist full time, one girl to handle the telephone and one from Bookkeeping to keep track of all the monies; this makes a total of five people.

Brenda, Marie and Eartha, who have seniority have indicated that they wish to work at the Convention. Other people including Mimi Hernandes and Jean Jones have also indicated that they wish to go, but there are other Staff with seniority with whom, I must check first. Kansas City is an ~~overnight~~ 24 hour train trip and the girls have indicated their willingness to travel by train; this will cut expenses ~~considerably~~ somewhat.

We will need the following Equipment in the office in addition to a telephone: Three Typewriters in good working order, one Memograph machine in also good working order; Work will be done much more efficiently if this equipment is electrically operated. We will also need two long tables for coordinating material, ect. Also you should establish relationship with a nearby Stationery House from which we can order supplies; We should have in the office prior to the opening of the Convention 10 ~~rings~~ reams of letter head size paper, 20lbs. Memograph paper and 5 ~~rings~~ reams legal size paper; we should have also ½dz. quire of stencils for whatever make memograph machine you secure. The typewriters should be checked to make sure they have new ribbons when we receive them and in good working order. Marvin indicated that he would assign Bruce Gordon to registration desk and I assume he will show him how to set up so that it will run smoothly; this is very important.

If ;there is to be a function or functions where tickets are needed, please see that these are ready in time for distribution. There will be other details of which I don't think of at the moment, but these seem to be the most important matters to cover.

train fare is $98.43 round trip; this is $28.83 less than lowest plane rate. Meals must be considered

Sec'y to Rudph Moreno/Gol

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, N.Y.C., N.Y. 10038
Phone: CO 7-6270
27 May 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: New York CORE Chapter Chairmen

FROM: James Farmer, National Director

Re: South African Demonstration

The seven leading African figures in the fight for freedom in South Africa are now on trial and may face the death penalty.

CORE, along with a dozen other organizations, is sponsoring a demonstration on June 4 to protest these trials. Details of the demonstration are given in the enclosed brochure.

I know that the New York chapters are currently engaged in many crucial local battles. But it is also important to demonstrate our solidarity with our brothers in South Africa and to attempt to forestall the death penalty for these men. While we do not want to detract from your current programs, I do hope that you can have some of your members at the June 4 protest. Please call Gordon Carey or Lane Perdue at the national office as soon as possible to let us know how many additional copies of the South African brochure that you want for distribution and also to let us know how many persons you can have at the demonstration.

Your prompt cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

NOTE: Picket signs will be supplied at the demonstration. However, if you want "CORE" on your signs you should make signs for yourself. For suggested slogans call the CORE office.

Desk —

Bruce Gordon (?)

D. Pitman

Mines —

Carlos Rijos

Typist

1

2

Bookkeeping

1

Telephone

1

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
31 May 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Department Heads

FROM: James Farmer

Re: Convention Reports

I would like to have a report from your department on my desk no later than June 15. These reports will be combined into one staff report given by the National Director. They should include a summary of the past year's progress and a projection for 1964-65.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Chapter Chairmen
FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assis. to the Nat'l. Director

June 8, 1964
Re: National Convention

Enclosed you will find a green "Certification of Delegates" which will also serve as advance registration for your delegation. Please have it filled out and returned along with the $5.00 registration fee per person (including delegates, alternates and observers) to this office by June 20. Make checks for convention registration payable to "CORE" and mark "convention registration" on the face of the check. There will also be late registration at the Convention. However, your delegates may not be seated without a signed certification.

Also enclosed is a sample reservation blank for the Hotel Muehlebach. When you return the green certification or the blank at the bottom of this memorandum we will send your chapter sufficient hotel reservation cards for your delegation. Please note that a deposit of the first night's rent must be sent to the hotel along with the reservation card.

Featured personalities at the Convention will be:

James Farmer

Louis Lomax

Dick Gregory

Farmer will speak at a public meeting Thursday evening, July 2. Lomax and Gregory will probably close the Convention Sunday afternoon or evening. A complete schedule and agenda will be sent to you shortly.

If you have not yet returned a blank similar to this one sent you last month, please do so immediately.

.....

Name of chapter_____

We will_____; will not_____be represented at the Convention.

Approximate number of persons who will attend_____.

Signature_____ Title_____

Address_____

Tear off and return immediately to: Gordon R. Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: National Action Council Members 9 June 1964

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: Steering Committee, NAC and Convention

I The last Steering Committee Meeting prior to the Convention will be Friday evening June 19 at 6:30 P.M. at Val Coleman's apartment. His address is: 601 West 113th Street, Apartment 3G. The tentative agenda is as follows:

National Convention and NAC	Summer Project Reports
Constitutional Changes	Personnel Changes
Chapter Reports--Brooklyn, Bronx	By-laws
New York, Washington, D.C.	Statement on Communism
Affiliations-disaffiliations	Civil Rights Bill
Financial Report	

II The National Action Council will be meeting at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri together with the staff from 12 noon June 30 to 12 noon July 2.

III The Convention begins the evening of July 2 and will end the evening of July 5. You should be aware that NAC members are expected to attend the Convention.

Our financial situation remains extremely shaky and it would be appreciated if you can travel to Kansas City as inexpensively as possible. Air transportation will, however, be provided where necessary.

Please return the attached form to me prior to June 19 so that we can make necessary hotel and travel arrangements. Unless you indicate to the contrary, we will reserve rooms at the least expensive rate and we will be housing three or four to a room. If you prefer other accommodations, I will send you a card so that you can make your reservations directly with the hotel.

.....

1. I will___will not___attend the June 19 Steering Committee Meeting.

2. I will___will not___attend the NAC and Convention.

3. I will fly. Please send air ticket___.

4. I will travel by other means. Please send expence advance. (Amount_____

5. Reserve a room at the Hotel with 2 or 3 others___.

6. Send me a reservation card and I will make my own reservation___.

_____

Signed

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, N. Y. 10038

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

10 June

FROM: Bruce Gordon, Community Relations Department

I will be in Oxford, Ohio on the 22nd of June. It would be cheaper if I left from there to Kansas City, Missouri. Therefore, please send airplane ticket to Oxford, plus a little bit of money for expenses on essentials such as food and cigarettes. Will write you further. Nooker and/or Norman know where to reach me.

BG

CORE

GORDON

June 15, 1964

List of persons attending the National Convention:
for which the National Office is Responsible:

Transportation and Hotel Accomodations

(*) All Persons are expected to travel by bus or car unless (indicated:)

New York Area

1. Gordon Carey
2. James T. McCain
3. Marcia McKenna
4. Marvin Rich
5. Val Coleman
6. Clora Coleman
7. Allan Hoffman
8. Velma Hill
9. Arthur Williams
10. Joyce Ware ?
11. Carl Rachlin
12. New York - NAC Members
* 13. Floyd McKissick
* 14. Norman Hill
* 15. Bob Gore (return ticket)

(Plus five clericals to be decided at Mrs. Colemans discretion.)

Field Staff

Chicago

1. Ron Corwin ---- (Bus or Car)
2. Eugene Tournour
3. Winston Lockett

North Carolina

4. B. Elton Cox *

South Carolina

Frank Robinson --- Cars
Emerson Brown

California

*1. Chet Duncan

Louisiana

1. Ronnie Moore -- (Car)
2. Isaac Reynolds
3. Jerome Smith
4. Ed Hollander
5. Richard Haley

Mississippi

1. Dave Dennis

Florida

1. Pat Due

26/6/64

NITE LETTER:

TO: Wilfred Ussery ✓
Wester Sweet ✓
Richard Rapp ✓
Doris Hollis ✓
Sam Riley ✓
Charles Oldham ✓

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

RECEIVED NO CONFORMATION YOUR ATTENDANCE AT NAC AND CONVENTION NOON JUNE 30. THRU JULY 5. MAKE YOUR OWN TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS. WE WILL REIMBURSE IN KANSAS CITY.

GORDON R. CAREY

THINGS TO DO: 1964 Convention

1. Appoint parlimentarian.
2. Check on details for Thursday's Farmer-McKissick meeting.
3. " " " " Friday's Lomax-Gregory meeting.
4. For Convention Office:
   - install telephones
   - rent 3 typewrites
   - " mimeograph machine
   - desks
   - carbon paper
   - stapler and staples
   - paper
   - rubber bands
   - paper clips
   - ko-rec-type
   - postage
   - envelopes
   - personnel
   - blank checks
   - petty cash
   - press room — check w/ Marvin
5. Arrange for NAC members and workshop leaders' flights HA 2-1160
6. Prepare kits at the Convention
7. send chapters: Convention schedule and agenda; final reminder
8. send entire contact list final reminders--(how to get to hotel from arrival point
9. Appoint committees: Nomination (meals)
   - Constitution
   - 1965 Convention site
   - Resolution
   - chapter arbitration
   - credentials
   - local constitution

Bring to the Convention:
- Report to the National Director
- Financial report
- National Consitution
- Minutes of 1963 Annual Convention
- copies of suggested constitutional changes
- " " by-laws
- Convention files
- CORE badges: "Hi there! I'm Gordon Carey.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

OFFICERS
Floyd B. McKissick
chairman
Rudolph Lombard
1st vice chairman
Wilfred Ussery
2nd vice chairman
Ralph Rosenfeld
secretary
Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Norman Hill
program director
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

Notice to chapter – travel, etc.
- Bids for 1965 Convention
Workshop arrangements
- Public Meeting
  - Speaker
  - Promotion
Banquet ?
  - Speakers
  - Promotion
- Accreditation Forms
Press Conference & Room
- Office
  - Mimeo
  - Typewriter
  - Flowers
  - Secretaries
- Meals
- Schedule
- Agenda
Name tags
Kits
  - Minutes
  - Reports – Staff Constitutional change
  - B.S. items
  - pads
- Hotel arrangements – reservations
- Meeting Rooms

Invitation to Missouri politicians

" - K.C., " & K.C. Komm

C.R. people. & Natl & Local

Invitation to reps from SCLC etc.

Staff present

T.F. present

Travel arrangements

Registration procedure

Constitutional changes, et al.

Committees

Agenda

schedule

Registration
materials
Badges
Kits
People 4 from chapter

Transportation
from airport site
here?

Publicity meeting
Former ones?
Publicity

Arrangements w/ Hotel & Auditorium
telephones, chairs equip.

Banquet or

Who to invite

✓ Convention mailing
✓ List of "dignitaries" to K-C.
✓ Travel for workshop leaders & NAC
✓ Hotel reservations for staff, NAC & workshop
Participants
Bruce Cordon - Telephones & office equipment
Material to ship to Cowett and arrangements to be
Go over list of things to do
Call Lomax & Gregory
✓ Registered letter to Hobson & Work. CORE
~~Hospital mailing to N.Y. chapter - CORE~~
Sort file on Desk & briefcase
✓ Forman's Report — McCain porter
(Correlated changes - MO-C & 40d)
* Earl Brown —

call K. C.
Material to ship
Call Lomax

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

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community relations director

MINUTES OF THE 1964 ANNUAL CONVENTION

July 2 - 5, 1964

The 1964 Convention was called to order by the Chairman, Floyd B. McKissick, and the delegates were listed by the Secretary.

Motion by Art Silver of Los Angeles and seconded by Red Johnson of San Francisco to adcpt the minutes of last Convention. Carried.

Motion by Roy Patric, Chicago and seconded by Teasley, Middletown to accept agenda. Carried.

Motion by Red Johnson of San Francisco and seconded by Luiz Perez of Columbia University to affiliate Omaha. Unanimously carried.

Motion by G. Harrington of New York and seconded by I. Prymus of Miami that the chapter from Des Moines be affiliated on a temporary basis. That this affiliation be reviewed at next Steering Committee meeting. Carried.

Motion by Vinegar of Cincinnati and seconded by H. Crawford of Miami to affiliate Middletown, Ohio CORE. Unanimously carried.

Motion by R. Atkinson of Washington and seconded by K. Gregory of Washington that neither delegation from Washington CORE be seated until the matter of Julius Hobson's expulsion and the matter of the Washington, D.C. trusteeship are resolved. Carried.

Motion by Vinegar that each faction of Washington CORE and NAC be allowed 5 minutes to present their point of view. Carried.

Mr. F. McKissick read from minutes of May 27, 1964 Steering Committee and the subsequent report from Mr. L. Smith. Mr. J. Hobson gave his presentation and Mr. Gregory responded for his faction.
Mr. Louis Smith related his experiences with both factions.

Motion by Alan Gartner of Boston and seconded by G. Brown of Detroit that the Convention sustain the expulsion of J. Hobson by the NAC and place the Washington chapter under trusteeship. 217 for, 27 against, and 17 abstentions.

Motion by C. Brown of Milwaukee and seconded by C. Montiero of Providence that the following delegates elected in Washington at the meeting of June 25th be recognized: Karl Gregory, Anna Holden, Norma Shelton, Barbara Ensley and Ralph Temple.

The following committees were appointed by the Chair:

continued....

Credentials Committee:
Bob Curvin, Chairman; Milicent Carpenter, Boston; Gladys Harrington, New York; Mary Lu Murphy, San Francisco; Ed Lewinson, Brooklyn; Beatrice Gordon, Kansas City; Jerry Michaux, Durham; Miriam Charez, Bakersfield; Marylyn Bellman, Santa Monica; Josephine Disparti; James T. McCain, Staff.

Constitutional Committee:
Co-chairmen: Will Ussery, San Franicisco; Alan Gartner, Boston; Priscilla Chenoweth, Middlesex County. Arthur Evan, Cleveland; A. D. Moore, Miami; George Wiley, Syracuse; C. W. Vinegar, Cinn.; Lenny Selig, Downtown New York; Gwen Wells, Kansas City, Mo.; Reginald Watson, Fort Smith; Lee Faucette, San Fernando Valley; Harold Foster, Chapel Hill; Ruth Schwartz, Long Island; Sylvia Richards, Los Angeles; Shirley Merser, Seattle; Sandra Taylor, South Jamaica; Anne Longstreet, Bergen City; Bob Lucas, Chicago; Cecil Brown, Milwaukee; Austin Brown, Tulsa; Hugh Shanks, Kansas City, Kansas; Joyce Shurick, Bronx; Luther Seabrook, N.Y.

Finance Committee:
Martin Oppenheimer, Chairman, Philadelphia; Roy Innis, New York; Jean Carlber, Ann Arbor; Gladys Lloyd, Bronx; Herman Halman, Chapel Hill; Albertina Mitchell, Wheeling, West Virginia; Marvin Rich, Staff.

Local Constitution Committee:
Mark Dodson, Long Island, Chairman; Walter Brooks, New Haven; Ollie Leeds, Brooklyn; Jim Willard, Kansas City, Mo.; Von Abellera, Los Angeles; Martha Graham, Kansas City; Wallace Downs, Kansas City, Kan.; Kathy Fell, Chapel Hill; Thomas H. Pass, Washington; Homer Rogers, San Antonio; Joan Wiggins, San Francisco; Marlene R. Wilson, Columbus; Norman Hill, Staff.

Regional Action Council Committee:
Roger Kahn, South Jamaica, Chairman; Ruth Turner, Cleveland, Minnie Fuller; Charles Saunder, East River; Joan Gethers, 7 Arts; Dorothy Conway, Queens; James Griffin, Baltimore; Louis Perez, Columbia University; Marjorie King, Kansas City, Mo., Jerry Zeller, Columbus; George Knowles, City College of New York; Richard Haley, Staff.

1965 Convention Site:
Virginia Burton, Chairman; Marlene Dixon, Chicago; James Garling, High Point; John Robinson, North Virginia; Clarence Funnye, New York; Helen Freeze, Kansas City, Kan., Elizabeth Laizner, Greensboro; Othaline Little, Durham; Coneria Parrish, High Point; Milton King, Tulsa; Marjorie King, Kansas City, Mo.; Edward Kanberg, Santa Monica; Val Coleman, Staff.

Chapter Arbitration Committee:
Richard Rapp, Denver, Chairman; Wes Sweet, San Jose; Lincoln Lynch, Long Island; David Riley, Durham; Frances Foster, 7 Arts; Sue Kovner, San Fernando Valley; Della Chappell, Tulsa; Irvena Prymus, Miami; Lavata Jones, Detroit; Peter Wolff, Ann Arbor; Red Johnson, San Francisco; Dorothy Wade, Kansas City, Missouri.

continued...

National Programing Committee:
Shirley Lacey, Bergan County; Antonio Peruot, Cleveland; Douglas Jones, Oakland; David C. Aroner, Ann Arbor; Arthur Alston, Philadelphia; Clifford R. Montiero, Providence, Rhode Island; James Foushee, Chapel Hill; Paul Rosenstein, Santa Monica; Fran Crayton, Brooklyn; Walter Kaufman, Bakersfield; John Due, Tallahassee.

Nominating Committee:
Julia Lewis, Lexington CORE, Chairman; Raymond Procter, Newark Essex; Ada Countee, Philadelphia; Marshall England, New York; Joan Drake, Chapel Hill; John Givens, Milwaukee; William Sprowal, Downtown New York; Gloria Montgomery. Sumter, South Carolina; Abe Fowkles, Columbus; Howard Nelson, Kansas City, Mo.; Gloria Brown, Detroit; Evelyn Moore, Ann Arbor; Homer Randolph, East St. Louis; Doris Castle, New Orleans; Art Silver, L. A.; Carl Randolph, Kansas City, Kan.; Sherry Noyes, Florida; Joanne Klunder, Cleveland; Sue Kovner, San Francisco; John Carethon, Seattle; John Valentine, Bronx.

Resolutions Committee:
Marshal Goldstein, Eugen, Ore., Chairman; Douglas Quitt, Marin County, Calif.; August Meier, Newark-Essex; Hal Brown, San Diego; Frank Gover, Pomona Valley; Joycelyn McKissick, Durham; Lela Shanks, Kansas City, Kansas; Ray Dryz, Tulsa; Ray Woodall, Bronx; Bob De Rose, Philadelphia; David Riley, Durahm; Bruce Boyd, Los Angeles; Ralph Temple, Washington, D.C.: Jim Hamilton, Columbia, Mo.; Winifred Farrar, Bergen County; Flossie Rodgers, San Antonio; Buddy Bellman, Santa Monica; Thomas Schmidt, Columbia University.

Report from Mississippi by Dave Dennis:
Dick Jewett spoke on the political program in Mississippi. He noted that there is a close relationship between Mississippi and the ghetto. Politics means getting a few people registered to vote. He recommends that where state Democratic Party conventions have not been held that CORE chapters attempt to get them to pledge support for the MFDP (Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party). Where conventions have been held it is suggested that CORE chapters contact individual delegates.

Dave said that in the last 2 years 19 people were murdered, lynched or killed--9 since January 1, 1964; 8 in CORE's District. Not one person has been prosecuted. The State is well organized and well armed. License numbers and pictures of civil rights workers are distributed throughout the state. He noted that what is happening now is merely a continuation of what has been going on for years but that by bringing focus on it it will help to make it politically expedient for the Federal Government to intervene. The problem of what will happen at the end of the summer when the students leave--especially if the news media and the Federal Government also leave--was raised. Dave called for the Convention, NAC and Steering Committee to deal with the needs of Southern programming rather than take up all of the time with petty chapter problems.

continued....

Motion by J. Farmer and seconded by B. Cooper that CORE build a memorial community center in Meridian, Mississippi in memory of the missing CORE workers in that area. It will be called the Chaney, Goodman, Schwerner Memorial. Property is to be bought and a building constructed with the following facilities: library, three classrooms for literacy programs, pre-natal care instructions, voter registration classes, a craft shop where different handicrafts and trades are taught, a play-room for teenagers, and an auditorium where meetings can be held. Carried unanimously.

Motion by R. Dryz of Tulsa and seconded by L. Jones of Detroit that every CORE chapter set up a recruitment committee for the purpose of sending workers to Mississippi after the summer months; that this program be geared for no less than one year; that chapters seek out sponsorship for people willing to go; that chapter chairmen at this convention submit to the Secretary names of the person in their respective chapters who will be responsible for this recruitment.

Amendment: That where a person can't be found by a chapter to participate in the project that such chapters pledge at least $325 to support the project. Carried as amedded, 2 opposed.

Motion that all funds being spent by persons for refreshments at the Convention be channeled into the memorial project. Carried.

Kansas City CORE pledges $50 a month. 900 school books pledged from Bronx.

G. Wiley of Syracuse moved and Red Johnson seconded ratification of NAC action relating to Federal protection of citizens in Mississippi. Carried unanimously.

A presentation of $1,000.00 to Mrs. Chaney by the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund was made by Mr. J. Cohen representing the Fund.

A film was shown by C. Funneye of New York which showed the use of Negroes in T.V. advertisements.

Report on Chicago project by Gene Tournour. He told how they were organizing tenants and neighborhoods.

Motion by Charles Saunders of East River and seconded by Frank Williams that the Convention honor the task force of Chicago as well as those in Mississippi and further that other chapters be urged to institute similar projects, and that the Convention instruct the staff to supplement the task force which is to work in Northern ghetto areas and to continue to help local chapters organize ghettbo communities. Carried.

Report from LouisianaProject by Spiver Gordon and Isaac Reynolds. It was noted that everyday dangers in functioning are very great.

Norman Hill spoke on Political Conventions. CORE calls on both parties to declare themselves against racial discrimination and segregation.

continued....

Report from J. Farmer in which he stressed the need for us all to rededicate ourselves to the struggle. (A written report from Mr. Farmer was part of each delegate's kit.)

Motion by Roy Patchen of Chicago and seconded by R. Temple of D.C. to give Mr. J. Farmer a vote of confidence. Unanimously carried.

Motion by G. Harrington and seconded by C. McGhee of Detroit that in order to dramatize our dissatisfaction with the present trend of appointment of ultra conservative federal court judges, such as, Cox of Mississippi, Ellis and West in Louisiana, nation-wide demonstrations should be instituted focusing attention on the present vacancy created by the death of Ben Cameron from Mississippi; that because President Johnson will fill this vacancy in the near future, we should take steps to insure that this vacancy is filled by a person of integrity and one who has not been aligned with the White Citizens Council; that CORE notify the proper persons that/are unalterably opposed to the creation of an eleventh Federal Circuit. (There is presently a movement within the Judiciary Council of the American Bar Association to create a new Circuit in the Federal Appellate system, obstensibly this is to alleviate the burden that the many civil rights cases have placed on the Fifth Circuit dockets but the purpose is really to remove the Civil rights cases from the Fifth Circuit where there are some liberal judges and in turn create an eleventh circuit which would have appelate jurisdiction in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. Their hope is that the judges appointed to the 11th Circuit would be much more sympathetic to the segregationist point of view and thereby retard further the snail's pace that desegregation is taking in these states.) Carried.

Constitutional Changes: Rather than list each change we are enclosing with these minutes a copy of the ammended constitution. A question was raised by John Barr of Chicago as to whether the new Article IV, sec. 1, would be retroactive if passed. Alan Gartner, Co-chairman of the Constitution Changes Committee, who was chairing the meeting, ruled that it would not be retroactive. There was no appeal of this ruling.

It was moved, seconded and carried to accept the following report from the Finance Committee:
1. The Committee favors encouraging local chapters to provide literature tables at meetings in order to act as a book store outlet for appropriate educationa literature (especially paperback books) in keeping with CORE's general principles; this serves the functions both of education and fund-raising. The latter function is served by means of purchasing books at wholesale prices and selling at retail (a markup of between 20% and 40%).
2. Encouraging chapters to set up recruiting tables for the purpose of signing up associate members and soliciting funds and passing out CORE literature outside stores doing volume business in predominantly Negro areas. The Committee points out that the primary purpose of associate memberships is fund-raising. (In Philadelphia the State Liquor Store doing the largest volume business in the state is located directly across the street from the CORE office).
3. Encouraging chapters to set up special committees of "Friends of CORE"

continued....

consisting of non direct-actionists and/or special groups such as ministers or parents of direct actionists, for the purpose of soliciting funds from such special groups; the Committee reminds chapters that there are special funds such as the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund (which is tax exempt) which have a special attraction for certain individuals or foundations.

4. Encouraging chapters who do not now have such provisions to institute a regular system of dues and to encourage a system of pledges or sustaining funds by which individuals could pledge regular amounts locally and/or nationally.

5. Encourage chapters with offices to run regular rent parties or other functions (such as shows and dances) to raise office expenses.

6. Encourage chapters to explore the possibility of collecting commemorative postage stamps or trading stamps in order to sell them or trade them in for money or goods.

7. Encourage chapters to undertake door-to-door canvasses, telephoning campaigns, etc.

8. Urge the national office to consider a pictorial presentation or book or magazine format to dramatize the struggle in the South for fund-raising purposes.

The Finance Committee heartily endorses the fund-raising campaign to support the Meridian Community Center, and urges all chapters to support this campaign fully.

The Finance Committee reminds the Convention that all COFO funds should be sent to CORE, earmarked "Mississippi Project."

The Finance Committee further urges chapters to undertake a greater effort in fund-raising in connection with speakers at churches, particularly in connection with visits from direct actionists from the South.

The Finance Committee reminds all fund-raisers of three important ingredients of all fund-raising campaigns, and urges careful consideration of these by local fund-raisers: (1) Need; (2) Urgency; (3) How much money is expected of a donor.

Election of Officers

The chair ruled that those persons who are holdovers from the previous NAC shall serve out the final year of their term. There was unanimous consent to this ruling. The following persons were elected to office:

National Officers (one year term)

Chairman	Floyd B. McKissick	Durham, North Carolina
1st Vice-Chairman	Rudolph Lombard	Syracuse, New York
2nd Vice-Chairman	Wilfred Ussery	San Francisco, Calif.
Secretary	Ruth Turner	Cleveland, Ohio
Treasurer	Alan Gartner	Boston, Mass.

Regional Vice-Chairman (2 year term)

Northeast	Robert Curvin	Newark, New Jersey
North Central	Ralph Rosenfeld	Detroit, Michigan
Far West	Harold Brown	San Diego, Calif.
South Central	Oretha Castle	New Orleans, La.
Southeast	John Due	Tallahassee, Fla.

Regional Representatives (one year term)

Northeast	William Sprowal	Downtown, New York
	Shirley Lacey	Englewood, New Jersey
North Central	Loretta Hall	St. Louis, Mo.

Far West	Virginia Burton	Berkeley, Calif.
South Central	Earl Allen	
Southeast	Joan Drake	Chapel Hill, N.C.
	Gloria Montgomery	Sumter, S.C.

Due to the lack of time it was not possible to finish all of the business of the Convention. Committee reports and proposed resolutions were therefore referred to the NAC for disposition at the next meeting of the Steering Committee.

I want to thank Jocelyn Jerome, of the office staff, for her able assistance to me throughout the Convention. To her and to Sue Kovner, of San Fernando Valley CORE, must go much of the credit for the worth of this record. It goes without saying that errors and omissions are to be attributed only to me and requests for corrections might be sent to my attention.

Respectfully submitted,
Ralph Rosenfeld, Secretary

Telegram greetings were received from:

Louis Simon, Manager, Amalgamated Laundry Workers Joint Board
Don Slaiman, Director Civil Rights Department AFL-CIO
Jack Conway, Executive Director, Industrial Union Department AFL-CIO
Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, NAACP
David Livingston, President District 65 - Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union
President Lyndon B. Johnson

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
22ND ANNUAL CONVENTION
MUEHLEBACH HOTEL
KANSAS CITY, MO.
JULY 2-5, 1964

NATIONAL DIRECTOR'S REPORT

The 22nd Annual Convention of CORE finds the organization facing the severest challenge and the profoundest opportunity of its entire existence. In the past year the civil rights struggle has gained the proportions of a mass movement and the dimensions of a revolution. Thus, the picture has drastically changed since we last met. No longer are the civil rights activists numbered in the tens of thousands; they probably now are close to 2,000,000. No longer is the struggle a simple matter of a lunch counter here, a theater there, a house or apartment over yonder, or a handfull of jobs at stake. It is now a generalized revolt against the whole systematic pattern which bars the Negro from full and complete participation in American Society. Nor do Negroes any longer accept uncritically the assumptions and premises on which that predominantly middle class American societyis based.

The civil rights revolution is now insisting that America's invisible men: the black, the poor, the un-classed, the outcasts, become visible--front row center. For the black man is essentially all of those things--poor, un-classed, outcast. He may escape poverty superficially and still be too poor to buy a hot dog. He may climb to the middle class, but then he remains in the black bourgeoisie. He can never escape caste until the whole concept of caste is removed from American life. The civil rights revolution thus not only demands drastic changes in America's practices, wholly eliminating discrimination, but equally drastic alterations in America's thinking--facing the Negro as a human being and facing the poor as a reservoir of employable creativity, not to be hidden but to be employed.

The realization has grown in the past year that what happens to Negroes in America is related to what happens throughout America and the world. We are unemployed because we are discriminated against, but we are also unemployed because machines are robbing men of their jobs, and no new jobs are being provided. If there is no money for massive re-training, for gigantic public works, for first-rate education for all our children, it is because too many billions are being hurled into the Dante's Inferno of moon shots, missiles, anti-missile missiles and anti-anti-missile missiles. The civil rights revolution, therefore, has sparked the only really creative thinking and action taking place in our country today.

As a front-runner in this revolution CORE in the past year has had remarkable growth. A year ago, there were 68 affiliated CORE chapters. Today there are 106 affiliated chapters, the Organization Department reports, and 60 new chapters not yet affiliated. The budget has increased from $600,000 to about $900,000.

As the branches have grown and extended, our roots have dug deeper too. In the National Director's Report to the 1962 Convention, it was pointed out that we can no longer think in terms of an "exclusively elitist organization", but must broaden our base in the community, reaching the masses. It was pointed out that our recruitment should no longer be accidental, but that we should seek grass roots members "through visitations to pool halls and bars as well as churches, street corner meetings as well as social gatherings, open doors rather than closed ones." In the report to the 1963 Convention, it was pointed out that work on the problems faced by people in the grass roots communities, such as through rent strikes, block to block community organizations, should be explored not only for what they can accomplish toward coping with the specific problems in the ghetto community, but as an organizing tactic to provide CORE with roots in the

community, which are a prerequisite to sustain action in a revolutionary period.

We have made great strides in those directions. In Brooklyn alone CORE now has 175 buildings out on rent strike. Others are striking or have struck in the lower east side, Harlem, Boston, Clevelemd, Chicago, and numerous other cities. Many CORE chaptérs either have established, or are in process of establishing ~~exhmx~~ their offices in the heart of their respective ghettoes. Successful activities have been carried on in agitation for such simple yet important issues as stop lights, play streets, etc. The grass roots community would not come to CORE for it does not go to anyone; its fingers have been burned too often. So CORE is going to ~~xk~~ it, and this is ~~xg gixm~~ giving ~~ixm~~ us a firmer base from which to lash out with greater strength and precis$ion at Jim Crow.

It should not be thought ~~xhmx~~ for one ~~minnxm~~ minute that CORE has no more interest in those who do not fit the description of "grass roots" or "working class". There is no one Negro community; there are many within the ghetto. And we are concerned with all of them. We want the help and involvement of every segment of the community which can be involved in this fight.

As ~~XX~~ CORE and the civil rights movement grow in this developing revolution, we face an inevitable trend toward proliferation of organizations and the ~~fxagmxnxxixngx~~ fragmenting or splintering of our movement. New organizations are springing up every day. Some ~~hy~~ die aborning and others persist. Few will survive. This proliferation is inevitable for no organization can organize with a speed to keep ~~xp~~ pace with the revolution. But we must try. Further, there are and will be personality clashes, struggles for leadership and power, and disagreement and debates over tactics, both real and artificial. No revolution in history has been without these sometimes.

More dangerous than such proliferation from without will be splintering from within. This tendancy ~~will~~ also occurs in all revolutions, and in all large organizations, especially those of militant and volatile character where tensions build to the breaking point. The splintering tendency always becomes stronger after the first thrust of a revolutionary force, where victories and gains come easily. When resistance hardens and victories come more laboriously, frustrations tend to produce splintering and internecine warfare. That organization will survive as a viable force in the revolution which can halt the splintering process by tightening its structure ;and coordinating and deepening its programatic activities. To do this requires the best ~~knowledge~~ energies and thought which all of us can bring to bear on the direction of the revolution, and structural requirements to speed us in that direction. We are suggesting certain structural changes in the form of recommended constitutional revisions, which you should now have in your hands, to help tighten up our organization and weld it into a unified and coordinated whole, capable of launching fully directed total non-violent warfare, rather than a series of wholly autonomous unrelated guerilla bands. When CORE was small and the civil rights revolution had not emerged, the wholly autonomous operation of our chapters was feasible and even desirable, but not today, when every action must be part of a plan and a strategy. Unified action is now called for, and it cannot be achieved without welding our chapters closely together. As the old League of Nations found out to its dismay, you cannot create an omlet without cracking the shells of the eggs.

Equally important as structural unity in meeting the problems alluded to ~~here~~ above is ~~the~~ program development and staff and leadership training. In the past six months a series of area conferences for the training of chapter leadership, both primary and secondary, have been

conducted by the Program Department, as well as one staff training conference. A major emphasis in this session has been orientation and programatic direction. These have been exploratory efforts and will be expanded and altered as necessary to meet the changing conditions.

The Director of the Program and Training Department, Norman Hill, reports as follows:

X /Insert program dept. report/

Two integral parts of any revolution are finding the fuel to keep the machine going, and interpreting that machine to the nation and the world. Without funds the wheels grind to a halt, and without interpretation support for action programs atrophy. These functions are filled by CORE's Community Relations ~~Dixx~~ Depattment whose Director, Marvin Rich, reports as follows:

/Insert Community Relations report/

In the final analysis, effectiveness of any national organization may be judged by the continuing growth and virility of its chapters. A summary ~~of~~ report from the Director of the Organization Department, James McCain, is as follows:

/Insert Organization report/

The year has not been without its casualties. The revolution moved to the northern cities last summer, and on April 7 last vice chairman of Cleveland CORE, Reverend Bruce W. Klunder, died beneath the tread of an earth moving tractor as he sought to stop construction on a segregated school. The knowledge that there will be casualties in our ranks does not dull the shart pain when one of our number pays the supreme penalty for his dedication.

Two CORE field workers, Micky Schwerner and James Chaney, along with a third young man, Andy Goodman, have been missing in Mississippi since June 21, and must be presumed to be lost--victims of the insane cruelty of the most benighted state in the land.

CORE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

NATIONAL CONVENTION

1964

Kansas City, Missouri

July 2 - 5

PUBLIC MEETING

MUSIC HALL

Municipal Auditorium

July 2, 1964

7:30 P.M.

NATIONAL OFFICERS AND STAFF

Floyd B. McKissick	*Chairman*
James Farmer	*National Director*
Rudolph Lombard	*First Vice-Chairman*
Wilfred Ussery	*Second Vice-Chairman*
Ralph Rosenfeld	*Secretary*
Alan Gartner	*Treasurer*
Richard Haley	*Associate National Director*
Gordon Carey	*Assistant to the National Director*
Norman Hill	*Program Director*
James T. McCain	*Director of Organization*
Marvin Rich	*Community Relations Director*

ABOUT CORE

The first CORE group was organized in 1942 by James Farmer and a group of students at the University of Chicago who believed that it was time, in his words, "to substitute bodies for exhortations." The bodies went into service immediately in sit-ins and on picket lines. CORE spread across the country as its local chapters pioneered in non-violent techniques.

CORE is an interracial group. Membership involves no religious affiliation. It is open to anybody who opposes racial discrimination, who wants to fight it and who will adhere to CORE's rules. It was formed to give individuals a chance to act effectively.

CORE's techniques enable large numbers of ordinary people to participate in campaigns to end discrimination. To those who are the targets of discrimination, it provides an alternative to bitterness or resignation and, to others, an alternative to mere expressions of sentiment. It offers as a credo Thoreau's words: "What I have to do is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn."

PROGRAM

Organ Prelude	
Invocation	Rabbi William Silverman Temple B'nai Jehudah
Battle Hymn of the Republic	Audience
Welcome	Dr. Howard Nelson, Jr. Chairman, K. C., Mo. Chapter
Presiding	Robert Gore Community Relations Officer
Greetings	Hon. Paul Mitchum Mayor, Kansas City, Kansas Hon. Ilus W. Davis Mayor, Kansas City, Missouri
Address	Floyd B. McKissick National Chairman, CORE
Freedom Songs	Audience
Address	James Farmer National Director, CORE
Announcements	Carl Randolph Chairman, K. C., Kans. Chapter
Benediction	Rev. John W. Williams, Pastor St. Stephen Baptist Church Kansas City, Missouri
We Shall Overcome	Audience
Host Chapters	Kansas City, Kansas and Kansas City, Missouri

NEW YORK
CORE

▶THE COMMITTEE ON RACIAL EQUALITY, SUITE 101, 2090 7th AVE. NEW YORK 27, N. Y. ▶ MOnument 6-0400

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Julian "Cannonball" Adderly
Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Leon J. Davis
Ossie Davis
Ruby Dee
Hal Jackson
Murray Kempton
Mildred Kiefer-Wurf
Will Maslow
Samuel R. Pierce, Jr.
Rev. James H. Robinson
Hilda Siff
Thomas G. Weaver

Proposals for Discussion?

April 7, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National ~~Director~~
Congress of Racial Equality
165 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

For the attention of the
National Action Council

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We are writing about a matter of great concern to us. Recently, through overlapping authority, projects in the New York City area have been jeopardized or mismanaged. This bodes no good for the total civil rights movement in the City of New York. Such confusion as the Americana situation only hampers what we are all trying to achieve. In the interest of avoiding future conflicts, we ask:

A. That the National Office cease and desist from initiating any local projects. The local groups themselves are open to suggestion; also, National's province is the initiating of national projects and to come to the aid of local groups, when such assistance is requested. The National Constitution guarantees autonomy to the local groups and the right to select their own projects, so this request is not unreasonable. And,

B. That no statements concerning local groups, their projects, or internal affairs be issued to the press without prior consent and approval of the local groups.

Thank you very kindly for understanding the necessity of these requests and the need for a sharper definition of authority in the New York area. Best wishes.

Yours truly,

NEW YORK CORE

58

PROPOSALS FOR NATIONAL CONVENTION

I. Program Proposals

A. Permanent boycott of schools (kindergarten to five) beginning in September.

B. Program to end segregated housing. This should involve the government civil rights organizations and white individuals.

(Above submitted by Ollie Leeds of Brooklyn)

C. Establishment by the National Office of a semi-autonomous department of urban renewal. The department's purpose will be to deal with problems of replanning major urban areas, especially where such planning involves the uprooting and relocation of large numbers of minority group persons.

D. Fair Housing (submitted by Vickie Morris)
Declared:

to endeavor to achieve an integrated city-on all levels through creation of OPEN HOUSING.
Although we acknowledge the need to improve present housing conditions, wherever inadequacies exist, that program must not surpass, and must remain separate from, the campaign for Fair Housing. This need has been emphasized by the efforts to create true school integration.

E. Establishment of a program to help Negroes build economic power in their communities. Can be based on a program initiated by New York Core.

II. Proposals for Constitutional changes or clarifications

A. When a project is defined as a local project, only the authorized representatives of local CORE groups involved in the project may issue public statements.

B. A chapter should be allowed to conduct a project without interference as long as it (the project) does not violate the CORE rules of Action.

C. Establishment of uniform dues and uniform membership requirements.

(Above three suggestions submitted by Ollie Leeds)

D. Article 3, Sec. 4 of National Constitution--Membership
Propose that the decision of the Convention be final.
(ditto for section 5)
Article 4, Sec. 1 of the National Constitution

a. Local action groups may be temporarily affiliated by the NAC or Steering Committee of the NAC until the Convention when temporary and unaffiliated groups can be affiliated.

b. When a new group is established in an area where a group already exists, the existing group shall be given the opportunity to make a statement either contesting or agreeing to the new group.

Article 5, Sec. 1.
Affiliated chapters may be suspended by the Steering Committee or the full NAC. Only the Convention can disaffiliate.

Sec. 2.
Suspensions may be appealed to the next highest body.
A suspended chapter may have full rights and privileges at conventions.

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS

Propose that the Convention either adopt a resolution or make a Constitutional provision to allow CORE groups to endorse candidates for political office in their communities.

Propose that the National Convention resolve to attempt to get a meeting of all civil rights groups to come together under one federated organization to plan and direct projects to eliminate discrimination in America. We also hope to avoid duplication of effort in the fight.

PLEASE NOTE:

1. There was general agreement on the need for some kind of body to be concerned specifically with disputes between chapters. Whether this should be an arm of the National Action Council of an entirely separate group composed of, say, chapter chairmen on a rotating basis, is still open to debate.

2. This is a tentative list of proposals. It is open for revisions and additions. All proposals, when settled upon, will be spelled out in greater detail before being submitted to the Convention.

I propose that the National CORE Constitution be amended to read that no chapter or group of chapters can be forced by any group of chapters or by the National Office to participate or not participate in any local or national action project against their will, and that no chapter, group of chapters, or the National Office shall issue public statements of disagreement with the project of any other chapter or of the National Office or on any disagreement or split within the ranks of CORE. Ellen Hawley

---

It was brought to my attention by Congressman William F. Ryan that there has been a Federal judgeship available in the 5th Circuit Court District for many months.

This judgeship is in an area that will be greatly affected by the Civil Rights Bill. Four years ago, Kennedy had to sell these judgeships to Federal judges to carry some Southern states. If Johnson sells this judgeship the whole effect of the Civil Rights bill in this area will be nullified.

Suggestion:

Coordinate CORE units on a nationwide level to put on a simultaneous demonstration to bring this important but little known issue to the attention of the public.

1964 CORE National Convention

Report of the Resolutions Committee

Owing to limitations of time, the Committee was unable to give full consideration to all draft resolutions submitted to it. The following report consists only of those draft resolutions which it was able to consider. Exclusion of a draft resolution from this report should therefore not prejudice its consideration by this Convention, should its maker chose to bring it to the floor, or by the NAC, to which all such resolutions shall be forwarded from this Committee in the form in which they were received by it.

Resolution on an Internal Bulletin and Preconvention Discussion:

There is a need to direct the energy frequently expended in discussions of the "Nonviolence: Tactic or Philosophy" type into channesl more conductive to the development of an adequate nonviolent strategy.

There is also a need for discussions within the General Membership meetings of chapter which would enable it to send as delegates to the national conventions persons democratically instructed as to how the chapter wishes its votes cast onal principal issues.

Neither of these needs can be satisfied by occasional letter-writing or by discussions carried on in a public periodical such as the CORE-lator.

This Convention therefore resolves:

1) That an Internal Bulletin be established for discussion of the development of nonviolent straegy, of policy matters in general, and of proposed changes in the constitution of the organization;

2) That no major policy or constitutional proposals shall, except in cases of emergency, be submitted to a national convention which have not appeared for discussion in the Internal Bulletin;

3) That the circ ulation of this Bulletin be limited to active CORE members, and that it appear as frequently as submissions warrant, and as often as possible during the three-month period prior to national conventions, which shall be a period of preconvention discussion in the chapters; and

4) That each chapter desiring to do so shall submit material for publication in this Bulletin to a national staff person who shall be appointed its editor, and who shall prepare the contents of the Bulletin for publication and forward it in suitable form to the printer.

The convention takes note of the fact that the Los Angeles chapter possesses offset equipment, by which the Internal Bulletin could be reproduced much more cheaply than by mimeograph, and recommends that the National Office consider the possibility of assigning this printing responsibility to the Los Angeles chapter.

Resolution on Pooling Information about Unity Groups:

Many CORE chapters, especially in the Northern cities, are involved in unity groups with various civil rights and other organizations. These unity groups are sometimes successful, sometimes unsuccessful. They also differ widely in organizational structure and composition. The chapters should have comparative information which would enable them to urge such changes in their unity groups' organizational structure and composition as might be likely to

continued....

increase the movement's momentum within them.
This Convention accordingly directs the National Office to collect information from the appropriate chapters concerning 1) the structure of the unity groups to which they belong, 2) other groups involved and the role played by these, and 3) the extent to which the movement has gained momentum within these unity groups. The National Office is further directed to compile and forward this information to all chapters.

Refer to NAC

Fesolution on Membership Criterion:
It is the sense of this Convention that active membership in CORE should be open to all persons willing and able to engage in or support nonviolent direct action to end racial discrimination, in accordance with the CORE Rules for Action; and that evidence of such willingness and ability should be the only criterion of CORE membership. This Convention accordingly declares Sections 1 and 2 of Article IX of the By-laws null and void.

HOUSING RESOLUTION Proposed by Ralph Temple, Washington, D.C. Adopted by the Resolutions Committee:

Whereas in 1962 President Kennedy signed Executive Order 11063 to end racial discrimination in federally assisted housing projects, yet 1½ years later the racial ghettoes are still full. The Order has had practically no effect because of: (1) its extremely limited scope; and (2) the failure of the housing agencies of the Federal Government to enforce the Order.
CORE therefore resolves that:

Ref. to Program

1. President Johnson should broaden the Executive Order to cover all housing on which mortgage loans or other financial assistance are made by banks and other lending institutions which participate in the Federal Reserve System, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, or other federal programs; and to cover all such federally assisted housing, wherever constructed.

2. President Johnson and Housing Administrator Robert Weaver should require procedures, such as compliance reporting and governmental inspections, to prevent racial discrimination in federally assisted housing, rather than continuing to rely solely on complaint procedures; and to reform the present complaint procedures to eliminate delay, to protect the procedural rights of complaints, and to take action when violations are shown.

3. CORE censures the heads of the federal housing agencies, particularly the heads of Public Housing and Urban Renewal, and most particularly Federal Housing Commissioner, Philip Brownstein, who have failed to administer their programs for the benefit of all American, and have failed to enforce the Executive Order on Housing.

Adopt

Resolution proposed by the Washington, D.C. Chapter of CORE:
CORE reaffirms its earlier resolution calling for self-government in Washington, D.C., and end to the colonial-type domination of that City by Southern Congressmen.

continued....

Resolutions Proposed by Bronx CORE

I Institution of definite lines of demonstration wherein the powers of the proposed Metropolitan Action Council be outlined.

A. To wit: A system of checks and balances be instituted to safeguard the autonomy of local chapters.

B. That these checks and balances contain provisions such as:

C. The proposed Metro Act. Counc. serve as a clearing house wherein each chapter may be kept abreast of another local chapter's activities.

D. That the Metro Act. Council serve in an advisory capacity as to the implementation of direct action projects.

E. That the proposed Metro Act. Council refrain from any punitive actions either on an organizational level, or through condemnation via various local news mediea.

II Each chapter be allowed to be represented by two members of each chapter on a convenient day of the month in order to:

A. Clear any grievances which might tend to arise.

B. Coordinate the activities of each chapter to insure a semblance of agreement on proposed chapter activities.

Metropolitan Action Council

A proposed Council which in effect would eliminate confusion, and insure uniformity of programs launched in large Metropolitan areas. This proposed Council would in effect decide those activities which would be in the best interest of all chapters located in selected Metropolitan areas. Theoretically this idea is good, however, a very basic issue is at stake, namely local chapter autonomy.

Resolution Proposed by Westchester County CORE

When a chapter is involved in a project and determines that it needs assistance, any chapter in the immediate vicinity or locale should be committed to lending such assistance with utmost possible expedition.

It is further requested that all chapters commit themselves to lending such assistance and further, notify in writing each chapter in its locale that such a commital is made.

The aforementioned assistance includes the use of chapter members in picketing or demonstration projects, and/or any other means of assistance which is requested, that is within the ability of that chapter called upon to provide.

continued....

Resolution Proposed by Herb Callender of Bronx CORE

In view of: the many problems that city, county and state officials have posed to those individuals, dedicated to protecting the gross injustices of discrimination in many areas of the country.
Whereby: these officials have as "Administrators of the Law" in fact refused to abide by the law in regard to the rights and welfare of the non-white people and their children.
And whereas: Public funds have been used to build houses, and schools, etc. and in most cases the contractors and/or the unions involved are segregated and discriminate against the masses of unemployed non-whites which is in many areas a vilation of the state laws (an example being Public Law 220 E in N.Y.).
Be it therefore resolved that: where the law permits public official who continually break the law which specifically states where public funds are used to support projects where discrimination exists be placed under "Citizens Arrest" and charged with "misappropriation of public funds" which is in most states a felony punishable by law. Those who administer the law must live within the law; those who administer the law are not to abuse it.

Resolution Proposed by Jerry Zellar of Columbus CORE

That the National Officers, ~~and~~ staff ~~in consultation with~~ and NAC ~~membership be~~ be hereby instructed ~~by this Convention~~ to ~~inaugurate~~ initiate a strong, comprehensive and sustained national program of direct-action and civil disobedience around the Mississippi project. calls
This ~~program shall ask~~ for the ~~total~~ commitment and sustained support of every CORE chapter in the country.
That such a program implement the following general guidelines for the project:

1. That the action undertaken be of a sustained character as long as deemed necessary by the staff.
2. That strong and dramatic civil disobedient tactics be utilized, similar in character to the Freedom Rides.
3. That all chapters be urged to give priority to this project and where not possible to render all possible assistance in any other strategy and tactics.

Resolution Proposed by James Hamilton of Columbia, Mo. CORE

In order to awaken, arouse and challenge the conscience of America concerning the tragic economic plight and widespread and deepening poverty into which Negroes and other minority groups have fallen, The Congress of Racial Equality supports the substance of the recent resolution of the Negro American Labor Council:

1. in calling for a day of Nationa-wide work-stoppage and prayer vigil.
2. we, therefore, call on the Congress of the United States to lower the

continued....

the legal work week to 30 hours with no reduction in pay

3. and, to raise the national minimum wage to $2.00 per hour as demanded by the March on Washington and expand it to cover all workers, as well as starting a massive public works program to clean up the slums and provide jobs for unemployed workers.

SCHEDULE

CORE National Convention

July 2-5

Hotel Muehlebach, Kansas City, Missouri

Thursday, July 2	12 Noon - 6 P.M.	Convention Registration
	7:30 P.M.	Public Meeting--Farmer & McKissick
Friday, July 3	9 - 10:30	Workshops
	10:45 - 12:15	Workshops
	12:30 - 1:30 P.M.	Lunch
	1:30 - 3 P.M.	Workshops
	3:15 - 6:15 P.M.	Plenary - Little Theatre
	6:30 P.M. - 7:30	Supper
	7:30 - 9:30 P.M.	Plenary - Little Theatre
	9:30 P.M.	Committee Meetings.
Saturday, July 4	9 A.M. - 12 Noon	Plenary
	12 Noon - 1:30	Lunch
	1:30 P.M. - 6:30	Plenary
	7:30 P.M. - 9:00	Plenary
	9:00 P.M.	Party
Sunday, July 5	9 A.M. - 12 Noon	Elections & Plenary - Music Hall
	12 Noon	Lunch
	1 P.M. - 3 P.M.	Plenary
	7:00 P.M.	"An Evening with Dick Gregory & Louis Lomax"

1964 Convention Workshops

Developing Community Roots

James Farmer, National Director
Blyden Jackson, former chairman of New Haven CORE

Legal Problems

Floyd McKissick, National Chairman
Carl Rachlin, General Counsel

Political Education

Ernest Calloway, Research, Teamsters Union

Community Relations

Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director

Housing

Walter Thabit, Urban Planner

Role of Religion

Robert Spike, Director, Committee on Race & Religion
National Council of Churches

Economics & Employment

Michael Harrington, author, "The Other America"

Philosophy of Nonviolence

Wallace Nelson, former CORE Field Secretary

Education & Schools

Patricia Sexton, Associate Professor, New York University

16 March 1964

Mr. Eugene Bournour
5780 Westminister Place
St. Louis 12, Missouri

Dear Gene:

So far no arrangements have been made for the Convention other than to decide upon one of the Kansas Cities. I have been in touch with Constance Timberlake of the Missouri chapter and Leila Shanks of the Kansas chapter, and they have made preliminary contacts with some large hotels which indicate that they can house the Convention.

Your job, therefore, will be to pick the hotel (and therefore the city), negotiate some kind of a commitment from the hotel to us in writing. You will also have to cope with any political problems, vis-a-vis the relationship between the two chapters.

The dates for the Convention are July 2 thru 5. This would mean that the Convention will actually start the evening of July 2 and end Sunday afternoon, so that in most cases housing for delegates would not be desired the night of the 5th. A couple of weeks ago these dates were available, apparently, to hotels in both cities. The dates have already been sent out to the chapters, so it would be most difficult (although I suppose still possible) to shuffle them.

We will expect about 750 people. This is a very rough estimate, but it is the best that we can do now. We should be able to have a more accurate estimate sometime in June. Usually the hotel has a reservation card especially for conventions which they can supply for us to mail out to the delegates to be returned directly to the hotel. The two hotels with which the chapters have made contact are the Town House in Kansas and the Muehlebach in Missouri. At the Town House we were quoted rates of $12 per couple and $8 per single, and were quoted a rate of $100 per day for the ballroom (for the general meetings) and $8.50 to $[illegible] for smaller meeting rooms.

5

Continued.....

At the Muehlebach we were quoted figures of $11 per day double and $7 per single. Actually we would use very few singles and I would think we should be able to negotiate a price of no more than $8 for a double or possibly $4 per person based on three to a room.

I suppose that $6 would not be unreasonable for a single. Generally for a convention of this size, the hotel will not charge for the convention meeting rooms.

On the face it appears that the Muehlebach in Missouri is preferable due to lower rates and the probability of no additional charge for the convention hall and other meeting rooms. Also, the Town House indicated that they did not have facilities for a banquet which we will probably want to hold.

In addition to a meeting room where the entire body can convene, we will need during the day on Friday about eight rooms for workshops. Each room should have a capacity of from 75 to 100 persons. We may have to juggle this based on what they have available. We will also need facilities for a banquet, as I mentioned; a press room; and a small office space large enough for a couple of typewriters, a mimeograph machine, a desk and ~~two~~ two or three people.

I believe that about does it. You will just have to do your best to locate the required facilities at the best price. You will have to use your own discretion in certain matters, but feel free to call me during the negotiations if necessary. You will not be in a position to sign any contracts or binding agreements, and as a matter of fact, more negotiations could conceivably be required after your first visit. In all likelihood, any further negotiations could be carried out by letter. It is important that you determine which hotel chain the chosen hotel belongs to, since we would be able to negotiate or at least put pressure on from the national office.

That's about all I can think of for now. If you have any question, ~~don't~~ just call. Good luck!

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Office

GRC:LP

P.S. Mrs. Shank's phone is MA 1-0531;
Mrs. Timberlake's is WA 1-0834

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

MH MZ NL PD MANHATTAN KANS MAR 18

CARL RANDOLPH

940 GREELEY ST KANSAS CITY KANS

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY WOULD BE PLEASED TO ACCOMMODATE THE NATIONAL CORE CONVENTION WE CAN OFFER THE FOLLOWING FACILITIES 1. LIVING ACCOMMODATIONS FOR 950 ON CAMPUS AT COST OF $2.25 PER PERSON PER DAY 2. ADDITIONAL HOUSING FACILITIES OBTAINABLE OFF CAMPUS 3. AUDITORIUM MEETING ROOM BANQUET ROOM PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND VISUAL AIDS YOUR IMMEDIATE CONFIRMATION OF HAVING THE CONVENTION HERE IF PLANNED DATE NUMBER IN ATTENDANCE IS DESIRED SO THAT WE MAY PROCEED WITH PLANS

DAVE BENSON CHAIRMAN

430A CST

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CORE

Congress of Racial Equality

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS CHAPTER

940 Greeley

March 19, 1964

MAR 23 1964

OFFICERS

CARL RANDOLPH
President FI 2-8237

WALLACE DOWNS
Vice-President

BEATRICE GORDON
Recording Secretary

LELA K. SHANKS
Corresponding Secretary

MARTHA CRAHAN
Treasurer

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

JESSE FREESE
Employment

ROBERT O'GORMAN
Public Accommodations

CHESTER OWENS
Youth

HUGHES H. SHANKS
Education

HELEN FREESE
Housing

FLORENCE ANDERSON
Ways and Means

Mr. Gordon Carey, Convention Chairman
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

In your communique you stated that you preferred to have the national convention in the midwest. We think that the prices that we have here will certainly be competitive to any other city. We are most interested in having the convention in Kansas in 1964 and so are the people in Manhattan. We believe that this will be an ideal place for us at the same time to launch our state-wide and midwest-wide campaign for new chapters.

We have a new chapter here at the college and apparently two new chapters at two other colleges real soon. We are not trying to influence you, but we hope these prices will.

Respectfully yours,

Carl D. Randolph

CDR/lks

20 March 1964

Mr. Carl Randolph
940 Cresly
Kansas City, Kansas

Dear Mr. Randolph:

As you know CORE has decided to have its National Convention in either Kansas City, Kansas or Missouri. I had hoped to be able to get to Kansas City earlier to make arrangements with a hotel but have not been able to do so. Next week I believe you are already expecting a visit from field secretary, Eugene Tournour. I have given Mr. Tournour all of the arrangements and he will be discussing with you and the chapter across the river plans for the Convention. He will be prepared to negotiate an agreement with a hotel.

We are looking forward to having the Convention in your vicinity July 2 - 5, and I am sure that you will give Mr. Tournour all of the cooperation and assistance possible.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

20 March 1964

Mrs. Constance Timberlake
4729 East 44th Terrace
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Mr. Randolph:

As you know CORE has decided to have its National Convention in either Kansas City, Kansas or Missouri. I had hoped to be able to get to Kansas City earlier to make arrangements with a hotel but have not been able to do so. Next week I believe you are already expecting a visit from field secretary, Eugene Tourncur. I have given Mr. Tourncur all of the arrangements and he will be discussing with and with the chapter across the river plans for the Convention. He will be prepared to negotiate an agreement with a hotel.

We are looking forward to having the Convention in your vicinity July 2 - 5, and I am sure that you will give Mr. Tourncur all of the cooperation and assistance possible.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

HOTEL
Continental

BALTIMORE AT ELEVENTH / KANSAS CITY 5, MISSOURI

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

APR 2 1964

March 30, 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Carey:

Last Saturday, your Field Secretary, Mr. Eugene Tournour, visited me here at the Hotel Continental regarding a meeting of 700-800 for July 2-5 and a dinner for approximately 500.

Our Continental Room, which I showed your representative, will seat a maximum of 800 theatre style. I, also, showed Mr. Tournour five other rooms that would seat from 75 to 100 for individual meetings.

As for sleeping rooms, we talked of putting three people in a room. At this time, I did not realize that we had only 40 cots, however, we only have 90 rooms that we will be able to put cots in. If we have to use over 40 cots, I will no longer be able to charge only $4.00 for each additional person. I will have to add $3.50 for the cost of rental for the cots and mattresses and $.50 for the additional pillow.

Enclosed find a menu brochure for the dinner. The prices that are opposite the entree do not include the tax and gratuity. We would need at least a minimum of 1-1/2, preferably 2 hours, between the meeting and dinner to set up the room which will be the same room as the meeting for 700-800 people will be using.

Your representative, Mr. Tournour, and I did not discuss the prices on the rooms that I showed him. This will depend upon the rooms that are chosen for the meetings.

Hoping to hear from you as soon as possible to assure you of the availability of this space.

Sincerely yours,

HOTEL CONTINENTAL

Robert E. Lewis,
Catering Manager

REL:kso
Enclosure

St. Louis, Mo.
March 31, 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
National CORE
New York

APR 3 1964

Dear Gordon:

The following is a resume of possible locations for the coming annual convention. I have listed them in order of preference.

#1. Kansas State University campus facilities:

a. Housing: Maximum capacity-900 units. (not air conditioned)
Rate-$8.00 per 3 nights, linen, soap, towels, furnished.
Apartment units available for families, or couples, same rate as above.

b. Food: Cafeteria style available every day, average daily expense, approx. $2.00 to $3.00
Banquet style, served meals, $2.00 to $3.50 per meal.

c. Meetings: Common assembly:

1. Student Union main hall, 1,000 Max. Cap. Usual rate to small groups of 25 to 50 25¢ a head, per day. (This can be negotiated. Campus CORE chairman, David Benson, is checking cheaper rates, which will be quoted in the University statement coming to you this week.)

2. Williams Auditorium (housed in Student Union, as are all meeting facilities noted) Max. Cap. 525. No charge.

Committee Rooms:

1. Student Union main hall can be sectioned off into four units.

2. The Williams Auditorium, plus class rooms and meeting rooms with capacities of 50 to 75, ten in total are available. No charge for any committee room. (Every meeting facility is air conditioned.)

d. Transportation:
Air, rail, and bus terminals are in Manhattan, Kansas where the University is situated. (Buses leave Kansas City Mo. (Greyhound) at 6:45, 9:45 AM; 1:00, 4;45, and 6;30 PM weekdays. Time to Manhattan approx. 3 hr. and 15 Mins.)

You will be contacted this week by Mr. John Kitchens, Asst. Prof. in charge of Continuing Education. He will have verified the above for our committment. You will also be hearing from Mr. David Benson, campus CORE (to be) chairman about other details. In order for us to secure

this place it is necessary that the University (through Kitchens) be satisfied that there is an integral educational function to the convention. Benson, who is on the faculty has a list of faculty members who wish if possible to be commentators (i.e. some kind of participant) in workshop discussions. This appears to be no problem. Although Manhattan is by no means the most heralded of spots, both the capacity and rates of the facilities are much better than anything available in the K.C.K, K.C.M. area. Also re. expenses, pool, bowling and other campus recreational facilities are at our disposal, gratis. P.S.!!!!!!Kansas is a dry state in respect to selling individual drinks. Let the delegates be warned, and forearmed.

2# Town House Hotel, Kansas City Kansas:

a. Housing: Max. Cap. 600 persons, 3 to a room.
Rates: 3 to a rm. $5.00@
2 " $6.00@
1 " $7.00@
(Since the capacity available is below the expected minimum we'd need other space. No other resident hotels in K.C.K. A Holiday Inn motel four blocks away would have room for only 90 reservations . Also high rates: $9.23 single, $14.36 double, $16.00 triple.)

b. Meetings: Common Assembly:
Grand Ballroom, Max. Cap. 600
Jr. Ballroom, Max. Cap. 200 (smaller adjacent room to Grand Ballroom, view of latter partly cut off by walls.)

Committee Rooms: enough for our purpose.
(No charges on meeting facilities.)

Because of the limited housing facilities, and the slightly awkward common meeting arrangement for a group of over 600,not the best arrangement to be had. If necessary, as a choice, we could probably meet the housing problem by shuttling delegates from hotel space across the river in K.C. Mo., and, or by putting people up in K.C.K. , and K.C.M. Core member's homes. Not the best of arrangements.

3# Talked to John Swomley at St. Pauls Seminary, and officials of Kansas City University, both in a six block vacinity, Between dormatory space at K.C. University, St. Paul's and Rockhurst College, also in the area we might secure housing for about 700 people. None of the three except St. Pauls very enthused about a deal, ~~except St. Pauls~~(their max. cap. 200). Exhorbitant meeting rates at K.C.U, only common meeting space available that is large enough in that general vacinity....$200.00 per day, flat rate for Student Union meeting hall.

4# Muehlebach Hotel unavailable because of recent committment of their ball room to national bridge tournament. They have no other adequate meeting space available. Only other adequate meeting place near them, the Municipal Auditorium, handled by C.of C.,too costly— $200.00 per day, plus maintenance costs.

5# and 6# Checked both the Continental and President Hotels. Continental,

rates were too high (list enclosed) and President unacceptable on both counts of rates and space.

You should recieve quotations on space and rates this week from Town House, Continental, and Muehlebach Hotels (along with Municipal Auditorium rates from C.of C.)

If you want to reach me for anything else I'll be up Kansas City, Mo. way again for the workshop on the 10th of April, and after that in the Ohio and W.Va. area. I personally like the atmosphere at the Manhattan campus in addition to other considerations--hope you don't have too much trouble selling the chapters.

Sincerely

Gene Tournour

Clem Howson Allis Press, 910 Central

BAltimore 1-2424

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF KANSAS CITY
Convention and Visitors Bureau

1030 BALTIMORE KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, 64105

E. L. "LEW" PAVEL, MANAGER
MARY NUGENT, ASSISTANT MANAGER
R. C. BISHOP, ASSISTANT MANAGER—SALES

APR 3 1964

April 1, 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Carey:

Recently Mr. Eugene Tournour and Mr. Ossia Gordon visited with this Bureau and with arepresentative of the Muehlebach Hotel relative to the possibility of a meeting of CORE in Kansas City on the dates of July 2-5, 1964, and Mr. Tournour asked that we confirm our conversation by letter to you this week.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the Muehlebach's proposal relative to meeting rooms and banquet prices.

We have checked with the Auditorium and find that the Music Hall would be available on the dates requested. This Hall seats 1290 persons on the orchestra level, with approximately 1300 additional seats on the two balcony levels, which we understand would not be required. The special convention rate of $125 per day would prevail unless a collection was taken, in which case the regular rate would prevail on those days that a collection was taken.

In addition to rental revenue (which is actually a partial clean-up charge only), your organizationwould be responsible for elevator operators at a rate of $2.00 per hour (a minimum of two operators), and stagehands (current rate $23 per day with the possibility of this rate being increased at the next negotiation session). Number of stagehands required is, of course, subject to the type of meeting to be staged.

The only other public space in downtown Kansas City capable of accepting a group the size of yours isthe Grand Ballroom of the Muehlebach Hotel, which is previously committed to a bridge tournament. This tournament, however, would not interfere substantially with the capability of that hotel in the matter of sleeping rooms.

If we can be of any other service,please feel free to contact us.

Sincerely,

E. L. Pavel,
Manager.

ELP/gmk

Hotel Muehlebach
and Towers

Utility Service Elegance

TELEPHONE GRAND 1-1400 · TELETYPE KC 530
KANSAS CITY 5, MISSOURI 64105

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES

March 30, 1964

Mr. Eugene Tournour, Field Secretary
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Tournour:

I enjoyed very much the opportunity of meeting with you during your recent visit to Kansas City and, in order to recapitulate those items we discussed during your stay, I am submitting the following information;

Hotel Muehlebach at the present time is in a position to set up a block of 400 rooms for the use of your organization July 2nd through the 4th. Approximately 200 of these rooms would accommodate three or four persons at $4.50 per day, per person. It is my understanding that should you accept Kansas City's proposition you would be using the Music Hall and several of the committee rooms within the Municipal Auditorium for your business sessions as well as the Arena for your banquet on Saturday night, July 4th. We at the hotel are equipped to handle the catering of the banquet in the Municipal Auditorium should you so desire. Our minimum banquet service in the hall is $5.00 per person, plus tax and tip. You will recall that it is necessary for us to increase our cost per person when we serve at the Municipal Auditorium because of the setting up charges which the hotel must pay to the hall, plus the rental of tables and chairs which we assume.

May I suggest that if you and your organization decide to convene in Kansas City that you advise us immediately so that we may place the necessary hold on the rooms as needed.

Cordially yours,

HOTEL MUEHLEBACH

Robert B. Coyner

Robert B. Coyner
Director of Sales
v

THE TOWN HOUSE

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

PHONE FI 2-7500 TELETYPE KC KAN 1010

APR 15 1964

April 13,1964

Mr. Gordon Corey
Core
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Greetings Mr. Corey:

On March 28th I wrote you in reference to your CORE meeting for July 2, 3, 4 and 5 of 1964. At the time I talked with your Mr. Tournour we had a tentative booking on another meeting for these dates but we were not sure they would take the dates.

It so happens that the other group have decided on these dates so it would be impossible to accommodate you at this time. Trusting you will understand our position in this matter and hope to serve you at some later date.

With kindest regards.

Optimistically yours

A. L. Lew
General Manager
Town House

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AIR C

THE TOWN HOUSE

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

PHONE FI 2-7500 TELETYPE KC KAN 1010

March 28, 1964

Mr. Gordon Corey
Core
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Greetings Mr. Corey:

Last evening it was my pleasure to visit with your Mr. Tournour, your Field Secretary and happy to know we are being considered headquarters for your Congress of Racial Equality meeting, July 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Am herewith enclosing a floor plan and information sheet showing our public facilities and it is my understanding that your meetings may run as high as 700/800 persons. You will note the ballroom and junior ballroom connect and with the use of our excellent sound system all would be able to hear and most all of your people would be able to see the speakers. Also note that we have other rooms for your break-down meetings.

The agenda Mr. Tournour has given us would be as follows - - registration from 1 - 5 PM on Thursday, July 2nd with a general session that evening. Registration during the day of July 3rd with general sessions and some break-down meetings. July 4th general session, some break-down meetings and a banquet that evening. July 5th general sessions. Also, he has requested a press room and a room for operations. All the above mentioned meeting facilities would be free gratis.

In reference to rates - - most of your folks would have to be housed three to a room to take care of the maximum group. The rate quoted would be $5.00 per person three to a room. Most of our house is equipped with twin bedded rooms so in the case of these rooms it would be an additional rollaway. For those wishing to go two to a room in twin beds the rate would be $6.00 per person.

THE TOWN HOUSE

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

PHONE FI 2-7500 TELETYPE KC KAN 1010

Am enclosing banquet menus showing our various prices.

We boast of excellent food at sensible prices in three public restaurants, one remaining open Around-the-Clock.

All of our rooms offer free garage parking, television and radio. We are but five to seven minutes from the airport and ten to twelve minutes from the Union Station.

Can assure you with our know-how and excellent facilities we can to a grand job for you. Trusting to receive your definite reservation and kindest regards.

Optimistically yours

A. L. Lew
General Manager
Town House

ek
encls.

Kansas State University

Manhattan, Kansas

Division of Extension
Department of Continuing Education
Umberger Hall

MAY 15 1964

May 12, 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

Thank you for your letter of May 6, 1964, in which you outlined plans for the 1964 CORE Convention.

I regret the necessity of having to inform you that under the plans you presented it is not possible for Kansas State University to host the 1964 CORE Convention. It is the consensus among the department heads and administrative unit heads whom I contacted in regard to sponsorship of this event that Kansas State University can contribute little in the way of helping CORE chapters share common experiences, undergo training in non-violence, and carry on the business of the organization.

This University does, on the other hand, share with other institutions of higher learning the feeling of urgency in helping meet the social and cultural changes which are taking place in our country. Opportunities to plan educational conferences with equal representation of the University faculty, off-campus groups, and the Conference Office are always welcome. There is a contribution Kansas State University can make to a solution to social problems, but this contribution must be other than serving, for the most part, as a low-cost housing host.

Your consideration of Kansas State University is appreciated.

Very sincerely,

John E. Kitchens

John E. Kitchens
Coordinator
Conferences & Short Courses

JEK:jw

25 May 1964

Mr. E. L. Pavel, Manager
Chamber of Commerce of Kansas City
Convention and Visitors Bureau
1030 Baltimore
Kansas City, Missouri 64105

Dear Mr. Pavel:

Enclosed you will find copies of my letters to Mr. Coyner and to Mr. Antonello as well as a copy of our tentative schedule and Convention announcement. I want to thank you greatly for your help in securing these accommodations and for you continued cooperation.

You will notice that I plan to be in Kansas City July 1, 2 and 3, and I believe it would be helpful if I could talk with you then. Any suggestions that you may havetto facilitate orderly execution of our meeting will be helpful. Thanks again.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

25 May 1964

Mr. John Antonello
Director Municipal Auditorium
13th and Wyandotte
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Mr. Antonello:

This letter will confirm our earlier conversation about use of the facilities of the Municipal Auditorium for the 22nd Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality. We have secured housing facilities at the Muehlebach Hotel and from our conversation, I am certain that arrangements at the Auditorium which we discussed are entirely satisfactory. I plan to be in Kansas City June 1, 2 and 3, and I would like to meet with you during that time.

I am enclosing a copy of the tentative schedule for the Convention as well as the Convention announcement. The earliest that we will require use of your facilities is for the July 2 public meeting at 7:30 P.M. This should be a large meeting and will require use of the music hall.

I believe that the Little Theatre should be suitable for the plenary sessions indicated on the schedule for July 3, 4 and 5. On July 3, we will have eight workshops for the hours noted. I have written to Mr. Coyner to see what facilities will be available at the Hotel for these workshops.in addition to rooms available at the Auditorium.

I trust that this letter in conjunction with the enclosed tentative schedule will be sufficient for you to draw up a contract.

If you need more information, please call or write. Otherwise, I shall look forward to seeing you sometime during the first three days of June. Thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

25 May 1964

Mr. John Antonello
Director Municipal Auditorium
13th and Wyandotte
Kansas City, Missouri

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Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

25 May 1964

Mr. Robert B. Coyner
Director of Sales
Hotel Muehlebach
Kansas City 5, Mo.

Dear Mr. Coyner:

This letter will confirm CORE's use of the Hotel Muehlebach for housing its delegates to our 22nd Annual Convention, meeting July 2 - 5, in Kansas City. It is my understanding that most of our meeting facilities will be available at the Municipal Auditorium. I am expecting between 800 and 1,000 persons to be present at the Convention. I understand from your letter of March 30, to Mr. Tournour that special rooms will be available at $4.50 per day per person. For your information, I am enclosing a copy of the announcement of the Convention which has been sent out to our chapters as well as a tentative schedule. You will notice on the bottom of the announcement a slip which is to be returned to me giving an approximation of the number of delegates from each chapter. By June 15, I hope to be in a position to give you a much closer estimation of the Convention attendance.

On the tentative schedule you will notice that we have scheduled a National Action Council and Staff Meeting to begin Tuesday noon and run through Thursday noon. I wouldllike to know whether you will be able to supply housing and a meeting room for this meeting as well. There should be 50 persons in attendance and a single meeting room to accommodate them will suffice.

By noon Thursday, July 2, we should set up a registration desk in the Hotel. There may be other facilities of the Hotel which we may want to use, but I will have to be in Kansas City early in June. Probably we can make those arrangements at that time. We will need to set up an office as well as a press room, but I am not certain at this point whether they should be in the Hotel or in the Auditorium. Furthermore, we plan to have eight workshops which will require a meeting capacity of approximately

100 persons each. I understand that the Municipal Auditorium can accommodate most, but not all, of these workshops. I hope that we can find additional facilities at the Muehlebach. You will notice on the schedule the suggested hours for these workshops on Friday, July 3.

To date I have made no arrangements for meals. In your estimation would it be feasible to have the delegates get their meals on their own in the Hotel and in near-by restaurants, or can some other arrangements be made at the Hotel or elsewhere? Unfortunately, most CORE members are of limited finances, and we must make every effort to keep their Convention costs to a minimum.

I believe that this about covers everything for the time being. I will probably be in Kansas City June 1, 2 and 3. If this is satisfactory, I would like to meet with you then.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

10 June 1964

Mr. Robert B. Coyner
Director of Sales
Hotel Muehlebach
Kansas City 5, Mo.

Dear Mr. Coyner:

I am terribly sorry for the inconvenience caused you on Friday morning, June 5. I tried to reach you at the Americana on Thursday the 4th and was told that you were not registered there. I wanted to cancel the appointment since I am certain that we worked out all details satisfactorily with John Gilman.

As luck would have it, my secretary was out Friday morning also and was unable to give you the message. Again, let me say that I hope that this was not too much of an inconvenience for you. I will be looking forward to seeing you on June 30 when we arrive for a staff and National Action Council Meeting. The reservation cards just arrived and they are being sent out to the chapters.

Thanks so much for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

25 May 1964

Mr. Robert B. Coyner
Director of Sales
Hotel Muehlebach
Kansas City 5, Mo.

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100 persons each. I understand that the Municipal Auditorium can accommodate most, but not all, of these workshops. I hope that we can find additional facilities at the Muehlebach. You will notice on the schedule the suggested hours for these workshops on Friday, July 3.

To date I have made no arrangements for meals. In your estimation would it be feasible to have the delegates get their meals on their own in the Hotel and in near-by restaurants, or can some other arrangements be made at the Hotel or elsewhere? Unfortunately, most CORE members are of limited finances, and we must make every effort to keep their Convention costs to a minimum.

I believe that this about covers everything for the time being. I will probably be in Kansas City June 1, 2 and 3. If this is satisfactory, I would like to meet with you then.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

15 June 1964

Miss Anna M. Schmall, Booking Dept.
MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM
1310 Wyandotte Street
Kansas City 5, Missouri

Dear Miss Schmall:

I am in receipt of your letter of June 5 and the two copies of the contract and lease. Both copies are being returned here and I understand that one is to be returned to me.

I believe that everything is in order except for a small item in regard to the Little Theatre. On July 3 we will not need that space until 2 P.M. Also, because of a change in our plans, we ask that you reserve it for us the evening of July 4 until 9:30.

One elevator operator will be sufficient for the evening of July 2 at the Music Hall. Two operators will be satisfactory for the workshop session during the day on Friday, July 3.

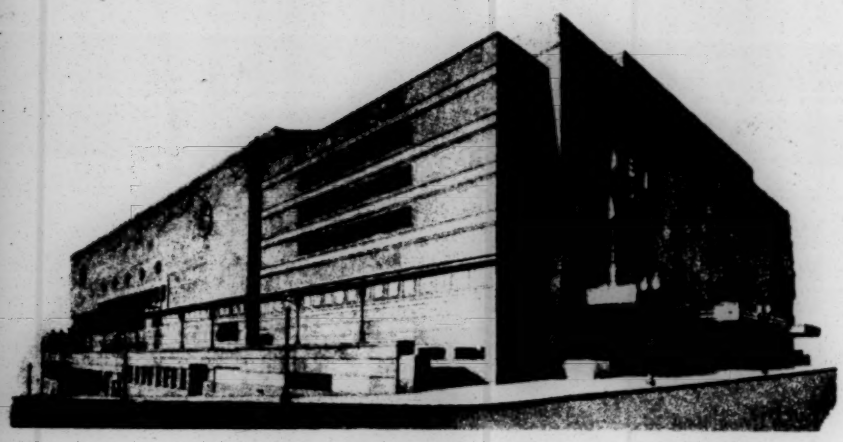
I am not quite sure of the function of the maids which you mention in your last paragraph on the first page. However, if this to be as an attendant in the ladies' room, I do not believe it will be required.

I want to thank you very much for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC":ajLP



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CITY OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

1310 WYANDOTTE STREET
KANSAS CITY 5, MISSOURI

June 5, 1964

JUN 8 1964

JOHN F. ANTONELLO
DIRECTOR

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

ADVISORY BOARD

MARTHA FRANKLIN
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CLINT KANAGA, JR.
JULIUS KOENIGSDORF
PAUL G. KOONTZ
W. S. MORRIS
E. L. "LEW" PAVEL
HARRY REITZ
NATHAN STEIN

Dear Mr. Carey:

Enclosed are duplicate copies of contract for use of various facilities for the 22nd Annual CORE Convention. Please sign both copies and return to this office for the Director's signature. A completed copy will then be returned to you.

There will be some other expense items and employee overtime which are not covered specifically in the contract.

Included in the other expense items will be stage employees, guards, doormen, ushers, maids, etc. I believe you have already discussed your stagehands requirements with Mr. LaMonica.

Since this is a 3-day Holiday weekend, we will incur some employee overtime. Be assured that we will strive to hold this overtime to the lowest possible figure but can not at this moment tell you what it will be.

For your information, we have listed some of the other expense items which you may incur.

SEATING CAPACITIES

MAIN ARENA . . . 10,500
MUSIC HALL . . . 2,572
LITTLE THEATRE . . 600
COMMITTEE ROOMS 25-500

EXHIBITON HALL
90,000 SQ. FT.

Elevator Operator(s) for Music Hall. $4.50 per performance (2 1/2 hr. show) One operator on duty for the Music Hall sessions may be sufficient, however, should you have a large crowd for the opening session, you may wish to have two operators.

Maids $1.25 per hour, 4-hour minimum. Should you have a large number of women present, we do suggest this service. I believe one maid would be sufficient unless your attendance gratly exceeds the present estimate.

Two elevator operators will be necessary to handle the Workshop Sessions

MEMBER OF AMA INCORPORATED AUDITORIUM MANAGERS ASSN

in the 4th and 5th Floor Committee Rooms. We will arrange to have them on hand. The cost will be $2.00 an hour for each operator.

We will have the table and chairs available for your use in the Arena Foyer.

The East Arena ticket office space has also been reserved for your use.

A piano is available in the Music Hall pit at no additional charge. A Grand Piano is also available for your use on Music Hall stage. There is also a piano available to you at no charge in the Little Theatre.

The public address system in Little Theatre, with up to 4 microphones, will be furnished at no additional charge.

When no reserved seat tickets are used, ushers are usually provided by the local convention committee.

Should you have need of further information, please do not hesitate to get in touch.

Yours very truly,

Anna M. Schmall

(Miss) Anna M. Schmall
Booking Dept.

s

Enclosure

Air Mail

18 June 1964

Mr. Hughes H. Shanks
KKansas Chapter of CORE
940 Greeley
Kansas City, Kansas

Dear Mr. Shanks:

I received your letter and report sent on behalf of the Co-ordinating Committees of the Kansas City chapters. We were indeed pleased with the plans to date and are looking forward to a most successful and enjoyable Convention.

Letters have been sent to the persons marked on your platform guest list which I am returning. For those individuals not marked I would suggest a letter of invitation be sent from the chapters. Enclosed is a sample of the letter which we sent. The two governors and two mayors were invited to bring greetings as well as be present on the platform. Also, President Johnson has been invited to send a representative or to send personal greetings. Likewise, Rev. John W. Williams has been asked to give the benediction and Rabbi Silverman the invocation. I will check with Bob Gore to see if he will M.C. Enough about Thursday night's meeting.

If you can do a good job by Gestetner, then I would suggest that you use it. Finances must be taken into consideration, but if printing is essential then that will be satisfactory.

I am enclosing a check for $200.00 to assist in providing seed for the various events. The report of the Entertainment Committee and your Convention Publicity Committee look excellent. Just one thing--hold up on the press conference with Farmer until I check with him and Community Relations. Bruce Gordon will be arriving in Kansas City on June 22 to assist in making final arrangements.

Finally, the staff and NAC will greatly appreciate your plans for a social on July 1. You can be assured that they need an opportunity to relax.

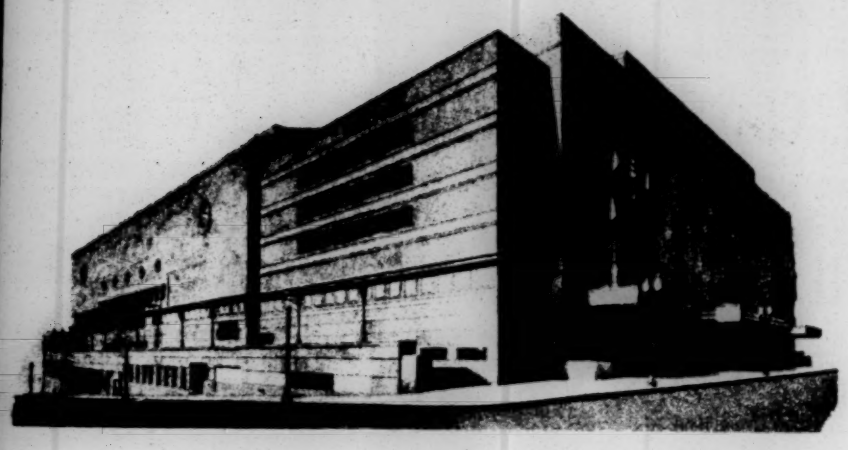
Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Howard Nelson
Carl Randolph

P.S. The "Nite with Dick Gregory and Louis Lomax should be billed as "A Nite with DICK GREGORY & LOUIS LOMAX and James Farmer & Floyd McKissick."



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JUN 22 1964

CITY OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

1310 WYANDOTTE STREET
KANSAS CITY 5, MISSOURI

JOHN F. ANTONELLO
DIRECTOR

June 18, 1964

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York

ADVISORY BOARD

MARTHA FRANKLIN
NORMAN P. GORDON
CLINT KANAGA, JR.
JULIUS KOENIGSDORF
PAUL G. KOONTZ
W. S. MORRIS
E. L. "LEW" PAVEL
HARRY REITZ
NATHAN STEIN

Dear Mr. Carey:

Your copy of executed contract is enclosed.

We have noted the change in time for use of Little Theatre July 3 and 4. This letter will serve as an Addendum to Contract and Lease No. 06710 as concerns the Sunday evening, July 5 program. Since this is an activity for which an admission charge is made, the regular rental rate of Three hundred fifty ($350) Dollars, plus expense, shall apply.

The other expense items would include stagehands, tickets, guards, ushers, doormen, elevator operators, etc.

It will be very helpful to us in scheduling our employees time to have specific information concerning time of meeting, rooms used, as well as the set up information, as early as this information can be made available to us.

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to get in touch.

SEATING CAPACITIES

MAIN ARENA . . . 10,500
MUSIC HALL . . . 2,572
LITTLE THEATRE . . 600
COMMITTEE ROOMS 25-500
EXHIBITON HALL
90,000 SQ. FT.

Yours very truly,

Anna M. Schmall

(Miss) Anna M. Schmall
Booking Dept.

S

Enclosure

MEMBER OF AMA INCORPORATED AUDITORIUM MANAGERS ASSN

CONTRACT AND LEASE

This Agreement, made on the 5th day of June, 19 64,
by and between the City of Kansas City, Missouri, a municipal corporation, acting by the Municipal Auditorium Director, hereinafter designated as the Lessor, and

agent or representative of **CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY**
c/o Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York Co 7-6270
hereinafter designated as Lessee,

WITNESSETH: That the Lessor, in consideration of the covenants and agreements herein contained, and of their faithful performance by the Lessee, hereby agrees to furnish said Lessee units and facilities in the Municipal Auditorium Building, situated at 13th and Wyandotte Streets, Kansas City, Missouri, during the hours and upon the dates and subject to the conditions, covenants and agreements hereinafter specified, as follows:

MUSIC HALL: JULY 2, 1964 - Evening Meeting 7:30p-10:30p
JULY 5, 1964 - Morn & Aft Meetings 9:00a-3:00p
LITTLE THEATRE: JULY 3, 1964 - Day & Eve Meetings - 9:00a-9:30p
JULY 4, 1964 - Day Meetings - 9:00a-6:30p
COM. ROOMS 400, 402, 403, 404, 502, 503: JULY 3, 1964 - Day Meetings 9:00a-3:00p

Lessee shall furnish Lessor written schedule of set up, time of meetings, etc., at least five days before first meeting date so that Lessor may schedule employees time to mutual advantage.
Lessee shall furnish Lessor with a copy of Certificate of Insurance covering activities.

For the following and no other purpose:
CONVENTION MEETINGS

Subject to permission of the Lessor and conditions stated herein, properties may be installed **in Music Hall the afternoon of July 2, in Little Theatre and Committee Rooms early morning of July 3, 1964. All properties shall be removed in each unit at the close of the last activity in such unit as scheduled above.**

The Lessor further agrees:

To permit the Lessee, upon the faithful performance of the terms of this lease, peaceably and quietly to have, hold and enjoy the use of said premises for the purposes and for the term aforesaid; to furnish, at the Lessor's expense, reasonable heat or air conditioning for the said premises; to furnish, at the Lessor's expense, light for ordinary use only, for said premises, when and as required in the reasonable opinion of the Director of said building; to furnish water from the Kansas City Water Works by means of the regularly installed appliances for ordinary toilet and drinking purposes only. Lessor shall not be held liable for any delays, failures or accidents which may affect such services and facilities. **Lessor shall furnish ordinary meeting room set up in Little Theatre and Committee Rooms which shall include capacity seating and one six foot table in each unit. Additional equipment such as extra tables, blackboards, easels, etc., shall be furnished by the Lessee.**

The Lessee, for and in consideration of such leasings, agrees to pay the Lessor as and for rental of said units and for the use of said facilities: **A service charge of One hundred twenty-five ($125) Dollars per each date in Music Hall; A service charge of Seventy-five ($75) Dollars per each date in Little Theatre. Lessee shall pay for any and all other expense incurred for or by Lessee, such as: Stagehands, electrician, guards, ushers, doormen, maids, elevator operators, etc., and for any and all added services required. For use of the Committee Rooms, the Lessee shall pay for necessary expense incurred by the Lessor for clean-up. Lessee shall pay for elevator operator services (2 operators) to the Committee Rooms.**

On execution and delivery of this instrument a deposit of $_____ is required.

The Lessee shall be liable for any and all taxes imposed (Federal, State, County or City) on salaries, wages or services rendered beyond that covered in this lease and such salaries, wages or services rendered shall be paid direct by the Lessee.

Both the Lessor and the Lessee agree and understand that if a flat rate is to be paid or free use given for the rights of the Lessee under this contract and lease, then the Lessee is to pay all municipal, state and federal taxes upon the receipts taken in, which are required to be paid, whether in the nature of a sales tax, amusement tax, privilege tax or any other kind of a tax, and if the Lessee claims to be exempt from any such tax the Lessee shall in advance obtain in writing a statement from the proper governmental branch acknowledging its exemption and present such statement to the Director of the Auditorium in advance of the particular performance or occasion to which the exemption relates. Further, in the absence of such a presented exemption the Lessor is hereby granted a lien upon all moneys received in its custody for any performance, exhibition or other public use and from such money shall be entitled to take therefrom such sum as is necessary to pay the tax or taxes owing. If the Lessee is to pay a percentage of the receipts taken in on any performance, exhibition or other public use for its right received under this contract and lease, then the Lessor shall have a general lien upon all such money taken in, with the right to take from such money such sum as is necessary to pay said tax or taxes, and then from the remaining amount the parties hereto take their specified percentages. Further, the Lessor shall have a lien over all box office receipts with the right to take therefrom the money owed it as rental under this contract and lease, and also a lien over said box office receipts for the purpose of and with the right to deduct from said box office receipts a sufficient amount of money to pay the costs of stage hands, musicians, ushers, door men, ticket takers, spot light operators, motion picture operators, and any and all other employees of said Lessee who may be called in, either by said Lessor or by said Lessee, for the convenience of said Lessee and at the said Lessee's request, for said attraction provided for by this contract and lease, it being distinctly understood and agreed, however, that all and each of the above mentioned employees are and remain employees of the Lessee herein solely, and the Lessor is in no way or manner responsible for any moneys whatsoever claimed by said employees for work or labor done in any way in connection with said attraction.

The Lessor and the Lessee agree that:

1. The Lessee may advertise any performance, exhibition, attraction, or public display which meets with the approval of the Director of the Auditorium as to the means and manner of such advertising. No programs shall be sold without the consent of said Director. A violation of this clause is agreed and understood to be against the essence of this contract, and shall be considered a violation of the whole contract, rendering it voidable at the option of the Lessor.

2. That said Lessee will comply with all rules and requirements of the Police Department and Fire Department and other municipal authorities of Kansas City, and will obtain and pay for all necessary permits and licenses, and will not do or suffer to be done anything on said premises during the term of this lease in violation of law. All decorations used inside of the building must be of non-inflammable materials or fire proofed. Nothing must interfere with the ventilating system. No booths or obstructions of any kind shall be allowed in front of exits, rest rooms and water fountains.

3. That said Lessee shall not injure, or mar, or in any manner deface said premises, and shall not cause or permit anything to be done whereby the said premises shall be in any manner injured, marred or defaced; and will not drive or permit to be driven, nails, hooks, tacks or screws into any part of said building or equipment, and will not make or allow to be made any alterations of any kind therein; that no bills, signs or other articles shall be pasted, nailed or otherwise attached to any part of the interior of said building in such manner as to injure, deface or destroy the same, nor shall any signs, bills or other articles be in any manner attached to the exterior walls of said premises or any other portion of said premises without the approval of the Director of the Auditorium.

4. The Lessee hereby agrees to indemnify and save harmless the City, its officers, agents and employees from and against any and all loss of, or damage to, property, or injuries to, or death of, any person or persons, including property of the City, and shall defend, indemnify and save harmless the City, its officers, agents and employees, from any and all claims, damages, suits, costs, expense, liability, actions or proceedings of any kind or nature whatsoever, in any way resulting from, or arising out of, directly or indirectly, Lessee's operations in connection herewith, or its use or occupancy of any portion of the Municipal Auditorium, including acts of commission or omission of employees, representatives or agents of the Lessee, but this indemnification shall not apply to occurrences which are due to the sole negligence of the City of Kansas City, its agents or employees.

Lessee covenants and agrees that it will, upon the termination of the term hereof as herein provided, surrender and deliver up the demised premises in as good order and condition as existed at the commencement of the term hereof, acts of God and ordinary wear and tear excepted.

5. That said Lessee shall not assign this lease or suffer any use of said premises other than that herein specified, or let or underlet the same, or suffer any article to be brought into or act done on said premises which vitiate or increase the premiums on the policy or policies of insurance held by the Lessor on its building, of which said premises are a part.

6. That the Advisory Board of the Municipal Auditorium and the Municipal Auditorium Director shall have at all times free access to said premises for the purpose of making necessary inspections or attend to any other matter which is usual and customary in the managing and regulating of said building. Further, that the Advisory Board of the Municipal Auditorium, through the Director of the Municipal Auditorium, shall have the right to select from the entire list of available seats a limited number of seats of his own choice, all said boxes and seats being provided to said Director for each and every performance, exhibition or display given, without cost or other remuneration.

7. That the keys and other locking devices shall at all times be in the possession and control of the Lessor.

8. Said Lessee agrees to abide by and conform to all rules and regulations from time to time adopted by or prescribed by the Lessor, for the government and management of said building; to take the proper care of the demised premises during said term; to quit and surrender up said demised premises to the Lessor at the end of said term in the same condition as at the date of the commencement of this contract and lease, ordinary use and wear thereof, and damage by fire, the elements, explosion or other casualty excepted. The Lessee hereby acknowledges and recognizes that certain portions of the Municipal Auditorium and certain functions that are carried on therein operate under certain union regulations and on a union basis. The Lessee agrees that if his particular function, exhibition, display, or use, is of the type that comes within these union rules recognized by the Director of the Municipal Auditorium, then the Lessee agrees to operate under them and abide by them.

9. That if the said premises, or any part thereof, shall become vacant during said term, the Lessor or its representatives may re-enter the same either by force or otherwise without being liable for any prosecution therefor, and may at its own option relet the said premises as the agent of said Lessee and receive the rent therefor, applying the same, first, to payment of such expenses as may be incurred in re-entering and reletting said premises, and then to the payment of the rent due under this contract and lease; the surplus, if any, to be paid over to the Lessee, and said Lessee covenants and agrees hereby to pay to the Lessor, on demand, the balance, if any, of the rental herein agreed to be paid remaining after deducting the net rental resulting from such reletting; but nothing herein contained shall be construed as imposing any obligation on the Lessor to relet or attempt to relet the said premises nor does the Lessor assume any such duty, nor shall anything herein contained be construed in any way to affect the obligation of the Lessee to pay the full amount of said rental in case said premises shall not be so relet.

10. That in case the Municipal Auditorium Building, or any part thereof, shall be destroyed or damaged by fire or any other cause; or if any other casualty or unforeseen occurrence, including strikes, labor disputes, lockouts, boycotts and civil insurrections, shall render the fulfillment of this lease or any of the terms thereof by the Lessor impractical or impossible, then and thereupon this lease shall terminate; and in the event the term of this lease shall have begun prior to any such occurrence, the Lessee shall pay rental for said premises for the number of hours for the unit leased at the rate herein specified; and in the event of any such occurrence prior to the beginning of the term of this lease, then this lease shall not become effective; and in either event, said Lessee hereby waives any claim for damages or compensation because of any such termination. In case of any such termination any portion of Lessee's deposit which represents unearned rent will be returned to the Lessee.

11. That the Lessor and its employees, servants and agents shall not be responsible for any damage or injury that may happen to the property of the Lessee, or to the property of the Lessee's agents, servants and employees, or to property that may belong to any other person, including any of the general public that may attend said leased portion of the Auditorium, where said loss arises from theft, fire or any other circumstance not caused by Lessor's negligence.

12. That the Lessor, through its concessionaire, reserves the sole right to sell or serve refreshments, including food, confectionery, drinks, cigars, cigarettes and other such articles; the sole right to sell or vend programs, librettos, souvenirs and novelties, and the right to conduct check stands and the Lessee shall not engage in any of the aforesaid business in the building.

All foodstuffs, beverages and other concession items are controlled by exclusive contract with the concessionaire, and such exceptions as are permitted, must be secured by permission of the Auditorium Management.

13. That the Lessor reserves the right to remove from the building all effects of whatsoever nature left within it by the Lessee after the expiration of the time covered by this contract and lease; or to charge an additional rental at the same rate per date provided in this contract if written notice is given to the Lessee to remove such effects, and they are not immediately removed; and the Lessee agrees to pay to the Lessor an amount to cover the cost of removing such effects or the cost of such additional rental.

14. That in the handling, control, custody, and keeping of receipts and funds and moneys, whether the same are received through the box office or otherwise, the Lessor is acting for the accommodation and benefit of the Lessee, and that as to such receipts and funds the Lessor shall be responsible only for gross neglect or bad faith. The Lessee promises to do no act that will prejudice the insurance of the Lessor concerning the bonding of the employees of the Lessor in the handling of the box office receipts. The Lessee further agrees with the Lessor that the only persons who are to have the right to be in the box office are those employees of the Lessor directly engaged in the box office work, the Director and the auditing accountant for the Municipal Auditorium, and the manager of the Lessee for the purpose of checking the number of sales made, and no others.

The Lessee or the Manager of the Lessee must remain on the premises as long as the leased portion of the building is open to the public.

15. The Lessee hereby agrees that the Lessor has the unqualified right to cancel this contract and lease without refunding any money paid thereunder, and without paying for any loss or damage to said Lessee, if the Lessee has misrepresented in any manner or in any degree the type or nature of the attraction to be held in said leased premises, if said misrepresentation in any manner influenced said Lessor in entering into this contract and lease, and said Lessee hereby agrees that said Lessor is the sole judge, through its duly appointed agent, the Director of the Auditorium, of whether or not the said misrepresentation did so influence it in entering into said contract and lease; further said Lessee assumes the duty of disclosing to said Lessor whether or not the attraction to be held in said leased premises is in any manner or means of a political nature, and failure to so disclose makes this contract and lease voidable at the election of the Lessor.

16. The said Lessee further covenants, agrees and understands that if any default is made in the payment of the rent or any part thereof at the time above specified, or if any default is made in the covenants or agreements herein contained, this contract and lease and the relation of landlord and tenant at the option of the Lessor, shall cease and terminate and the relation of the parties shall be the same in all respects as if said term had fully expired, and the said Lessor may re-enter the said premises and hold the same as of its former estate therein, remove all persons therefrom, and resort to any legal proceeding to obtain such possession, and the said Lessee shall notwithstanding said re-entering, pay the full amount of said rental as herein agreed to be paid.

17. The Lessor and the Lessee hereby agree, stipulate, and recognize that in the entering of this contract and lease they are not in any way partners, co-partners, or in any way jointly interested in any mutual enterprise but are to each other Lessor and Lessee respectively, and occupy that status only.

18. Lessee agrees to give Lessor immediate possession of said premises upon Lessor's demand therefor in event the United States Government, or any of its departments or agencies, requests Lessor to make such space available for their use. In the event of such surrender of the space, any unearned rent and any portion of the Lessee's deposit which represents unearned rent shall be refunded to the Lessee.

19. Lessee understands that Lessor does not discriminate or permit discrimination against any racial groups in the seating of those purchasing tickets for events in the Municipal Auditorium.

This agreement shall bind the parties and their respective heirs, executors, administrators and assigns.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the City of Kansas City, Missouri, a municipal corporation, represented in this contract by its Auditorium Director, has caused this contract to be signed by its Auditorium Director, for and on behalf of Kansas City, Missouri, and the Lessee has signed the same, in duplicate.

This contract must be signed in duplicate and returned to Lessor within ten (10) days or it may be considered null and void.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

By _____
Municipal Auditorium Director.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

By _____
Lessee.

Fidelity & Casualty Co. of N.Y.
Name of Lessee's public liability carrier

_____
Address

All remittances should be made payable to "Municipal Auditorium".

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

NO 16710

LESSEE

DATE JULY 2-5, 1964

UNIT VARIOUS

MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

KANSAS CITY 5, MISSOURI

Lessor,

TO

Congress of Racial Equality
c/o Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National Director
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Lessee.

RECEIVED _____ Dollars

By _____

Date _____, 19____

41

LA RUE PRINTERS-LITHOGRAPHERS

6900-010 (Revised 6/62)

Address

Name of Lessee's Battle Institute Center

BY

Municipal Auditorium Director

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

BY

Lessee

ALL TRANSFERS SHOULD BE MADE PROMPTLY TO
"Municipal Auditorium"

CONCESSIONAIRE AGREEMENT

of Kansas City, Missouri, and the Lessee has signed the same, in duplicate.

This contract must be signed in duplicate and returned to Lessor within ten (10) days or it may be considered null and void.

10. The said Lessee further covenants, agrees and understands that if any default is made in the payment of the rent or any part thereof at the time above specified, or if any default is made in the covenants or agreements herein contained, this contract and lease and the relation of landlord and tenant at the option of the Lessor, shall cease and terminate and the relation of the parties shall be the same in all respects as if said term had fully expired, and the said Lessee may re-enter the said premises and hold the same as of its former estate therein, remove all persons therefrom, and resort to any legal proceeding to obtain such possession, and the said Lessee shall nevertheless said re-entering, pay the full amount of said rental as herein agreed to be paid.

11. The Lessor and the Lessee hereby agree, stipulate, and recognize that in the execution of this contract and lease they are not in any way partners, co-partners, or in any way jointly interested in any manner whatsoever.

12. Lessee agrees to give Lessor immediate possession of said premises upon Lessor's demand therefor in event the United States Government, or any of its departments or agencies, requests Lessor to make such space available for their use, in the event of such emergency, as the space was not a portion of the Lessee's depos which reasonably must be retained to the Lessee.

13. Lessee hereby agrees that Lessor does not discriminate on account of race, color, or national origin in the furnishing of space in the Municipal Auditorium.

14. Lessee agrees that all business and their respective heirs, executors, administrators and assigns.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the City of Kansas City, Missouri, a municipal corporation, hereunto has caused this contract to be signed by its Auditorium Director, for and on behalf of said City, and the Lessee has signed the same, in duplicate.

Convention 1964

23 June 1964

Mr. John Gilman
Hotel Muehlebach
Kansas City 5, Mo.

Dear Mr. Gilman:

While it is very hard to judge it appears that we will have between 500 and 550 in attendance at the Convention. It may go higher than that, but could hardly drop much below 500. I probably will not be able to get any more complete estimate until they actually arrive.

Just a couple of things I wanted to check on: Does the Hotel have any arrangement for supplying babysitters? Secondly, is there a swimming pool at the hotel?

Within a couple of days you should have in your possession a list of names for whom rooms should be reserved beginning on June 30 for the joint NAC - Staff Meeting. I will be looking forward to seeing you again shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Gilmore

Hotel Muehlebach

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64105

AREA CODE: 816 471-1400 • TELETYPE: 816-556-3304

Staff meeting
Press room & office
workshops
Meals
Reservation
Room assignment

Meals arranged for NAC - Staff or as able

banquet *

* 2 rooms
1 @ 110 9-4
1 @ 125
To Be conf.

$100 for 3 room at hotel

CONVENIENT TUNNEL CONNECTS HOTEL MUEHLEBACH AND TOWERS WITH 1250 CAR AUDITORIUM PLAZA GARAGE AND MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York City, N.Y. 10038
25 June 1964

The National Officers and Staff at the Kansas City, Missouri National Convention

F. B. McKissick, National Chairman - Noted North Carolina Civil Rights Attorney; first Negro to attend the University of North Carolina Law School; long history of activity in NAACP & CORE.

James Farmer, National Director - Led CORE's Freedom Ride and numerous other projects North and South. Jailed last summer in Plaquemine, La.; founder of CORE in 1942.

Rudolph Lombard, 1st Vice-chairman - former Chairman of New Orleans, La. and Syracuse, N.Y. CORE chapters; Ph.D candidate University of Syracuse; currently working in Mississippi.

Wilfred Ussery,-2nd Vice-chairman - member of San Francisco CORE; architect.

Ralph Rosenfeld, Secretary - Chairman of Detroit CORE; businessman.

Alan Gartner - Chairman of Boston CORE; teacher; consultant on police practices.

Richard Haley, Associate National Director - Director of CORE's Southern operation; former professor of music at Florida A & M University and member of of Tallahassee CORE.

Gordon Carey, Assistant to the National Director - directed and coordinated Freedom Rides and Freedom Highway Projects; former CORE Field Secretary and Program Director;

Norman Hill, Program Director - affounder of Negro American Labor Council; staff of March on Washington.

James T. McCain, Director of Organization - former college dean; former high school principal and teacher from South Carolina; former State President of South Carolina Council of NAACP Branches; former CORE Field Secretary; senior CORE staff member.

Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director - a founder of St. Louis CORE; former staff of Teamsters' Union and former State Chairman of CORE.

Departmental Assistants:
Val Coleman
Robert Gore
Eugene Tournour
will be present along with other staff and field secretaries.

JUN 24 1964

4328 Brandywine Street, N.W.
Washington 16, D.C.
June 23, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I joined Washington CORE recently because I was so impressed by what I have seen and heard of Julius Hobson and of CORE's acheivements in Washington under Mr. Hobson's leadership. If Mr. Hobson is to be expelled from CORE, if national CORE will not let Washington CORE'S democratically elected officers remain in office, I, too, would like to leave CORE. This has been a disillusioning experience.

Sincerely,

Barbara L. Myers

Barbara L. Myers

MEMO TO: ALL CHAPTER CHAIRMEN AND ALL FIELD STAFF
SUBJECT: NATIONAL CONVENTION

WITH ONLY THREE MONTHS TO GO, THE PLANS FOR THE UP-COMING CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION ARE GATHERING PACE AND INTENSITY. IN MANY RESPECTS THIS WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CONVENTIONS OF OUR ORGANIZATION AND ALL CHAPTERS ARE URGED TO BEGIN TO MAKE THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS TO BE REPRESENTED.

THE CONVENTION THIS YEAR WILL TAKE PLACE IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA. THE EXACT PLACE FOR MEETINGS AND ACCOMMODATIONS WILL BE SENT OUT AS SOON AS FINAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE COMPLETED. AS USUAL, OUR CONVENTION WILL TAKE PLACE ON THE WEEKEND OF JULY 4TH. THIS YEAR THE CONVENTION WILL START ON SATURDAY, JULY 1ST AND END ON TUESDAY, JULY 4TH.

THE CONVENTION COORDINATOR IS THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, WILFRED USSERY FROM SAN FRANCISCO AND THE WESTERN REGIONAL DIRECTOR, LOU SMITH IS WORKING CLOSELY WITH HIM ON THE PLANNING. ALSO ON THE STAFF IS THE NEW WESTERN REGION FIELD SECRETARY, ALEX HAWKINS.

I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF THE THINKING AND INITIAL PLANS WHICH ARE NOW BEING MADE. FIRSTLY, THE THEME OF THE CONVENTION. THE FOLLOWING THEMES ARE BEING CONSIDERED AND IT WOULD BE APPRECIATED IF CHAPTER CHAIRMEN OR STAFF MEMBERS SEND US THEIR SUGGESTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE: "ACQUIRING BLACK POWER," "BLACK POWER IN ACTION," "PLANNING FOR BLACK POWER," "BLACK POWER AT HOME AND OVERSEAS," "PROGRESS THROUGH BLACK POWER."

IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF THE DRIVE FOR THE ACQUISITION AND USE OF BLACK POWER, IT WAS FELT BY THE INITIAL PLANNING COMMITTEE THAT WE SHOULD MAKE SOME ATTEMPTS TO HAVE AS OUR KEYNOTER, THE HEAD OF STATE OF ONE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS OR A WELL KNOWN AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTER. THE NAMES WHICH HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED AND ARE UNDER CONSIDERATION AT THE PRESENT TIME ARE AS FOLLOWS: MR.JULIUS NYERERE OF TANZANIA, MR.SEKU TOURE OF GUINEA, MR.KWAME NKRUMAH FORMERLY OF GHANA AND MR.DENNIS BRUTUS OF SOUTH AFRICA. IF IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO GET ANY OF THE ABOVE NAMED GENTLEMEN, IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO PERSUADE ONE OF THEIR AMBASSADORS TO SPEAK.

ON THE QUESTION OF POLITICS, THE MAJOR SPEAKER IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE WOULD BE: THE HON.ADAM CLAYTON POWELL OR THE HON.JULIAN BOND.

SPEAKING ON THE BROAD ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF BLACK AMERICANS, IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT ONE OF THE FOLLOWING WOULD ACCEPT: MR.HERBERT MUHAMMAD, MANAGER OF MUHAMMAD ALI AND SON OF THE HON.ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, MR.BARRY GORDY OF MOTOWN RECORDS, MR.EARL DICKERSON, OR MR. BILL RUSSELL.

ON THE QUESTION OF SELF-IMAGE, WE ANTICIPATE PERSUADING EITHER MR.LARONE BENNETT OF EBONY MAGAZINE OR MR.JOHN KILLENS, WELL KNOWN

NEGRO WRITER TO BE THE SPEAKER.

RESOURCE PEOPLE FOR THE IMAGE WORKSHOP MIGHT BE DR.ALFRED CANNON OR DR.PRICE COBB OF THE WEST COAST OR DR.AL POUISSAINT OF TUFTS UNIVERSITY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN TO THE ENTERTAINMENT AND FUND RAISING AREA, AND THE NAMES SUGGESTED ARE ABBIE LINCOLN, MAX ROACH OR THE LAROC BEY DANCERS.

IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT THERE WILL BE A NUMBER OF WORKSHOPS IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS: LEADERSHIP TRAINING WITH LIVINGSTON WINGATE OR C.T.VIVIAN. BLACK POWER AND RELIGION, REV CLEAGH OF DETROIT OR DR. W.T.BREWSTER JR. BLACK CONSUMER BLOC WHICH WOULD BE A CORE FUNCTION USING THE EXPERTISE AND EXPERIENCE OF CORE STAFF WORKERS SUCH AS JOHN ZIPPERT OF THE SWEET POTATO COOP IN OPELOUSAS, LOUISIANA. PROBLEMS OF THE CORE CITY, DR.HERMAN BLAKE OR DR.PRESTON WILCOX. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION TECHNIQUES, AGAIN A CORE PANEL.

THE FOLLOWING STANDING COMMITTEES ARE REQUIRED TO INSURE ORDERLY TRANSACTION OF CONVENTION BUSINESS: REGISTRATION AND CREDENTIALS, RESOLUTIONS, CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, AND NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL OFFICE.

FURHTER WORKSHOPS IN SUCH AREAS AS MEMBERSHIP AND FUND RAISING, PUBLIC RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS, CHAPTER ADMINISTRATION AND RESEARCH, AND PROJECT DEVELOPMENT, ARE ALSO BEING CONSIDERED.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT CHAPTER CHAIRMEN ADVISE THE NATIONAL OFFICE AT THEIR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE OF THE INTENTION OF THEIR CHAPTERS TO BE REPRESENTED AT THE CONVENTION AND ALSO THE AREA OR AREAS OF THEIR SPECIFIC INTEREST. FROM THE OUTLINES DETAILED ABOVE, IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS THAT THIS WILL BE A BUSY CONVENTION.

I AM IN THE PROCESS OF DISCUSSING WITH TRANSWORLD AIRLINES, THE FEASIBILITY AND POSSIBILITY OF CHARTERING AN AIRCRAFT TO TAKE THE DELEGATES FROM THE EAST COAST TO CALIFORNIA. AS SOON AS CONCRETE INFORMATION ON FARES, TIME OF DEPARTURE, ETC. ARE AVAILABLE, I WILL FURTHER COMMUNICATE WITH YOU. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THE FARE WILL BE OF THE ORDER OF APPROXIMATELY $250 TO $300.

AGAIN, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT CHAPTERS AND STAFF WORKERS ADVISE THIS OFFICE OF THEIR SUGGESTIONS AND OR CRITICISMS OF THE PLANNING UP TO DATE. ONLY BY SO DOING, CAN THE VIEWS OF INDIVIDUALS AND CHAPTERS BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON OUR PLANNING.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
LINCOLN O.LYNCH, ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR
APRIL 4, 1967

24 June 1964

Dear CORE Member:

Mr. Julius Hobson, chairman of Washington, D.C. CORE and a member of the National Action Council, was expelled from CORE by unanimous action of the June 19 Steering Committee. The Washington chapter was also placed under trusteeship for a period of 90 days.

Charges against Mr. Hobson were first brought by dissident members of Washington CORE to the May meeting of the National Action Council in Philadelphia. The NAC reported the matter to the Steering Committee in order that a full hearing might be held. On May 8, 1964 the group bringing charges, called the "Ad Hoc Subcommittee for an Effective Washington CORE Chapter," formally requested in a letter to the National Director that Mr. Hobson be expelled from CORE and that the chapter be placed under trusteeship. On May 22 the Steering Committee held a hearing to consider Mr. Hobson's expulsion. As indicated in the minutes enclosed, they took no action at that time but issued a number of directives to Mr. Hobson and the Washington, D. C. chapter.

Mr. Louis Smith was assigned on May 22 to work with Washington CORE. His investigation indicated that the directives of the NAC had not been followed and Mr. Hobson indicated that he was unable to control the membership, that the chapter was so split as not to be able to function effectively and by unanimous vote, trusteeship was ordered.

Mr. Hobson has the right to appeal the expulsion to the floor of the Convention and has been so informed. This is the first time that an active member has ever been expelled by National CORE. The Steering Committee, after hearing both sides, concluded that it had no other alternative.

Floyd McKissick
James Farmer

STEERING COMMITTEE:
6-19-64

WASHINGTON, D. C. CORE

Report from Lou Smith:
June 17, 1964

It is with regret that I must inform the Steering Committee that I have failed as appointed advisor to Washington CORE for the following reasons:

1. There has not been a general membership meeting of Washington,D.C. CORE since the May 22 Steering Committee Meeting, and I have been unable to meet with the entire membership at one time.
2. The lack of cooperation from Julius Hobson and his faction of Washington, D. C. CORE.
3. The unwillingness of Mr. Hobson to obey the instructions of the Steering Committee (the 7 points of May 22).
4. The hostility of the "executive committee" Washington, D.C. CORE toward me, the Steering Committee and the National CORE office.

As of June 16, 1964, according to Mr. Scupi and a check of the records at the Record Hall of Deeds of Washington, D.C., the papers of incorporation have not been withdrawn. New projects have been initiated without the approval of the general membership. Committee chairmen have been appointed without ratification of the general membership.

I have also been instructed by Mr. Julius Hobson to inform you, with the support of the "executive committee", that he will not obey the directives of the Steering Committee; and if we wanted to expel him he further instructed me to inform you that he would then join ACT. I have given the matter much thought and I am forced to recommend the following: That Julius Hobson's explusion be brought up to the June 19 Steering Committee and that Washington, D.C. CORE chapter be placed in immediated trusteeship.

Mr. Hobson gave the following report:

The incorporation has been turned over to a new attorney, who was instructed to drop same. He charged that:

> Unauthorized news releases have been given out in his name;
> That disorderly conduct has made it impossible for him to hold a general membership meeting and advised that he was not called a general membership meeting between May 22 and June 19th.
> He also reported that the chapter does not accept directives of the NAC.

Motion by Lou Smith, second Bob Curvin: Julius Hobson be expelled from membership in CORE for the following reasons:

1. He administered the Washington,D.C. chapter in an undemocratic and irresponsible manner.
2. Violated by-laws of the organization in regard to internal disagreements and news media.
3. Violated CORE rules and procedure in action projects.
4. Misuse of his role as regional representative.
5. Violated CORE's Constitution and permitted irregularities in the membership list.

The Steering Committee finds the five charges to be substatiated. In addition, Mr. Hobson has refused to obey directives 1,2,5 and 7 of the May 22 directive, and there is substantial evidence that directives 3 and 4 were violated, although the Steering Committee cannot make a definitive judgement on these 2.

1. In regard to the conduct of all meetings, full parliamentary procedure is to be followed and respect for all members' rights is to be guaranteed.
2. In regard to all action projects, none shall be initiated or terminated except by vote at a general membership meeting.
3. In regard to news media, the NAC resolution regarding chapter problems is to be strictly adhered to--all statements to news media are to be accurate and in accordance with CORE RULES FOR ACTION.
4. In regard to the office of Regional Representative, no public statements are to be made or actions taken in this capacity except for participation in and voting at Steering Committee, NAC and Convention meetings.
5. The papers of incorporation are to be immediately withdrawn and no further action is to taken in this regard.

6. There are to be no suspensions or explusions from active memebership in Washington, D.C. CORE fwr 90 days, except with approval of the Steering Committee.
7. Appointment and removal of Committee Chairman shall be ratified by the membership at a regualr meeting.

The Committee finds no indication of intent to follow the sum and substance of its directive. Unanimously adopted.

It was moved by Lou Smith, second by Gartner, following a request from a substantial number of Washington, D.C. CORE members, that: Washington CORE be placed under trusteeship for a period of up to ninety days, under the following terms:

The trustee shall be the National Director and he may appoint any dupty or deputies to act in his place and stead. The trustee shall:

(a) have and assume all the powers of all the officers of said chapter as set forth in the chapter constitution, or any by-laws, or any other empowering document of said chapter; and in order to carry out said duty, he shall keep all necessary records and accounts and appoint such necessary assistants as to assist him to carry out these functions; and expend necessary funds for such purpose;
(b) be empowered to request the Steering Committee to terminate the terms of any officers of the chapter and to conduct elections in the chapter, under such terms and conditions as may be determined with due regard to the preservation of all rights of the members of said chapter;
(c) demand that all membership lists, records, books of accounts, bank books and cash and other assets of said chapter be turned over to the National Director and that the present holders of them shall sign or execute any and all documents and assignments necessary for the National Director to carry out his duties hereunder;
(d) use full power to preserve the assets of said chapter, pay all its debt now or in the future and to collect sums due and owing from all sources either from members or otherwise, to receive all gifts or donations, whether in money or property, and to deposit or place same in bank of his own choosing, and in his name as Trustee; that he shall dispense all necessary sums in his capacity as Trustee.
(e) advise with and make recommendations to the Steering Committee as to any problem existing and the extent to which he has received or failed to receive all necessary cooperation to carry out his duties hereunder.

Unanimously adopted.

STEERING COMMITTEE
June 19, 1964

Present: Floyd McKissick, James Farmer, Shirley Lacey, Louis Smith, James Peck, Mark Dodson, Bob Curvin, Julius Hobson, Alan Gartner

Staff: Richard Haley, Norman Hill, Val Coleman, Clora Coleman, Gordon Carey, Marvin Rich, Alan Hoffman, Arthur Williams, Marcia McKenna, Joyce Ware

National Convention - July 2 - July 5, Hotel Muehlebach, Kansas City, Missouri. Forty-eight chapters have indicated already they will be represented. Working papers for the Staff - NAC meeting, June 30 - July 2 are being prepared and will be sent out in time to be studied beforehand.

Financial - Fiscal year June 1, 1963 - May 31, 1964:
Income - $879,683.32
Disbursements - $890,808,23
Expenses above income - $9,726.68. The organization will have to borrow money to survive the summer. Motion by Mark Dodson, second by Shirley Lacey: The organization be authorized to borrow up to $100,000.00. Unanimously adopted. Motion by Dodson: second by Lacey: The organization be authorized to borrow from private sources, interest free, loans up to $100,000.00, and that the officers and the National Director be empowered to execute the security instruments necessary to effecuate such a loan. Unanimously adopted.

The Steering Committee asked that the National office take a closer look at expenditures to see if cut-backs can be made without curtailing program. The committee also urges chapters to make a greater effort to contribute the assessed ten percent to the National office.

Department of Organization

Richard Haley asked that Mississippi not be too harshly judged on the basis of the recently disappointing turn out of voters for the primary election. He also expressed hope that CORE efforts will induce the Federal Government to provide protection for workers in the Mississippi summer program. CORE Vice-Chairman, Rudy Lombard attended orientation session for this project in Oxford, Ohio and will be working in Mississippi this summer. It is probable that Field Secretary Jerome Smith will also work there. Mr. Haley advised that training for the Louisiana Voter Registration Summer program is underway, and pointed out that the dangers in parts of Louisiana are as great as in Mississippi. Ronnie Moore is directing this project.

Floyd McKissick suggested that CORE's General Counsel contact Jack Greenberg of the Legal Defense Fund for legal aid in connection with demonstrations at the Republican Convention. Following discussion of possible expenses connected with said demonstrations, Bub Curvin moved that the West Coast Field Secretary and Vice-Chairman be informed that

National CORE's participation in Republican Convention demonstrations will be limited to the presence of staff personnel and other assistance which will not entail heavy financial responsibilities. But, because of the extreme importance and value of this demonstration, we suggest that all local CORE chapters be immediately contacted for assistance. Second by Mark Dodson. Unanimously adopted. The Program Department was instructed to transmit these instructions to all personnel involved.

The Chicago Summer project is underway with three centers set up on the South, North and West Sides. Some difficulties are experienced due to lack of sufficient funds, but children's programs, including tutoring, crafts, sports, etc. are functioning, as are a referral service for unemployed workers and a planned parenthood clinic. One building has been put on rent strike. Gene Tournour heads this project, working with field secretaries Ron Corwin, Winston Lockett and Velma Hill. In response to a query from Shirley Lacey regarding the feasibility of the project in light of the current financial situation, it was explained that rebuilding of the local chapters through establishment of community roots is of utmost importance. The National Director recently visited here and spoke optimistically of the project.

Voter Education:

17,326 persons were registered by CORE personnel during 1963 and 12,662 so far in 1964 in the states of South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida. Weldon Rougeau, who did such an excellent job in Miami, recently left the staff to return to school. Patricia Due will head the summer program in Florida, underwritten by the Scholarship and Education Defense Fund.

Motion by Dodson, second by Lacey, that Queens CORE be affiliated on recommendation of Jim McCain. Motion adopted with one abstention.

Field Secretary, Marvin Robinson recently resigned. Mary Hamilton has returned to her home in Denver but will continue to work for the organization on an expense basis. Jon Schaefer has also left the staff. A group in Rutgers-Douglas, New Jersey was denied affiliation because of conflicts with the Middlesex Chapter, and confusion surrounding its Community Action Project. It was reported that the group was using the name CORE to raise funds for the project. Motion by Farmer, second by Dodson: The Rutgers-Douglas group many not use the CORE name pending further investigation. Further action will be taken when and if the group applies and is affiliated. The Department of Organization was instructed to so advise the group.

Motion by Gartner, second Curvin

The Steering Committee approve the recommendation of the National Director to hire Louis Smith as a field secretary. Unanimously adopted.

Brooklyn CORE: (Report to National Director from Bob Gore)

Since being assigned to work with Brooklyn CORE by the National Action Council, I have been to several meetings - membership and executive committee - and have had a number of talks with individual members. Their meetings have been conducted, on the whole, in a democratic manner. There is an apparent effort on the part of the leadership and the member-

ship to follow the letter of the National Action Council's wishes in regard to their probation. Currently, they are engaged in two major projects; a rent strike comprising some 170 buildings, and a project for employment on the managerial level at the Dime Savings Bank. At the last meeting of Brooklyn CORE, there were several resignations; from Isiah Brunson, Ollie Leeds and others. It was decided to have a "reorganization" meeting next Monday with the remaining members of the chapter. Pending this meeting on Monday, it will be easier to make a decision about Brooklyn CORE and see where it is heading. Training programs have been suggested from New York, Brooklyn and Bronx CORE Chapters.

Civil Rights Bill:

Implementation was referred to the NAC meeting in Kansas City prior to the Convention. Staff is to bring proposals.

A letter requesting that National CORE take some action against discrimination in the Morman Church was received by the Steering Committee.

The National Chairman called attention to the urgent need of the West Coast for more field staff, and its need for a closer relationship with the National Office. He called particular attention to the Bakersfield-Stockton-San Diego areas where much needed action could be carried on by task force workers. Motion by Curvin, second Lacey: The National Director check the possibility of sending two or three task force people into this area, after the Convention to lay groupwork for a regional project which could be implemented in the fall.

A request for additional national support of the Long Island-Suffolk County CORE chapters migrant workers project was received by the Steering Committee.

6/24/'64
8024 Eastern ave N.W.
Wash 12., D.C.

Gordon Carey

JUN 26 1964

Dear Gordon:

Included is some more of Hobson's oral diarrhea in the press. It may be indicative of the line he will take at the convention.

Yours truly,

Karl Gregory

KARL D. GREGORY

cc Marvin Rich
Floyd McKissick
Louis Smith

P.S. Please bring to Farmer's attention

AFRO AMERICAN 6/23/64 P.1

Hobson to battle CORE ouster

By RAY BOONE

Julius Hobson may be down, but not out.

"I do not intend to quit," the militant civil rights leader, who Friday was booted out of National CORE by its headquarters in New York, told the AFRO Monday when questioned about his future.

The explusion of Mr. Hobson, who was chairman of Washington CORE and the national organization's Southeastern Regional Director, drew to a close a bitter factional battle within the local group.

To remain in the thick of the civil rights fight, Mr. Hobson told the AFRO he plans to become "nationally affiliated with ACT."

ACT, a newly - organized civil rights group, has been described as an organization constituting "the militant

(Continued on Page 2)

-Hobson fired

(Continued from Page 1)

militants."

Persons known be connected with it include: New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Mrs. Gloria Richardson of Cambridge, Md. and the Rev. Milton Galamison of New York.

Mr. Hobson said his faction of local CORE will meet tonight (Tuesday) at the Odd Fellows Hall "to decide what we're going to do."

He added that he would "keep out" all persons in Washington CORE who were not his supporters.

He added that the number barred would not be many since, he said, "the majority of people in Washington CORE are with me.'

Mr. Hobson's present position to join ACT is a shift from his earlier announced stand.

• • •

THE 41 - YEAR - old government economist had said he had incorporated local CORE and that the group would continue to operate as "Washington CORE, Inc."

However, he said he plans to appeal his expulsion at the National CORE Convention July 2-5 in Kansas City.

He said he would go to the convention with no intention of "keeping CORE's name," but to let delegates know how James Farmer, national director of CORE, was acting to make each local chapter a "paper organization.

Mr. Hobson described Mr. Farmer as a "frightened man" guided by persons who provide funds for the organization.

• • •

HOBSON, indicated Monday that he dares National CORE to take legal action against him for incorporating the local civil rights suit.

Mr. Hobson said that such a move on the part of National CORE would be unwise because it would place them in a position of having everything to lose — and nothing to gain.

"What would I have to lose?" asked Mr. Hobson, who Friday was expelled from the national organization's membership for allegedly practicing "undemocratic procedures" in running Washington CORE.

insists Mr. Hobson, since he had the chapter incorporated.

Local observers are expecting National CORE to initiate a lawsuit over Mr. Hobson's use of the name.

When asked in a telephone interview whether his office would take the matter to court, Richard Haley, associate director of national CORE, replied: "No comment."

However, he did confirm that his office will be sending a representative to take charge of the chapter until new officers can be elected.

Mr. Hobson said that even if national is successful in electing new local officers they would not be representative of the majority of active CORE members.

"I've got all active members except about 30 on my side," declared Mr. Hobson.

A spokesman for the anti-Hobson forces disagrees with Mr. Hobson's count of how many of the local outfit's 110 active members are on the expelled chairman's side.

"Perhaps he's got 50 percent of the active members, if that much," said the spokesman. Of this most were "newly recruited" by Mr. Hobson, said the spokesman.

• • •

THE DISMISSAL of Mr. Hobson drew to a close a bitter battle between pro and anti - Hobson factions in the local organization.

It came on the recommendation of Louis Smith of Philadelphia, CORE's Northeastern regional representative, who had been directed by na-

ficially expelled until I read it in the newspapers," said Mr. Hobson. "I still haven't received anything in writing.

"You never know what might come when you go to court," said Mr. Hobson, pointing out that, if he should win, it could only spell death for the national organization since, he said, it has other dissatisfied local chapters within its ranks.

• • •

NATIONAL CORE, in addition to giving Mr. Hobson the ax Friday, also placed Washington CORE under trusteeship. But National CORE had no right to do so, tional to work with Washington CORE in meeting certain recommendations.

Mr. Hobson insists that his dismissal came at the hands of a group of "white liberals" in the chapter who resent colored authority; and James Farmer, the national director, who he says, is a "frightened man · guided" by financial contributors to the organization.

Mr. Hobson charged that National CORE had "paid off" certain persons "to get rid of me" for fear that contributors to the organization would cut off their funds.

Mr. Hobson also charged Mr. Farmer with "ranking confusion" in the community and "breaking up" a third force in the District's civil rights movement.

"Farmer has turned the field over to the NAACP and the Urban League," said Mr. Hobson.

• • •

ACCORDING TO a statements released Saturday by National CORE, its steering committee found charges against Mr. Hobson of practicing undemocratic procedures "substantial, serious and valid."

The statement said further that the committee made seven recommendations and instructed Mr. Smith to work with the chapter to implement them; and it was only after "the mandate of the steering committee had been violated" that Mr. Hobson was expelled and the chapter placed under trusteeship.

Mr. Hobson came under investigation by National CORE after anti - Hobson forces in Washington CORE complained to Mr. Farmer's offices charging that the expelled chairman failed to use Robert's Rules of Order in conducting meetings, had fixed membership rolls and disseminated "confidential" CORE business to the files.

Mr. Hobson called all the charges "nebulous," adding that National CORE is guilty of releasing "CORE business to the press."

to the press."

"I didn't know I was of-

60 active members were not in attendance. I sent 25

Hobson Has 60 Backers In Core Unit

P. 2

WASH POST 6/24/64

Nearly 60 members of Washington CORE agreed last night to follow their ousted chairman Julius Hobson into ACT unless national CORE "returns control of the chapter to the majority of its members."

Hobson, expelled from the civil rights organization because of his alleged undemocratic tactics, said he would protest the ouster at CORE's national convention next week in Kansas City. If his expulsion—as expected—is not revoked, the pro-Hobson faction of Washington CORE will become a "loose" affiliate of ACT, militant rights committee that Hobson helped to found.

Most of those at last night's meeting at the Odd Fellows Temple at 9th and T sts. nw., Hobson said, were active members of the local CORE chapter now under trusteeship by the national. Total active membership is about 110.

Hobson, outlining the future of his new organization, was at no pains to deny the "undemocratic" charge against him, repeating his favorite maxim that "you can't run a revolution by 'Robert's Rules of Order'."

He and Rimsky Atkinson, the chapter's first vice president, were extremely critical of the national's action in placing the chapter in receivership. No charges have been brought against Washington CORE, they insisted, and control of the Chapter should have gone to Atkinson after Hobson's expulsion.

Hobson, who recently had the chapter incorporated under the name "Washington CORE," indicated last night he might forgo a legal battle with the national over use of the name.

The group decided to intensify efforts on its first action project, which started before the break became official—ending alleged segregation at Casualty Hospital.

CORE HEAD ASSAILED BY OUSTED OFFICIAL

P. 18 — 6/23

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 22—The ousted chairman of the ashington chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality charged today that James L. Farmer "is destroying his own organization in trembling fear" of militancy by civil rights demonstrators in CORE.

A spokesman at the national CORE office in New York declined to comment on the charge against Mr. Farmer, the organization's national chairman. But he denied that "militancy" had had anything to do with disciplinary measures against Julius W. Hobson, the local chairman, and against the Washington chapter.

Mr. Hobson, a Social Security Administration official here, was ousted by CORE'S National Steering Committee at a meeting in New York Friday night. The steering committee also placed the Washington chapter "in receivership."

A national spokesman said Louis Smith, CORE'S Northeastern regional representative, would come here from Philadelphia tomorrow to assume control of the Washington chapter.

The steering committee's action, a national spokesman said, was based "on internal administration." It was learned, and Mr. Hobson confirmed today, that some members of the chapter here had charged him with "undemocratic procedures."

WASH NEWS 6-22-64 P.5

A SHOWDOWN over the future of Washington CORE is shaping up for Tuesday, when Julius Hobson, expelled as local chairman by the national body, will call for a vote on affiliating the D. C. membership with ACT, militant new civil rights committee. Pro-Hobson members picketed Casualty Hospital yesterday, while anti-Hobson members picketed an apartment house. Washington CORE has been placed in trusteeship by the national organization, but Mr. Hobson refuses to acknowledge the action.

CITY WIDE DETECTIVE AGENCY

102 Longfellow Street, N. W. - Washington, D. C.

Office, RA. 3-8492

Thomas O. Mills, Director

Security Patrol
Private Investigator

CONVENTIONS
SPORTING EVENTS
PUBLIC AFFAIRS
HOTELS - STORES
CONTRACTORS
BUILDERS
WAREHOUSES
INDUSTRIAL PLANTS
EMBASSIES
INSURANCE COMPANIES
RESTAURANTS
HOTEL DETECTIVES
CIVIL & CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS
MISSING PERSONS
DIVORCE EVIDENCE

24 HOUR SERVICE

June 25, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

WE, of the City Wide Detective Agency, protest the expulsion of Julius W. Hobson as Chairman of Washington D.C. Congress of Racial Equality. We are pledging our support so that he may continue his work with CORE.

We feel and know that he has done an excellent job in the fight for civil rights in Washington D.C. and throughout the country.

We are getting support for him through churches, clubs, and civil groups, as they too feel that this expulsion is an injustice.

Sincerely,

Harvey W. Carpenter
Sylvester Coleman
James Bairs
George Tenney
Harry Hill
M. Cecil Mills, Jr.

Thomas O. Mills

TOM/ss

Not sent

12 March 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

CORE would like you to be one of the leaders of the workshop that deals with organizing and developing roots in the community at our National Convention July 3. As the other leader we want to have a representative of the Spanish speaking community--which one we have not decided upon yet. Maybe you can give us some ideas.

The Convention is to run from July 2 thru 5 in Kansas City. It would be most helpful if we could know shortly whether or not you can participate. If you would call me so that we can discuss further details, it would be appreciated. Thanks ever so much.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

WHITEHALL 4-9000

FOUNDED 1801
New York Post
75 WEST STREET · NEW YORK, N. Y. 10006

MAR 18 1964

JAMES A. WECHSLER
Editorial Page Editor

March 16, 1964

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

I very much appreciate your invitation to lead the workshop at CORE's National Convention on community relations. Unfortunately, in view of the political conventions this summer, I really cannot make any additional commitments for that period; I am hoping to try and sneak some vacation before and after the conventions.

But, again, my thanks and I hope I can be more use on a future occasion.

Sincerely,

James Wechsler
James Wechsler

JW/d

Ask Ted Poston

3/18

Gordon –

Harrington called
~~he~~ thinks he can
make it July 3.
will call back to
confirm first q
next week.
out q town
tomorrow

alla

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, New York 10038
24 May 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Floyd McKissick, Carl Rachlin

FROM: Gordon R. Carey

Re: Legal Workshops at the National Convention

I trust that you are making plans for the Convention workshops. They will be held Friday, July 3. Each workshop will last 90 minutes and will be repeated three times. The first workshop will run from 9 - 10:30; the second from 10:45 - 12:15; the third from 1:30 to 3 P.M.

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, N.Y. 10038
25 May 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Norman Hill

FROM: Gordon R. Carey

Re: Workshops on Political Education

Two months ago I wrote to Ernest "Cab" Calloway about leading this workshop. I received no reply. You will remember that you were assigned to this workshop as well. Please let me know what you suggest.

25 May 1964

Mr. Walter Thabit
76 Reade Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Walter:

I am enclosing a copy of our Convention announcement. The workshop on policy will be on Friday, July 3; will run from 90 minutes; will be repeated three times. The first workshop will begin at 9 A.M. and the third one will end at 3 PM.

Allan Hoffman will be in touch with you shortly in regard to further planning and arrangements.

We are looking forward to having you with us.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

cc: Allan Hoffman

11 March 1964

Mr. Walter Thabit
76 Reade Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Thabit:

It was a pleasure to meet you at the Staff Conference in New Orleans. I was very much impressed with your presentation as were others on the staff.

We would like very much to invite you to lead the workshop on housing at the National CORE Convention July 2 - 5,iin Kansas City. Although the schedule is not fully determined yet, in all likelihood the workshops would take place on Friday the 3rd.

We would like to include in the content of the workshop the same type of presentation that you made in New Orleans, but we would also like to include additional material on CORE-type action programs to implement our approach to housing.

It would be most helpful if I could hear from you within the next few days. I certainly hope that you will be able to do this for us. If it is convenient, please call me at the office so that we can discuss this matter further. Thanks ever so much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

25 May 1964

Rev. Robert Spike
Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Spike:

I do not believe that we have received a reply to my letter of March 11, inviting you to participate in our Convention workshop on the role of religion and the churches in the civil rights movement.

I am enclosing a copy of that letter as well as a Convention announcement.

I certainly trust that you may be able to be with us. I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible. Robert Gore of our staff has been assigned to work with you in this workshop.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
Enc.

cc: Robert Gore

25 May 1964

Mr. James Wechsler
Editorial Page Editor
New York Post
75 West Street
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Wechsler:

I am sorry that you will be unable to be with us for the CORE Convention. We are hopeful that Ted Poston might be able to take the workshop that we had originally asked you to handle.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

11 March 1964

Mr. James Wechsler
New York Post
75 West Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wechsler:

CORE would be most happy and honored to have you lead the workshop at our National Convention on community relations. The Convention this year will be held in Kansas City from July 2 thru July 5. The workshops are tentatively scheduled for Friday the third.

The precise content of the workshop would be left up to you and Marvin Rich. But generally, we would like to use this workshop a means of educating our chapters in improving their relations with various segments of the communities such as the labor unions, churches, social groups and business communities. The chapters need help in means of interpreting their programs to the public through the media of press, television, etc.

I hope very much that you will be able to undertake this responsibility for us. It would be appreciated if you could call me at your convenience here at the CORE office to discuss this matter in more detail. Thanks ever so much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

25 May 1964

Mr. Ted Poston
Reporter, New York Post
75 West Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ted:

I believe that Marvin Rich spoke with you about leading our workshops on community relations at the national Convention, Friday, July 3. I certainly hope that you will be able to make it. CORE is in a position to pay your travel expenses. If you are able to attend, it is hoped you will be able to stay for the entire meeting.

I am enclosing a copy of the Convention announcement. Please call me so that we can discuss this further.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

cc: Marvin Rich

25 May 1964

Mr. Michael Harrington
43 Carmine Street
New York, New York

Dear Mike:

Sometime ago Allan Hoffman told me that you called indicating that you would be able to lead the workshop at our annual Convention July 3. However, I do not recall getting a definite confirmation from you. I am enclosing a Convention announcement. Please call me at the office so that we can discuss this further.

Marcia McKenna has been assigned to work with you in making arrangements for this workshop. She should be in touch with you shortly.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

cc: Marcia McKenna

11 March 1964

Mr. Michael Harrington
43 Carmine Street
New York, New York

Dear Mike:

On behalf of CORE I would like to invite you to lead the workshop on the economics of discrimination and the employment problem at our National Convention. The meeting is to be held July 2 through 5, in Kansas City. We have tentatively scheduled the workshops for Friday, July 3.

If you could let us know within a few days whether or not you can lead the workshop, it would be most helpful to us. I would appreciate it if you could call me here at the office so that we could discuss this matter in a little more detail. I will look forward to hearing from you and am very hopeful that you can accept. Thanks for your co-operation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

25 May 1964

Mr. Wallace Nelson
3509 Baring Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Wally:

I am enclosing an announcement of the CORE Convention. The workshops will be held on Friday, July 3. They will be of 90 minutes duration and will be repeated three times. The first one will be starting at 9 A.M. and the third one is scheduled to end at 3 P.M.

Let me know if there is further need to consult with you on the content of the workshop. At any rate, we will be in touch again to make your travel arrangements, etc. We will reserve a room at the Muehlebach for you but I will have to know how long you plan to stay. You are, of course, invited to attend the entire Convention.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

P.S. Thanks for the catalogue of bookplates. Unfortunately, Bettye and I didn't fall in love with any of them, but we can talk about that later.

cc: Richard Haley

25 May 1964

Mr. Richard Haley
c/o Collins, Douglas & Ely
2211 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Richard:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Wally. You will recall that you had originally been assigned to work with him. Marvin, McCain and I met with Wally last month and discussed the content of his sessions. I am of the understanding that you will attend his series but it is obvicusly difficult for you to plan the workshops because of the great distance.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

11 March 1964

Mr. Wallace Nelson
3509 Baring Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Wally:

CORE would like you to lead its workshop on nonviolence and philosophy at our National Convention in July. The Convention will run from July 2 - 5, in Kansas City (we haven't determined which one yet!), and the workshops are tentatively scheduled for Friday, July 3. Participation in the workshops will be limited to about thirty people, and the format that we plan to use is to have the same workshop rerun three times for three different groups. It is my opinion that the workshop we are asking you to lead is one of crucial importance to CORE and to the movement. While we are finally getting to the working class in the cities and are developing new and militant techniques, I am afraid that we are failing in relating means to ends and failing in developing the commitment which must go with acts of civil disobedience.

I hope very much that you will be able to lead this workshop for us. CORE will, of course, pay for all of your expenses. If you could drop me a line within the next few days indicating your acceptance, it would be most helpful, and we can get together later to discuss more details. Thanks ever so much.

It will be good to see you again, and I believe that your wealth of experience and background in CORE can serve us well.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

25 May 1964

Mrs. Patricia Cayo Sexton
51 West Fourth Street, Room 68
New York 3, New York

Dear Mrs. Sexton:

Enclosed is a copy of our Convention announcement. You will notice that we will be staying at the Mushlebach Hotel. The workshop on schools will be held either at the Hotel or at the Municipal Auditorium.

All workshops will be on Friday, July 3. They will be of 90 minute's duration; will be repeated three times; and will begin at 9 A.M. and will end at 3 P.M. Val Coleman has been assigned to work with you on further plans and arrangements. He will be in touch with you this week.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

cc: Val Coleman

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

MAR 23 1964

March 18, 1964

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

I shall be most happy to lead your workshop on schools on July 3rd at the National Convention in Kansas City.

Please send me further details.

Sincerely yours,

P. Sexton

Patricia Cayo Sexton
Associate Professor

Address:
51 West Fourth Street, Room 68
New York 3, New York

12 March 1964

Mrs. Pat Sexton
248 Lexington Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Sexton:

CORE would like to invite you to lead the workshop on schools at the National Convention in Kansas City from July 2 thru 5. The workshops are tentatively scheduled for Friday the 3rd.

While the Convention primarily deals with plans and business matter, we hold a number of workshops each year, and many of us feel that these workshops are the most important part of this annual meeting. The workshops will probably be of an hour's duration, but repeated three times in order to afford larger participation and still maintain the size of the workshop so as to permit good discussion.

We would like the workshop to include an analysis of the school problems that--North and South; the relationship between quality and integrated education; and techniques applicable to CORE for bringing about integrated quality education North and South.

I hope very much that you may be able to accept this responsibility. It would be helpful to me if you could drop me a note within a few days to let me know of your acceptance. Then we would be in a position to be able to discuss the workshop more in detail and to make further plans. I will look forward to hearing from you. Thanks ever so much for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

antioch
bookplate
company
YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

wally nelson
3810 HAMILTON ST.
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EV-6-5134

6/15/64

JUN 17 1964

Dear Gordon,

I expect to be in NYC toward the end of the week. I will call you. If we can't get together, we could talk to each other on phone at least.

As for as the convention, I think I understand quite well my role. But what about Richard Haley? Right now, are we to work together in this workshop? Should we be in touch with each other? If so, what is his address or will he be getting in touch with me.

Another matter, I should like to talk to you or some one in your about Operation Freedom. This should be some thing of a follow up of the letter written to you by Marvin McCrackin months ago.

Sincerely
Wally

P.S. Note my new address & phone.

antioch
bookplate
company
YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

wally nelson
3510 HAMILTON ST.
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EV 6-5134

MAR 18 1964

3/16/64

Dear Gordon,

As things now stand I can accept your invitation for the July 3rd. CORE workshop. Of course, I will be pleased to do my best for the cause. I expect to be working the N.Y.C. area for a few days beginning next Monday. I shall contact you after my arrival and we can plan to get together and talk in more detail about the workshop. It will be nice to meet and see old friends again.

Sincerely
Wally

1964 Convention Workshops

Developing Community Roots

James Farmer, National Director
Blyden Jackson, former chairman of New Haven CORE

Legal Problems

Floyd McKissick, National Chairman
Carl Rachlin, General Counsel

Political Education

Ernest Calloway, Research, Teamsters Union
Norman Hill

Community Relations

Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director
Lenny Still

Housing

Walter Thabit, Urban Planner
Alan Hoffman

Role of Religion

Robert Spike, Director, Committee on Race & Religion
National Council of Churches
Bob Gore

Economics & Employment

Michael Harrington, author, "The Other America"
Marcia

Philoscphy of Nonviolence

Wallace Nelson, former CORE Field Secretary
Richard Haley

Education & Schools

Patricia Sexton, Associate Professor, New York University
Val Coleman

(1) Robert Spilte Ri-9-2200
475 Riverside Drive
~~55 Washington Sq.~~

(2) Jimmy Wechsler
N.Y. Post
75 W. street

WH-4-9000

(3) Michael Harrington

43 Carmine St.

AL-5-7982

(4) Wally Nelson

EV-6-5134

3509 Baring street

Phila., Pa

(5) Ernest Calloway

1641 So. Kingshighway, St. Louis ?

Nat. Brothd of Teamster #13

(6) Walter Thabit

RE-2-5486

(City Planner) ~~city planning~~

(7) Pat Sexton
N.Y.U.
SP-7-2000 Ex 8320
mailing ?
248 Lex Ave

MU-9-8529

? (yw) 76 Reade St.?

invenerate

neglect

pre-occupation

(2) L.A. Dr. ~~Dr.~~ Rob Curry Jr.

Dr Curry

Curchionable

R.W.

P.S. CORE

Review

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038
17 July 1964

TO: Members of the National Action Council

FROM: Floyd B. McKissick, National Chairman

The first meeting of the new Steering Committee will be held in New York City, Saturday and Sunday, August 8 & 9. (We will let you know the location of the meeting later.) The meeting will begin at 10:30 A.M., Saturday and should close by noon on Sunday. This first meeting has been extended to two days because of the unusual importance of the business to be considered: most of the Convention Committees' reports were referred to this meeting by the Convention .

Under the new Constitution all members of the National Action Council are also members of the Steering Committee. However, CORE is required to pay transportation and lodging only for national officers and regional vice-chairmen. I hope that all officers and vice-chairmen can be present. Other NAC members are urged to be at the meeting also, if they can do so at their own expense.

Those of you whose expenses are to be paid by CORE should return the form at the bottom of the page immediately indicating whether you plan to attend. Also indicate if you want the office to send you an airline ticket and arrange housing, which will be in private homes.

Prior to the August meeting you will receive copies of the minutes of the last NAC Meeting; Convention minutes, the new Constitution and agenda.

We are looking forward to a productive year. Please cooperate by attending, if possible, and by remitting the form below by return mail.

.....

I will_____will not_____attend the August 8 & 9 Steering Committee Meeting.
Please send me an airline ticket._____.
Please make housing arrangements for Saturday night_____.

(Return the above blank to Gordon R. Carey at the CORE National Office.)

_____

Signed

27 July 1964

Mr. Sam Riley
4152 West 19th Street
Chicago 23, Ill.

Dear Sam:

Apparently you did not read the July 17 memorandum from Floyd McKissick correctly. While all members of the NAC are also members of the Steering Committee, CORE brings to Steering Committee meetings only the five national officers and the five regional vice-chairmen. Therefore, CORE is unable to pay your expenses to the August 8 and 9th meeting.

Let me explain that notices of Steering Committee meetings are sent to all NAC members so that the entire NAC may keep apprised of these meetings and so that they may attend if they choose at their own expense.

I am terribly sorry for the confusion, and am assuming that you will not attend the August meeting. You will be brought to the NAC which meets next in October.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

file NAC

Mr. Farmer

STEERING COMMITTEE
NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL - AUGUST 8 & 9, 1964
BELMONT PLAZA HOTEL

N.A.C. members present were the following: McKissick, Ussery, Turner, Gartner, Curvin, Due, Rosenfeld, Castle, Brown, Sprowal, Lacey, Drake, Hall Wiley, Farmer.

The treasurer, Alan Gartner, gave his report with the following explanations:

1. Total income for the months of June and July was slightly greater this year than last. This is interesting in the light of the fact that last year the Birmingham riots stimulated giving whereas the riots this summer could have had the opposite effect.

	JUNE	JULY	
Subtracting	87,000	59,000	1963
Loan	47,000	103,000	1964

2. The loans noted in the report are four month loans. The amounts loaned from the national staff have not been paid and are not accounted for in the statement (amounting to $10-12,000 dollars from the top paid staff) In the next four months CORE will have to repay approximately $55,00.

3. Money earmarked for Mississippi is listed under Misc. projects and Misc. West Coast. 12% of the income in July was earmarked for Miss.

4. Bail completed Refunds represents money from the World's Fair.

DISCUSSION Marvin Rich raised the question of the need for a reevaluation our financial commitment to COFO in light of the fact that COFO now has money of its own coming in. Report received by common consent.

REPORTS FROM PROJECTS

Richard Haley-North Florida

The project began shortly after the convention. Contacts were made with counties inviting CORE people to come in. CORE originally had an invitation to come into 8 counties. (According to Patricia Due, who later gave a supplement to this report four counties dropped their invitation because of pressure from the State NAACP). CORE is now located in Gadsen, Jefferson, Madison and Swannee counties in the center of Northern Florida. There has been good community support in Gadsen county particularly, which has the largest % of Negroes of the four and the smalles % of voters (a county famous for its intransigence).

More involvement of local people and task force people needed, one local man is now working for CORE (subsistence is being paid by the local group in Gadsen) and there is a possibility that other groups may do the same. The legal volunteers from the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee have been effective in Florida this summer, giving the impression to local law enforcement officials of the tremendous legal energy on our side. This program should be continued.

The project closes Sept. 3, leaving a vacuum at the time when registration should be most intense. This problem will be discussed next week at a staff meeting in the So. office.

DISCUSSION

According to Haley, when the VEP started, the % of Negro voters in Gadsen was 3½; it is now 11½%. In 1963 450 were registered; in 1964 1400 were registered. It was requested by Ussery and Turner that certain counties be given priority in the South, such counties to be selected according to the feasibility of political success. An example in Florida is Gadsen. It was the sense of the body to urge continuation of voter registration until the books are closed, and to request proposals of Mr. Haley and the rest of the staff for continued registration, education and community organization in key communities (North and South). (Motion-Gartner, second- Hal Brown). Supplementary report -Patricia Due. 11 people are on the Florida VEP staff including three full-time volunteers, she described some of the difficulties plaguing the project -- the registration office is open only two days a week, the constant element of danger, lack of lawyers who understand the situation, lack of cooperation from established leadership. However there is community support and the project should be continued.

CONVENTION CHALLENGE--Norman Hill

Norman reported that at this stage there are still a number of unsolved problems relating to this project. The alternatives suggested by the Miss. Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) are:(1) The optimum possibility is that the party would be seated at the Democratic Convention; (2) The next possibility is that neither would be seated or a combination of the regualr party and the MFDP would be seated; (3) Complete rejection of the MFDP and the seating of the regular delegation. The conclusion of the MFDP officials is that they wish to conduct the challenge through regular channels and sanction demonstrations in civil disobedience only if the third possibily occurs. There has been ho agreement about the form of demonstration. According to Mr. Hill, 8 or 9 delegations are on record to at least unseat the regular delegation; however Pres. Johnson seems pretty well committed to seating the regualr delegation. The Pres. is a key person and he will make his final dicision prior to the convention itself; this fact almost eliminates the possibility of a floor fight.

DISCUSSION

Motion That we renew our pledge of support for the seating of the Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic Convention and our intention to throw the full weight of our organization into non-violent direct action demonstrations at the Dem. Convention if the FDP is not seated. Such demonstrations must be

(Participating organizations are the American Jewish Congress and American Jewish Committee, ACLU, CORE, SNCC, NAACP and SCLC). Approximately 150 lawyers have spent time in the South this summer and $70,000 to $75,000 was spent. The relations of CORE with the National Lawyers Guild were discussed.

FARMER'S REPORT ON THE PRESIDENTIAL CONFERENCE

The conference with the President last week did not take the expected form. Johnson wanted to see Farmer and Mrs. Chaney alone; he did not want a CORE meeting (he did not want McKissick and Rachlin to appear). Mrs. Chaney and Farmer met for half hour. They requested that the FBI break the case in Miss.; find the bodies and the murderes. They asked for protection for workers and citizens in Miss and La., particulatly. Johnson's response was as expected: He stated that he had ordered scores of additional agents into the state; they have a blank check and expect to break the case soon. He also noted that the FBI would in fact serve as protection even though they were not there for that purpose. The FBI has also made arrests.

Dick Jewett reported that there has been some change in the state of Mississippi. Mississippi seems to realize that there will be changes and described recent actions on the part of the Chamber of Commerce and Citizens for Public Ed. as some signs of hope. The big question remains however, what will happen in the fall? Even though there has been a change in the attitude of law enforcement officials toward workers there is no quarantee that it will continue.

James Farmer read the position paper on the moratorium and the rationale for the same. The two papers were unanimously approved.

CORE, the civil rights movement, and indeed the entire nation face a major crisis. The crisis is twofold.

First, the negro community is increasingly frustrated by the failure of America, of White America, to meet its just demands. These demands are for the fullness of citizenship: the right to register and vote free of intimidation; the right to a decent home, wherever a person choose to live; the right to a quality integrated education; the right to respect and justice from the institutions of our society. These just demands have not been met and are not being met in full enough measure.

Second, one of our two major political parties is led in a presidential election by candidates who welcome the support of racists and bigots, and whose platform and public statements serve to encourage violence and injustice against Negroes.

The righteous unmet demands of the Negro must be met and immediately. CORE, the nation, must dedicate itself to the inclusion of all Americans, black and white, in the fullness of the good life--justice, equality, opportunity, and dignity. CORE commits itself to using the full range of nonviolent direct action to the achievement of these ends.

timed and coordinated with SNCC and the MFDP. (Wiley, Hall). Motion passed 8 to 5. Motion. CORE take appropriate action at each stage of the challenge process to highlight the attempt to unseat the racist Democractic Party (Gartner, Sprowal). (Again with the understanding that these actions would be timed and coordinated with the wishes of SNCC and the MFDP). Motion passed. Relevant to CORE's position on platform issues, James Farmer will appear before the Platform Committee. It was moved that his appearance and any action Washington CORE might carry on to dramatize the issues serve as our effort on platform issues. (Turner, Ussery).

MISSISSIPPI REPORT **Dave Dennis

Dave Dennis reported that CORE is responsible for the Fourth District. SNCC has moved almost all its national staff into the state including Foreman. Dave suggested that it might not be wise to expand in Miss. until certain problems with SNCC were worked out. He listed the following long-range proposals:

(1) Expand community centers in the fourth district (the best organized in the state). Emphasize Lee County (Where the local residents are building their own center), Neshoba County (Philadelphia) where residents want to rebuild a church and build a memorial center, and Canton.
(2) Hiring more local people. Dave suggested that CORE chapters in other areas raise money for this purpose rather than send workers down.

(3) There be a joint recruitment - training program for Louisiana and Miss.

(4) Continue the Freedom School concept.

(5) Investigate federal programs and their relevance to Miss. A full-time man has been hired for that purpose.

SHORT-RANGE PROPOSALS

(1) To hold a memorial Tues. August 11th on the site where the church was burned in Philadelphia at high noon.

(2) To hold a memorial Wed. morning August 12th. in the memory of the three murdered workers followed by a massive vote-in attempt.

Two way radios are needed as well as new staff. Dave Dennis suggested that there be a meeting of chief CORE and SNCC people as soon as possible on the subject of public relations. Motion to receive report with its recommendations (Turner, Farmer). It was also requested that a budgetary statement on this project be submitted in view of a motion passed at the last NAC meeting that statements for projects be submitted in quadruplicate. The question was raised as to the functioning of the Southern office and what its job is. There will be a Southern staff meeting next week to iron out this problem. Farmer requested that the So. staff get together with Richard Haley and make a report of the agenda proposed for the coming staff meeting.

Carl Rachlin gave a report on the activities of the Lawyers Constituional Defense Committee.

Goldwaterism must be met too. CORE, the nation as a whole, must dedicate itself to the overwhelming defeat of this dangerous philosophy in both parties in the local as well as national elections in November. CORE commits itself to working toward this end. This does not mean endorsement of the Democrat's performance or platform. We shall continue to criticize these vigorously throughout the campaign, when appropriate.

CORE affirms that voter registration is the assertion of self-respect and the beginning of political power and influence. We are proud that in the past year CORE staff has registered over 30,000 Negroes in the South, and we estimate that 25,000 have been registered in other parts of the nation by CORE chapters. Throughout the country we will register and educate as a major task in the coming months.

****

WHY WE CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE

Because the deep grievances of the Negro community continue to be present, we continue to demonstrate. Well-organized and disciplined demonstrations must continue as a way to work toward the elimination of these grievances. Only by constant public reminders of the evils that exist will the white majority face these evils and take the necessary steps to eliminate them.

Demonstrations serve as a way to channel in a militant fashion the justifiable frustrations and anger of the Negro community. A community with no way of acting directly on its own behalf is far more likely to erupt in anger and violence than one which has the opportunity to vigorously demonstrate and whose just demands are met.

Because proposals of temporary moratoriums can lead to the permanent end of viable protest by the Negro community, we continue to demonstrate. The so-called "white backlash", a phenomenon whose appearance has frequented America whenever Negroes have vigorously spoken out on behalf of their rights, will not be mollified by temporary cessation of demonstrations. Indeed, more likely, they will vote in just the opposite manner from that sought by the moratorium proposers; for, having gained a moratorium by the threat of a Goldwater victory, the white backlashers and their allies, the racists, will seek a permanent cessation in the event of Goldwater's election.

Because demonstrations give Negroes an opportunity to show with their bodies that they oppose discrimination and favor an integrated America, we continue to demonstrate. Demonstrations give Negro Americans an opportunity to participate in making the political and economic decisions that effect their destiny.

To defeat the racists and bigots in both parties, and those who welcome their support at the polls in November, we continue to demonstrate. All appropriate methods to register and educate voters between now and November to insure the crushing defeat of "Goldwaterism" in both parties will be used.

To our members, to the Negro community, to all America, CORE pledges that its demonstrations will be militant and disciplined.

To demonstrate and thus to bring about the day when all Americans are free and equal is CORE's aim. At that time, demonstrations will no longer be necessary to achieve justice and dignity for all men. Until that time, we will continue to demonstrate.

****

LOUISIANA REPORT --Ronnie Moore

Figures of these registered in La. were: June - 317 were registered out of a total, 1200 who applied; July - 409 registered out of 2000 applied. After passage of the Civil Rights Bill a number of complaints were filed and plans are being made to continue this procedure. The Justice Dept. has been petitioned for an audience to discuss the delay tactics used by registrars; August 5th. a picket line of 100 was thrown around the Federal Bldg. to protest their do-nothing attitude. Ronnie reported that some desegregation has taken place in theatres, restaurants, etc. in Placquemine, Monroe and Baton Rouge. Ronnie underscored the objectives listed in his written report: Voter registration, community organization, politics, testing the provisions of the Civil Rights Bill and pressuring the Justice Dept. to act on the bill, and laying the groundwork for 1965 Freedom Highway and voter registration summer project at Caddo and Plaquemine Parishes. Some of the major problems confronting the project are: The slow-down of voter registration which takes a lot of energy to overcome, and the fact that the facilities to make full use of workers are lacking (e.g. cars). He reported further that as the result of the demonstration August 5th., they now have an appointment with federal representatives next Thursday to discuss the petitions. When asked to project some political goals for Louisiana, Ronnie stated that if workers could fully implement their program, they could produce a change in the attitude of many elected officials, elect state legislators and make changes in state government.

Ronnie Moore also presented a budgetary statement for the year. The budget of $29,920.00 is not much larger than that of last year. The educational center budget may be financed through other sources. It has already been tentatively approved by Jim Farmer. Motion . To approve the adoption of the program in La. (Castle, Rosenfeld).

CHICAGO -- Gene Tournour

The Chicago project began June 7 and is now 8 weeks old; ten task force workers work out of three centers located in the So., West and near North side of Chicago. The work has been concentrated in two areas; Slum housing and the organization of the unemployed. 115 tenant councils have been organized involving 765 families. Door to door canvassing has been conducted and 22 buildings actually went out on rent strike. There was a demonstration at city hall after the CORE convention with 200, 150 of which were tenants, demanding a vermin control program; the tenants themselves were spokesmen in the meeting with the Mayor.

450 unemployed have been brought into some kind of organizational structure (although loose). Some of them demonstrated with the tenants as candidates for such a rat control program.

As the result of this summer, CORE in Chicago has taken a new look at community organization, and the people have developed their own spokesmen and leadership. It is the recommendation of the project that the task force be reduced but centers should be continued.

Tournour gave the following recommendations from the officers of Chicago CORE on the project:

(1) That the task force program has attracted enough community support to warrant its continuation
   a. Chicago will assume financial responsibility,but needs the help of National CORE.
   b. Keep a few workers at each center.

(2) That the So. center be closed because of the inability of the chapter in that area to adjust to the new program, but a new site and sponsoring chapter for that center be selected.

MOTION -- Ralph Rosenfeld moved that a committee be appointed which will bring to the NAC meeting plans outlining the development of a program of training of staff persons to be available to No. chapters. (Second-Sprowal). Passed unanimously. Committee members appointed are: Turner, Chairman; Rosenfeld; Sprowal; Tournour; Hill and Rich.

Farmer moved to accept the report with commendation (Second Drake). Unanimous. It was also recommended that copies of the Chicago report be made available to local chapters.

EVALUATION COMMITTEE REPORT ---Bob Curvin

The report of the evaluation committee regarding the National office was discussed at great length. The recommendation of the committee regarding immediated changes in personnel was not upheld. It was moved that the remainder of the report be tabled but that the following instructions be given to the National Director (Curvin, Ussery):

(1) The position of Southern Director and the Associate Director cannot be held by the same person. (Turner)

(2) The National Director should make a report to the next meeting of this body as to his evaluation of the qualifications of the Associate Director in light of the need for a person who will function the primary administrator of the national organization subject only to the authority of the National Director as well as acting as his chief representative and the representative of the national organization in the absence of the National Director. (Gartner)

(3) Need recommendations on the role of the Southern office and its director. (Turner, Castle)

(4) An organization chart is needed containing a job description for each executive position correlated with a salary range for executive staff. (Brown, Ussery) Motion passed unanimously...

NOMINATIONS FOR STEERING COMMITTEE

The following persons were nominated for the position of co-opted members to the NAC: Herb Callender (Bronx CORE), Jim Peck (New York CORE), Tim Martin (Seattle CORE), A.D. Moore (Miami CORE). Voting will take place in October. Further nominations and nominating speeches will be made at that time. In the meantime the above persons should be contacted regarding their eligibility and desire to serve.

JAMES MCCAIN --Report

Recommendation-- that field staff workers not be removed from chapter work to work on national projects except in cases of emergency. Motion Go on record to advise the National Director that additional field staff needed for the Director of Organization be provided. (Gartner, Sprowal) It was also recommended that members of NAC be used in case of emergency to help out new chapters. Motion to approve the permanent affiliation of Des Moines (Gartner, Hall). Motion --confirm the appointment of Joyce Ware and Mrs. Mickey Schwerner as field secretaries. All motions were approved unanimously.

MARVIN RICH-- Report

Marvin announced the promotion of Mimi Hernandez in his department to Staff Associate. He announced also that Maureen Murphy's tour would probably be cut short before Sept. 17. Dick Gregory Tour ---Dick will cover 35 chapters in 30 days. A number of chapters were not able to be included in the tour becuase of lateness of response. Jackie Robinson will give a benefit lawn party for the Meridian Center. The annual budget appeal from which CORE derives most of its income will be made soon. There are some close-outs of holiday cards; these will be sold to chapters at reduced prices so that chapters can sell them. Some training films are being made and books by Lillian Smith and James Farmer will be available for sale soon. Motion to receive report (Turner, Brown). It was requested that Marvin investigate the possibility of making paperback books available at 40% discount to chapters.

NEXT MEETING OF STEERING COMMITTEE

Scheduled for 9:00 A.M. on Saturday, September 26th. The first item on the agenda is to be the evaluation committee report

BY-LAW- CHAPTER INCORPORATION -Carl Rachlin

No chapter, nor any officer of officers, nor any member or members thereof, nor anyone on their behalf, shall form or cause to be formed a corporation, in any jurisdiction whatsoever, which includes in its name or title, or any part thereof, the words "CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY," "COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY," "CORE" or any combination of words the first letters of which spell "C.O.R.E.", and any such corporation presently and or hereafter in existence shall be dissolved by the chapter or chapters so affected. Motion to adopt --Gartner, passed.

COMMITTEE REPORT

Regional Action Council Committee--Motion Appoint a committee to

review the report in the light of the constitution and report to the next meeting of the body. (Gartner) This committee should also deal with the recommendations of the Chapter Arbitration Committee. The chairman appointed the following persons for that committee: Hal Brown, John Due, Wil Ussery.

Committee also appointed to handle procedures for the review of staff problems (Gartner, McKissick).

The resolution of the National Programming Committee was referred to the Program Dept. by common consent. The recommendation of the Convention Committee was referred to the NAC meeting in October. Gordon Carey shall make such preliminary investigation as necessary to determine the feasibility of Miss. as a location.

The following resolutions were submitted to the appropriate depts. by common consent:

(1) Urban Renewal -Program

(2) Training programs and centers - Program and Dept. of Organization

(3)* Regional Information Officers - Community Relations
Founding of a newspaper - " " "
Political Action Dept. should be created - National Director and Program Dept.

* Total Resolution was titled "WAY OF COMMUNICATING PROGRAM"

(4) Brooklyn CORE's Convention Proposals - It was recommended that Brooklyn CORE be invited to the next meeting of NAC to discuss this matter.

(5) Resolution on programmatic direction - Program Dept.

(6) Resolution on intervisitation - Subcommittee to discuss the Regional Action Council.

(7) Internal Bulletin - Community Relations

(8) Pooling Information about Unity Groups -it was suggested that the Dept.of Organization send our questionnaires for that purpose.

(9) Resolution on Membership Criterion - NAC agenda next meeting.

(10) Housing resolution proposed by Ralph Temple - Program Dept.

(11) Metropolitan Action Council - Regional Action Council Subcommittee in consultation with Lou Smith.

(12) Explanation of "CITIZENS ARREST" and resolution proposed by Callender - Legal Dept.

(13) Miss. Direct Action Project - Program Dept.

(14) Support of NALC resolution regarding Work Stoppage - Program Dept.

According to Shirley Lacey, some of the resolutions submitted at the convention had been lost; she was asked to recreate the lost resolutions. All resolutions are to be considered by depts. and reports are to be made to the next meeting as to their feasibility.

Motion. To appoint a subcommittee of NAC members of the West region, the treasurer, and Marvin Rich to investigate the feasibility of a comprehensive national fund-raising program. Passed (Ussery) Unanimously.

Motion. A committee be appointed to propose a general outline of direction for the national organization in consultation with Norman Hill and report back. (Castle, Hall) Passed 8,2,2. Motion. Resolve into a committee of the whole and stay at this meeting to discuss the question of direction and long-range program (Sprowal, Turner). Motion Passed.

The following members of the NAC (Brown, McKissick, Hall, Drake, Due, Lacy, Sprowal, Ussery, Rosenfeld, Turner, Farmer) remained to discuss the question. It was suggested that each person present bring in (or mail in preferably) a position paper on current direction of the movement. Also papers from the Program Director and National Director were requested. These papers should be sent to Norman Hill one week before the next Steering Committee meeting.

MEETING ADJOURNED -----6:00 P.M., SUNDAY, AUGUST 9th.

###

August 1964

STEERING COMMITTEE AGENDA

1) Moratorium
   a. Policy
   b. Implementation

2) Projects
   a. Louisiana (proposed boycott)
   b. Mississippi
   c. Democratic Party Convention
   d. Chicago
   e. Northern Florida

3) Nominations for Steering Committee Reports

4) Convention Committee Reports

5) Convention Resolutions

6) Report on Meeting with President

7) Personnel Changes -- McCain & Rich

8) Report of Evaluation Committee

9) Financial Report

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York City, N. Y. 10038
10 September 1964

TO: Members of the National Action Council

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: September 1964 Steering Committee Meeting

The next meeting of the Steering Committee will be held Saturday, September 26 beginning at 9:00 A.M. Further information and an agenda will be forthcoming.

There has been some confusion over who is expected to attend the Steering Committee meetings. According to the Constitution only the National Officers and Regional Vice-Chairmen are to have their expenses paid. Those persons are the following:

National Officers: National Chairman, Floyd B. McKissick; 1st Vice-Chairman, Rudolph Lombard; 2nd Vice-Chairman, Wilfred Ussery; Secretary, Ruth Turner; Treasurer, Alan Gartner.

Regional Vice-Chairmen: Robert Curvin, Ralph Rosenfeld, Harold Brown, Oretha Castle, John Due.

Other NAC members are also voting members of the Steering Committee but attend only at their own expense. Would those of you planning to attend the September meeting please return the blank at the bottom as soon as possible. Upon receiving confirmation of your attendance you will receive your airline ticket.

NOTE: The full meeting of the National Action Council which all members are expected to attend will be October 30, 31 and November 1 Please save these dates.

I will attend the September 26 Steering Committee Meeting. _____

_____
Signed

Address: _____
_____
_____

NAC

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

MINUTES OF MEETING OF NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL'S STEERING COMMITTEE

Held Saturday, September 26, 1964
48 West 125 Street, New York City

Members present - McKissick, Lombard, Ussery, Turner, Gartner, Curvin, Due, Rosenfeld, Brown, Lacey, Drake, Dodson, Castle, Sprowal, Farmer, The meeting was convened by the chairman, Floyd McKissick at 10:15 A.M. The minutes of the last meeting were approved, with the exception of the following correction: The Steering Committee is not empowered to pass the by-law on chapter incorporation but it can make that recommendation to the National Action Council for action.

Report on the Washington, D.C. trusteeship - James Farmer

Louis Smith reports that he is optimistic about the chapter in Washington. The general membership has asked to extend the period of trusteeship for thirty days.
Motion - To accept recommendation of Mr. Smith to extend the period of trusteeship.
(Farmer). Motion passed unanimously.

PRINCEVILLE Canning Co. - Gordon Carey

The Princeville Canning Co. has agreed to buy potatoes from farmers in Louisiana who had been pressured because they tried to vote. Other food distributors as the result of having been contacted by CORE brought pressure to bear on the company and the Princeville company has written the farmers, indicating that they would buy their potatoes. There was some question about the facts of this case because thorough investigation had not been carried out. CORE still has a qualified victory, however.

Treasurer's report - Alan Gartner

The treasurer submitted the following financial statement for the months of June, July and August, 1964:

TOTAL RECEIPTS.....	$268,597.40	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS FOR PERIOD.....	$280,589.55	
BALANCE IN CHECKING ACCOUNT.....	$ 20,881.72	
TRANSFERRED TO MISSISSIPPI ACCOUNT 8/18/64	$14,857.22	
Bills Payable 8/31	$36,043.55	
Taxes Payable 8/31	-6,072.28	
Total Payable 8/31	$42,116.83	

Balance in	VEP Account 8/31	$2,371.35
"	" Mississippi Fund Account 8/31	1,546.12
"	" CEP Account 8/31	3,851.92

It was requested that a detailed statement be made of the Mississippi Project income and expenditures. Motion: a complete monthly Mississippi statement be mimeographed and sent with the minutes of the Steering Committee to the contact list and the news media. (Turner, Farmer)

Fund-raising - Community Relations - Val Coleman, Marvin Rich

According to the results thus far it is estimated that the Dick Gregory Tour will gross $50,000. The tour has been very successful for CORE chapters on local level because it has stimulated fund-raising and enabled chapters to make new contacts. The tour could have been more financially successful if it had been concentrated in large cities alone, (Dick Gregory is scheduled to make 37 stops in 30 days), but it has served an important local function. The large appeal of the year, the budget card mailing has just gone out; expenses of the mailing are $9-10,000 and the anticipated income is $175-185,000. A new brochure is available, "Calendar of Coercion," which has been sent out with the budget cards will also be available for chapter selling and Freedom hats are also available for sale (chapters make 40¢ on each hat).
A letter from Miss Dorothy Pitman in the Community Relations Dept. was submitted to the Steering Committee by James Farmer, but was declared out of order.
The report of the department was received by common consent.

Southern report - Richard Haley, Dave Dennis, Jerome Smith, Dick Jewitt

Richard Haley presented a total program for Miss. which draws on the experience of the COFO Summer Program. The following programs are planned as part of the project:

1. Freedom Democratic Party and voter registration
2. Freedom Schools
3. Pre-school education
4. White community project
5. Federal programs
6. Community centers
7. Literacy program
8. Medical programs
9. Legal programs
10. Audio-visual program
11. Food and clothing distribution
12. Mississippi Student Union (for high school students)
13. Libraries

It was expressed that there is a need for the phasing of such a program. The Southern staff feels a real urgency for the developing political organization for 1966 and such a comprehensive program is part of their overall plan.
Motion - to include in a discussion on the direction of CORE Southern program as set out by Haley. (Ussery, Dodson). Passed. The problems of cooperation and coordination in the Southern program were then discussed at length. Motion - CORE should hire and/or retain up to five lawyers, one of whom may be a legal co-ordinator working under Carl Rachlin and Richard Haley, for the South. (Turner, Rosenfeld). 13 for, 1 against (Ussery).

Motion - NAC approve the appointment of Dave Dennis as Program Director of the Southern office. (Farmer, Sprowal) Passed unanimously.

Detroit CORE - Triple A

Ralph Rosenfeld presented a plea for help on behalf of Detroit CORE in their dealings with AAA in that city. Motion - that CORE supports the activities of Detroit CORE in their dealings with AAA, and that the National Director be instructed to inform the AAA National office of its support and its intention to notify local chapters of this action. (Gartner, Rosenfeld).
9 for, 2 against (Brown, Turner).

The Direction of CORE - James Farmer

The National Director outlined some of the factors which must be considered in formulating a plan of direction. There is a need for an overall plan in view of a present lack of coordination and relationship between different areas of activity (i.e. jobs to schools, housing to education). Another need will be filled with the hiring of a research person. Furthermore, the development of program has to relate to the structure of CORE. It was therefore recommended by Farmer that there be a program assistant in the department of organization who would relate data to chapter activities. Another recommendation is that there be a political action department set up in Washington, the functions of which shall be to keep chapters in touch with what is going on in legislative matters, propose bills which will relate to our problems, and keep chapters in touch with agencies and programs. Mr. Farmer reported that an administrative assistant had not yet been located. Motion - that chapters be allowed to endorse canidates (Rosenfeld, Turner). Motion to table - with the understanding that the motion be part of the agenda at the next NAC meeting and that chapters be informed that such a discussion is coming and they should communicate their experience and opinions on the subject to the National office (Farmer) before the next meeting. (Gartner, Turner) Passed 11 to 2.

Legal Department

Motion - the legal department be instructed to bring back a comprehensive legal program worked out with the So. staff which will seek to solve the legal problems and will take full recognition of four year goals for the Southern region and such program be resubmitted to the NAC at its October meeting (Ussery, Drake)

October NAC Meeting

Motion - the next meeting be set up as a retreat to deal with basic program and direction, lasting no less than three and one half days (Suggested time Columbus Day weekend). (Turner, Ussery).

Report on Resolutions

Ollie Leeds, Chairman of Brooklyn CORE presented the resolutions recommended by his chapter at the National Convention which were not acted upon at that time. Motion - on the resolution reading as follows: "We propose the establishment of a National Civil Rights selectivd buying boycott list". - to support the principle of establishing such a periodic boycott list and direct staff to inquire into its feasibility. (Gartner, Farmer). Motion - refer the following resolutions to the new research assistant: "A National concerted, centralized effort to bring major urban areas back under rent control as the first step in our Anti-Poverty campaign" and "National CORE promotes the concept of fully integrated housing." Motion - the following resolutions be referred to the Dept. of Organization so that it might take a survey of membership requirements and consult with the members of the NAC and members of other chapters to work out solutions to the problems: "Uniform minimum national dues requirements for all chapters" and "Uniform membership requirements for all chapters (A. National office issue membership cards)."

Political Action Department

Recommendation that Don Wendell be hired for the job of head of the political action department to be located in Washington. (Farmer) Motion - that this matter be referred to the retreat at which time the NAC can discuss the specific job description for this post and can also meet Mr. Wendell. (Turner). Motion to table - (Gartner, Farmer) 3 for, 7 opposed. Amendement by substitution - that the National Director by instructed to present to Steering Committee a job prospectus for the Political Action Department. (Gartner, Curvin). Motion passed, 1 against (Turner).

Other Business

Motion - National Director send the following resolution to staff members: the NAC and its Steering Committee will entertain no items submitted by staff for the agenda without the approval of the National Director and those other persons whom he may designate. Where there is a regional director, such reports submitted by staff must be cleared through him first. (Gartner, Dodson). Passed, 2 against (Castle, Due). Motion - the Steering Committee meet again Sunday morning, Sept. 27 at 9:30 a.m. (Sprowal, Rosenfeld) In attendance shall be only Steering Committee members and the staff which is directly involved in discussion. (Dodson, Farmer). Motion - adopt the proposed Southern program (Castle, Dodson) as outlined below:

Program

We feel that the Southern office should begin now to develop to the extent that it can service and coordinate the program in the South. The office should be equipped with the following:

1. Research Department, to do the following:
   A. Find out the political structure of each state in the region
   B. Do extensive research on federal programs and begin negotiation with the federal government to pressure them into getting programs into the negro community.

11. Program Department. Should have a director to do the following:
   A. Create new and meaningful projects,
   B. Plan for staff workshops and community workshops in which programs are explained,
   C. Be responsible to the Southern office director implementation of programs.

111. Communications Department.
   A. Should begin to service the whole regions public relations needs,
   B. Should establish a bi-weekly newsletter,
   C. Should coordinate all press conference and press releases held in the region.

1V. Director of the Southern Office
   A. Should be in charge of all activities and departments of the office,
   B. Should have the final say on all decisions made,
   C. Should serve as liasion between the Southern Office and the National Office.

Section 111 failed to pass, but sections 1, 11, and 1V were accepted as part of the Southern office's program.

Chicago Project - Gene Tournour

The impact of the Northern task force project can be summed up in the following ways: 1) task force personnel have had to prove themselves one way or the other, 2) there has been a real impact on other community groups so that CORE is now respected and called upon to share its experience in organizing on a grass roots level and 3) the program has had a real impact on CORE chapters themselves, who now understand what it means to organize and have accepted the program. It was recommended that the three centers be seen as places to train other CORE chapters in the region in community organization and that there be tangible financial backing of the program.
Motion - that CORE support the program for the 3 communith enters for six months. (Due, Curvin). Amendment - that there be a full report on this program at the January NAC meeting, including a complete financial report, assessment of successes, and failures and detailed proposals for the future. (Gartner).

Department of Organization - Jim McCain

Report from questionnaire circulated about unity groups - that unity groups do not basically hinder CORE'S activity. Total registered in July and August in the South where CORE workers are now working 6,950. The following chapters were recommended for affiliation: Palm Springs, Cal. (recommended by Chet Duncan), Tri-Cities, CORE in Richland, Wash. (recommended by Chet Duncan) and Kenosha, Wis. (recommended by Joyce Ware). Motion - to affiliate passed unanimously (Dodson, Farmer). Because the Wilson Jr. College chapter is a college chapter, action on its affiliation was referred to the next NAC meeting. The following persons hired as field secretary were recommended for confirmation: Eric Mann, John McDowell, Herbert Callender, Bruce Bains, Spiver Gordon, Mike Lesser. Motion - to confirm passed (Turner, Castle abstained).

Nominations for Vacancies on the National Action Council

Ollie Leeds, Brooklyn CORE was nominated by Farmer. Cecil Brown, Milwaukee CORE was nominated by Turner.

Report of the Committee on Northern Staff

It was the consesus of the committee that the demands of a community oriented program were such that CORE responsibilities to the community could no longer be carried out on a volunteer basis. It was therefore recommended that each chapter begin now to make plans for the selection and hiring of an executive secretary, whose salary would be paid by the chapter. It was further recommended that an intensive two week institute for potential professional leadership be set up at the end of November, open to persons recommended by chapters and screened by the National office (by application form and/or by examination). The following suggestions regarding the training institute were made:

B. 1) Who should attend? Persons should attend who are mature, have solved their basic personal problems, have some skills and leader

ship ability, a basic sense of organization and are likely canidates for the positon of executive secretary or other form of professional leadership in Northern CORE Chapters. They need not be present active members of CORE but can be selected from the broader community. Applicants should be screened by application form or by examination.

2) The National office should be prepared to subsidize those persons who must leave jobs and pay some part of travel expenses in those cases where chapters are struggling financially and cannot afford to send people.

3) Where? It was the feeling of the group that such an institute take place in an isolated setting (e.g. Pendle Hill).

4) What should be included?

a. Skills in organization-how to budget, administer an office, delegate authority.

b. Program - direction and planning

c. How to work with groqs - human relations training

d. The Northern community - an analysis (power structure, key groups)

e. Core history and background, present direction

f. How to plan, set up priorities for daily routine

g. Factual information on governmental agencies and programs

h. Fund raising

i. Organizing skills

5) Who should do the training: It was agreed that although some of the above subjects could be handled on the workshop level with CORE

people in charge, others required the guidance of experts which could be chosen from other groups.

6) How often? It was recommended that the institutes be held at least three times yearly in different regions but not necessarily organized on a regional basis (e.g. Phil. Ohio, West Coast)

7) In cases where chapters had no one to send or could not possibly afford an executive sec. it was recommended that leadership persons trained at the institute but not hired by local chapters be made available to these smaller chapters.

a. Chapter might arrange to pay this person's salary for a month in exchange for his services.

b. These persons should also be considered top priority applicants for field staff positions.

We also talked briefly about additional training for chapter members perhaps in the form of regional workshops under the leadership of the National office and the senior field secretary of the region.

Where chapters decide to make this move, a job description should be incorporated in the local constitution. Motion - adopt report (Gartner, Rosenfeld) and also that the committee be a continuing committee. Passed unanimously.

REGIONAL ACTION COUNCILS

Motion - the National Director be directed to designate to the regional vice chairman the senior field secretary of the region and that regional vice chairman shall be able to call upon such persons to assist him in convening and organizing Regional Action Councils. (Due, Ussery). The Steering Committee then became a committee of the whole to discuss the Regional Action Committee's proposals. Meeting adjourned, 4p.m.

STEERING COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Date: Saturday, September 26, 1964

Time: 9:00 a.m.- 6:p.m. (longer if necessary)

Place: New York Regional CORE office,
84 West 125th Street (second floor)
New York City

A G E N D A

I Washington, D. C. Trusteeship

II CORE's position in regard to the Presidential Election

III Nominations for Vacancies on the National Action Council

IV. Report on Resolutions

V. Princeville Canning Company

VI Finances

VII Reorganization

VIII The Direction of CORE

IX Report from the Departmant of Organization

X Report from Fund Raising Committee

XI Report from the Evaluations Committee

XII October NAC Meeting

AGENDA

STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

Saturday, September 26, 1964

I Washington, D.C. Trusteeship

II CORE's position in regard to the Presidential Election

III Nominations for Vacancies on the National Action Council

IV Report on the Resolutions

V Princeville Canning Company

VI Finances

VII Reorganization

VIII The Direction of CORE

IX Report from the Department of Organization

X Report from Fund Raising Committee

XI Report from the Evaluations Committee

XII Comm on No. Staff

SPECIAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

JANUARY 15, 1965
National CORE Office

Members present: McKissick, Brown, Ussery, Hall, Burton, Rosenfeld, Gartner, Peck, Turner, Curvin, Lacey, Sprowal

The meeting was called to order at 10:01 by the chairman, Floyd McKissick. The agenda for the meeting was announced.

1. Affiliations and disaffiliations.
2. State of CORE report - by Wiley, Rich, etc.
3. Communications between staff and NAC including the following suggested items for discussion announced in the call for this meeting:

   a. "The Dept. of Finance shall submit monthly statements of income and expenditures in addition to monthly budget projections for income and expenses to NAC members and key staff personnel. The Dept. of Organization shall submit monthly reports to NAC members on all national, regional and chapter projects authorized by NAC. Activity and plans for staff recruitment and training, as well as chapter servicing will be included in this report."
   b. "That the Associate Director also submit monthly reports and note in them the disposition of all directives from NAC to staff."
   c. "That minutes of staff meetings be promptly sent to NAC members and key staff personnel."

4. Staff issues, including the following suggested items announced in the call.

   a. "That much more information be made available to the NAC about persons being considered for openings so that intelligent decisions in line with the NAC's responsibilities in hiring can be made."

   b. "The serious absence of direction for program reflects the need for a program assistant in the department of organization. Every effort should be made to fill this position as soon as possible."

   c. "That the fund-raising and community relations departments should be separated. A committee of the NAC and staff was appointed to study the question of fund-raising nation-wide August 8 and 9. This committee should either be vitalized or abolished."

5. National program.

6. Regional Action Councils, including the following item suggested in the call: "That the RAC be recognized as a significant level of organization and be strengthened and encouraged in every way possible. That the Dept. of Organization set up again the regional conferences that were discontinued last year and make its resources available to the RAC for their org. and development.

7. Allocations and priorities, including the following item suggested in the call: "That the NAC set up priorities for the allocation of funds and another set of priorities for cut-backs when they become necessary. It is our further recommendation that the training institute be given top priority in the plans for new expenditures."

8. National Director's overseas trip, including the following item suggested in the call: "That in the future no extended trips be planned by the National Director outside the country without prior approval of the NAC or its Steering Committee."

9. The National Convention

10. The next NAC meeting

The Steering Committee accepted by common consent the resignation of George Wiley from the NAC. Dr. Wiley is now serving as associate director. It was rules by the chairman that Dr. Wiley in his new position does not have a vote in this session of the Steering Committee since there are no constitutional provisions to that effect.

Affiliations and Disaffiliations - James McCain

The following chapters were recommended for affiliation by the Director of Organization:

Tyler, Texas CORE
Gainesville, Florida CORE
West Ascension, La. CORE
West Feliciana, La. CORE
Davenport, Iowa CORE
Westchester, N. Y. CORE (New Rochelle, N. Y.)
Utica, N. Y. CORE
Warren, Ohio CORE
De Ridder, La. CORE

Motion- that the chapters be affiliated (Ussery, Gartner). Passed unanimously. It was further recommended that the following chapters be disaffiliated: San Fernando Valley CORE and Santa Monica Bar Area CORE. According to the West Coast NAC members, the latter chapter voted to disband itself. Motion- that the latter chapter (Santa Monica Bay Area CORE) be disaffiliated but that action on the former be deferred pending an up-to-date report by the Second Vice Chairman (Gartner, Ussery). Motion passed unanimously.

State of CORE Report - George Wiley, Marvin Rich, Etc.

General Discussion

The Associate Director described his views on the priority needs of CORE at this time---to take hold of the organization with respect to organization's problems, thus bringing the internal house into order, and to deal with the question of staff training and the direction of the program. He noted that some changes have already been made. Mr. Edwin Day, past executive secretary of Syracuse CORE, has been brought into the National Office as Business Manager. Mr. Day's initial assignment is the physical reorganization of the office, to oversee business functions (e.g. bookkeeping dept.), to improve the lines of communication within the organization, and to implement such economy procedures that are necessary to make the operation of the office more efficient.

Financial situation

Mr. Wiley commented on the problem of making decisions without adequate information and the need for a good pciture of the state of the organization.

The information needed to complete such a picture is not presently available for a number of reasons (e.g. lag in bookkeeping dept., absence of adequate reports from field staff personnel) but a report will be able to be compiled by the week preceding the Feb. 6 NAC meeting. (Reports are being requested from all personnel in the Dept. of Organization by Jan. 25 in order to make the completion of such a report possible.)

A summary of the growth of the national organization was given:

Year	No. on staff	Annual budget
1959	7	$ 62,000
1960	14	125.000
1961	17	240.000
1962	42	617.000
1963	49	525.000
1964	92	900.000

CORE faces however serious financial problems, so serious in fact tha the problems of retrenchment must be dealt with.

DEBTS

	12/20/64	1/15/65
Bills/supplies	95,200	85,593
Legal	21,047	6,000
Loans	41,667	71,667
Staff	5,350	9,377
Chicago Project	8,100	5,000
Western office	2,000	1,000
Taxes	6,000	6,000
Southern Project	2,700	3,000
CURRENT	182.000	187,000
	Cash in hand	30,000
	DEBT	$157.000

The Financial Crisis

It was explained that presently the amount of staff time involved in dealing with creditors is unconscionable. It will take at least a year to get out of this kind of debt; a budget must be projected that will achieve this goal. In the month of January, as the result of personal contact, $25,000 has come into the office thus far but this does not necessarily represent an increase in overall income (since some of these funds would have come in normally at a later date). The Scholarship, Education and Defense fund is getting off the ground and is a bright spot. In some areas it can absorb expenses. It has established a legal defense budget of $77,400 annually. They have begun a voter registration campaign in South Carolina which now is in the $9,000 -- $10,000 range. Their next priority is for leadership development and trainirg.

After that they will explore freedom schools and community centers.

Our changing financial situation is reflected in the fact that we have no longer been able to obtain interest-free loans as we once were, reflecting the frequency of borrowing attempts in recent months.

As the result of a number of problems (e.g. staff inadequacies and lack of adequate administration), the bookkeeping dept. is far behind in its work. The audit for the fiscal year ending May, 1964 was just begun at the beginning of January. The new business manager's next assignment is to put that dept. back on its feet.

A serious item among the debts owed is the amount of taxes owed to the government. This must be a top priority item for repayment for obvious reasons.

The budget must be projected within income and in the light of the debt owed. Mr. Wiley assessed that a monthly budget of $65,000 would be appropriate in view of the above discussion.

Retrenchment and priorities

In view of the fact that a full financial statment is not available it was decided by common consent that discussion on retrenchment and the priorities for cutbacks be postponed until such information is available with the understanding that this information will be in the hands of the NAC before its next meeting.

Associate Director's Job Priorities

The Associate Director outlined his own job priorities as follows:

1) Next 10 days - prepare "state of the organization" report for the NAC.
2) Southern staff conference next week end. It is important to work out accounting procedures with the southern office, so that a more accurate financial statment from the region can be compiled.

Administrative changes

There have been certain administrtive changes in the office:

1. Phone bill cut from $5,500 to $3,500 monthly through controls and some changes in the crisis situation of the South. Educational procedures on the use of the phone are being worked out.
2. The stencil department and the membership department have been combined. All contributions and internal lists are handled by the combined department. The new system has resulted in a reduction of the office staff by three clerks.
3. The office is being renovated at minimal cost ($300-$500) through the efforts of several volunteers and Mr. Day.
4. There have been a number of resignations in the office (cut of 6 persons on balance), but the retrenchment is not yet sufficient and more will probably be needed.
5. There has been a net loss of about 7 field staff in the South and 1 in the North as the result of retrenchment.

Hiring and firing

When asked for his interpretation of the NAC's authority in the question of hiring and firing, the Associate Director stated that in his opinion hiring was subject to review by the NAC but in the case of firing the question was less clear and the NAC had less authority. Discussion followed.

Marvin Rich's Resignation

Marvin Rich announced his resignation to be effective in the spring. Motion- with extreme regret the NAC accept Mr. Rich's resignation; this regret is tempered, however, with the knowledge that he will be working in his new position of the Executive Director of a fraternal organization, the CORE Scholarship, Ed. and Defense Fund (Gartner, Ussery). Motion to table - (Ussery, Lacey). Motion passed.

Communication - NAC and Staff

George Wiley explained that a memoranda was to be sent out Dec. 20 but was delayed. The minutes of staff meetings, which will be held weekly, will be sent out from now on. Motion - This Steering Committee direct the Associate Director to report on a monthly basis on the following:

1. State of implementation of previous NAC directives
2. Major staff decisions regarding finances, program and organization
3. General summary of department activities in the areas of finance, program and organization
4. Any other matters he considers important to communicate.

(Gartner, Ussery)

Motion passed, 1 against (Curvin)

By common consent it was agreed that Wiley will communicate to the staff such information that they must have in order to be kept abreast of the developments within CORE, recognizing that there are problems of communiaation there as well.

The Associate Director reported that the Business Manager will work on bringing the contact list up to date as a means of improving communication.

CLOSED SESSION

OPEN SESSION

Agenda

Motion - that the National CORE Convention plans and the mechanics of the next NAC meeting be discussed before breaking for the evening and that the Steering Committee divide itself into three groups to discuss program, community relations and the West Coast problem. (Turner, Brown). Motion passed.

Convention

The question was raised by Virginia Burton about Gordon Carey's functions in the two months after the last NAC meeting, since the convention was to be his main assignment. Motion - that the Convention Committee be free to look for other than campuses when selecting a site for the convention. (Brown, Turner). Motion passed. Motion - that the Convention Planning Committee bring in a report by the next meeting, even if they are able to communicate only by mail. (Turner). Motion passed.

Next NAC Meeting

By common consent the meeting will be held in New York February 5 to February 7, to be set up by Wiley and the administrative staff at a minimum cost. Tentative plans are being made for a Friday evening bull session. The probability of a cancellation of this meeting is near zero.

Steering Committee Meeting - January 15-17

It was recommended that the expenditures borne by Steering Committee members for this special call meeting, in view of the financial crisis of the organization, be borne on a volunteer basis by splitting up the cost and assessing it accordingly. Volunteers are Curvin, Lacey, Rosenfeld, Brown, Ussery and Turner.

Farmer's Trip to Africa

According to the staff, the trip was underwritten by AMSAC, to be taken at this time. It was further suggested that questions regarding the time of the trip should be referred to the next meeting, since the National Director feels strongly about his own time priorities. Rich commented that the time spent in Israel may be worthwhile financially. Motion - table discussion until such time as Farmer can be present. (Gartner, Ussery). Motion passed.

Church Burnings in Louisiana

Marvin Rich announced that there had been two church burnings in Jonesboro, La. It was suggested that a telegram should be sent to Katzenbach in the Justice Department on the need for significant increase of protection in Louisiana, in view of a number of recent incidents of violence in that state. Farmer should also bring attention to bear on the problem from Africa. Motion - instruct Marvin Rich to make whatever contact with the President and the press as seems appropriate to get action on the church burnings in Louisiana. Also that this body telegram its concern to the Jonesboro community and finally that the staff take those steps it deems appropriate to get the churches rebuilt. (Gartner). Motion passed unanimously. By common consent it was agreed that the Director of Organization would communicate with the Southern Office and

college contacts in order to involve students in the rebuilding of the churches.

California Fair Housing Fight

Motion - that the NAC send a telegram to the California authorities to protest any release of money for the building of California housing. That any appropriate additional contact to Weaver by the staff be taken to facilitate action. (Brown, Gartner).

National Program

The program subcommittee reported on its discussion of Saturday evening. Turner reported that much of the discussion concerned the question of memberhip training and education as a crucial first step to program development. Area conference should become more disciplined training institutes for the development of second line leadership. Extensive memos should be sent on many program ideas so that chapters can choose the one or ones most appropriate to their own community needs. Suggested memo topics are:

1. The War on Poverty - a CORE interpretation
2. The CORE Community Center - how it differs from other social agencies, its purpose and function
3. Urban renewal - e.g., Trenton, New Jersey's experience
4. Target groups for organization by CORE; their problems and techniques for organizing them (e.g., veterans, mothers on public assistance, unemployed, people in public housing, unwed mothers)

If such a membership education program is to succeed, however, chapters must also communicate with the National Office, giving them up-to-date information on chapter membership lists and names of officers.

Discussion

The national training institute proposed by the NAC has not yet been financed (although the Scholarship Fund has made the institute a major commitment). The Department of Organization reported that certain memos are being prepared and articles on community organization are being readied for circulation. Shirley Lacey commented that the "what" of program is less important for chapters than the "how". It was the general feeling that national action projects such as the Freedom Rides are no longer what is required in order to rejuvenate CORE chapters and give them direction. Motion - instruct staff that the priorities of the NAC are as follows:

1. Develop a comprehensive series of local training institutes for more intensive training for leadership and program development
2. That a series of instructional memoranda be prepared and disseminated through the Department of Organization
3. Regarding national projects there are two priority items
   a. Development of a special South Carolina political program focused on the November, 1966, Senatorial election.
   b. The planning and development of a nationwide Mississippi boycott.

(Gartner, Brown. Motion passed. Clarification of the motion - that the statement prepared by the National Director of Nyack be the first in the series of memoranda referred to in the motion.

Other suggestions for memos were tenant-landlord relations and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; what is needed in the reports is not just the advice of experts, but "gutsy" descriptions by CORE people. Motion passed unanimously. It was agreed by common consent that NAC members also prepare such memos on policy, program items and direction, to be turned in to Wiley by January 25.

The Associate Director informed the NAC of a leadership training program in community organization being conducted by Syracuse University with Poverty Bill money. Applicants are being sought now.

Community Relations

Jim Peck requested that chapters send information on their projects and activities to the CORElator for wider circulation. James Farmer will have a weekly column starting next week in the Amsterdam News. Marvin Rich reported that in the area of fund-raising, several years ago 100% of all income came through direct mail; now 60% comes in through direct mail. The rest comes through personal solicitation, rallies, benefits, associate memberships, etc. (There is a need for a competent, meticulous technician to handle direct mailing now.) One of the problems in the fund-raising area is that there is no separate fund-raising department, although CORE cannot really afford to pay a professional fund-raiser at the present time. It is hard to get volunteers to do fund-raising; training is needed for people in CORE who can learn fund-raising techniques.

Mrs. Eva Levy spoke of the relation of program to fund-raising; in the case of giving money to specific Southern projects, this can be problematical. There has to be an education of givers; in the Negro community, for example, there is no pattern of giving to CORE. New standards for giving have to be set. The problems of fund-raising in the Negro community were discussed at length. Suggestions were - to pressure national organizations such as lodges and fraternal organizations from the top as well as on a local level; CORE might also adopt a singing group and sponsor jazz or rock and roll entertainers. (There are special problems with entertainers, however--timing, arrangements, the artist's own preferences.) It is important for CORE to analyze its attitude toward the Negro community if it is to be successful in fund-raising there (e.g. accepting or critical). The income-cost ratio of any venture must always be kept in mind.

The Poverty Program

A number of questions were raised regarding CORE's role in the President's War on Poverty. Overtures have been made to CORE chapters across the country to get involved. Questions raised, however, are: what are we organizing for? who are we organizing for? why the overtures to CORE? do we as CORE apply alone or as part of a community configuration? what are the possibilities of being bought off? There is a possibility of seeing the program as a short-term way to get a toehold, to develop a political base and train leadership, with the realization that the funds will be cut as soon as we get too militant. Motion - that there be a workshop session at the NAC meeting on the real "ins and outs" of the Poverty Program. (Turner, Rosenfeld). Motion passed unanimously. Wiley shall arrange it.

Meeting adjourned at 2:30 P.M., Sunday, January 17, 1965

LAW OFFICES OF
McKISSICK & BURT
213½ WEST MAIN STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27701

OFFICE 682-8106

F. B. McKISSICK
M. C. BURT, JR.

JAN 29 1965

January 26, 1965

Mr. George Wiley
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

Enclosed herewith is a letter from Jack Tar Durham regarding the CORE Convention. As you suggested in our telephone conversation of today, I will advise Jack Tar that we will notify them definitely regarding the convention after the NAC Meeting which is scheduled for February 6th and 7th.

I will have received additional information regarding conference rooms and additional space for the housing of 500 persons by the NAC Meeting, at any rate. I estimated that 500 persons will attend the convention, you may differ, and if so let me know.

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:ls

Jack Tar Durham®
HOTEL AND MOTOR LODGE
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702

JAN 25 A.M.

TELEPHONE
682-1101
AREA CODE 919

Mr. F. B. McKissick
National Chairman, Congress of Racial
Equality
213½ West Main Street
Durham, N. C.

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 22nd.

I would be very much interested in cooperating with you and the other members of your organization in having the 1965 Core Conference in Durham. At the present time we have the dates available between the 29th of June and the 10th of July. I have set aside a block of 125 rooms for your group several of our public function rooms. I would suggest that the Durham Civic Center be the headquarters as our ball rooms will only take care of approximately 400 people. With the use of the Civic Center, our hotel and other motels in the city, I feel that we could take care of this conference for you.

250 people

Sincerely,

Mildred

Mildred H. Callaghan
Director of Sales

Jack Tar
Prepare to Be Pampered

GRAND BAHAMA HOTEL & COUNTRY CLUB, West End, Grand Bahama Island, Bahamas
JACK TAR GROVE PARK INN, Asheville, North Carolina
JACK TAR DURHAM, Durham, North Carolina
JACK TAR WINSTON, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
JACK TAR POINSETT, Greenville, South Carolina
JACK TAR FRANCIS MARION, Charleston, South Carolina
JACK TAR HOTEL, San Francisco, California
JACK TAR HOTEL, Clearwater, Florida
JACK TAR KEYS MOTOR LODGE, Marathon Shores, Fla.
JACK TAR BEACH HOUSE, Destin, Florida
JACK TAR HOTEL, Lansing, Michigan
JACK TAR HOTEL, Orange, Texas
JACK TAR HOTEL, Galveston, Texas
JACK TAR CAPITOL HOUSE, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

65 Convention

May 5, 1965

Mr. Floyd Mc Kissick
213½ West Main St.
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Floyd:

I would very much appreciate your sending me a draft of the first call to the convention. You have all of the information on the convention, plus much more experience than I at convention planning. I could then see that this gets circulated to the chapters. I would also like you to send me all of the background information you can which formed the basis of that report that you gave to the NAC.

I would also appreciate your sending me a draft of the letter that I am to send to Santiago CORE because I am quite unclear as to exactly what procedure they ought to be following.

Sincerely yours,

George Wiley
Associate National Director

George

file Convention
MAY 7 1965 1965

LAW OFFICES OF
McKISSICK & BURT
213½ WEST MAIN STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27701

OFFICE 682-8106

F. B. McKISSICK
M. C. BURT, JR.

May 6, 1965

Dr. George Wiley, Associate National Director
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Re: CORE Convention

Dear Mr. Wiley:

We had a conference with the hotel management this past Saturday, where the details of the convention were iron out. The hotel desires to know the names of those persons whose bill the national office will be responsible for. I have given them the names of the NAC members. I need to know from you what staff members will attend the convention, along with the VIPs. Let me have this information at your earliest convenience. Be sure to advise us when a key note speaker has been obtained. You should keep Farmer moving on this.

Ruth Turner is to come to Durham one day next week to assist me in planning the convention. Will you be kind enough to order an open ticket, round trip, from Cleveland to Durham. Please give this matter your immediate attention.

With very kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:bp

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

Core Structure
Minutes

Convention '65

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
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Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Norman Hill
program director
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

May 15, 1965

Dear George,

The 1965 Convention Planning Committee is enclosing the below information. Each item is listed as to number and to whom it is to be sent:

Item no1. Letter to NAC members - send to NAC mailing list

Item no.2 Letter to Regional Vice Chairmen - also send attached letters to Due and Castle

Item no.3 Memo to Convention Committee leadership personnel - send to all names listed under each committee as personnel - c. 60 copies

Item no.4 Memo: Note on Discipline - to staff, NAC and chapter mailing

Item no. 5 Convention Call - to staff, NAC and chaper mailing list

Item no. 6 Reservation cards - ~~5 to a chapter~~ - to chapter mailing list

Item no.7 List of delegates and observers - to chapter mailing list, 2 lists per chapter

~~Item no.8 Workshop leaders (CORE) - send to names attached~~
~~8a " " (other groups) - send to names attached~~

✓ Item no.9 Letter to Val Coleman - make sure he has copies of mimeographed materials above.

P.S. Please return stencils to this office.

Thank you

James

file - convention '65

May 18, 1965

Mr. F. B. McKissick,
National Chairman
213½ West Main St.
Durham, N. C.

Dear Floyd:

George has asked me to let you know in answer to your letter of May 8 that we will be sending $100.00 to Virginia Burton during the week of May 25.

Sincerely yours,

NM:akr

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

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to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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treasurer
James Peck
director, editor

STAFF
Norman Hill
program director
James McCain
field secretary
Marvin Rich
publicity director

only 2 100 ck of May 25

May 8, 1965

Dr. George Wiley
Associate National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

wp. adv.

Dear George:

Would you be kind enough to send Mrs. Virginia Burton $100 as a part of her travel expenses to attend the Convention on or about June 1st.

Enclosed is copy of a letter I have just written her.

She has advised that she could drive from California after the 1st of June if we would pay her expenses. We would be saving money in this regard as we would normally send her a round-trip plane ticket.

At the time you reply to this letter, please send Mrs. Burton a copy of same.

With kind regards,

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick
National Chairman

Enc./
FBMcK:hl

213 W. Main St
Durham N.C.

May8, 1965

Mrs. Virginia Burton
1450 Acton Crescent
Berkeley 2, California

Dear Mrs. Burton:

Thanks very much for your letter of April 16 and for your kind suggestion to help us with pre-Convention problems.

WE DO WANT YOUR HELP AND WE ACCEPT YOUR OFFER.

I will see to it that you have $100 for expenses on or about the First of June so that you can drive to North Carolina. I will notify the National office to send this amount rather than sending round-trip plane ticket. This is certainly much cheaper and I don't think we will have complaints.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick
National Chairman

cc: Dr. George Wiley

FBMcK:hl

May 8, 1965

Rev. B. Elton Cox
P. O. Box 663
High Point, N.C. 27261

Dear Cox:

Our Convention Planning Committee meeting is set for 2 P.M., Thursday, May 16, 1965, at my office at 213½ W. Main Street, Durham.

B & C Associates have indicated that they are willing to work with us for free. Contact them and see if they desire to be present.

Ruth Turner, NAC Secretary, will be down from Cleveland.

Yours very truly,

F.B. McKissick
National Chairman

cc: Rev. Grady Davis
Miss Ruth Turner
Dr. George Wiley

FBMcK:hl

May 19, 1965

Mr. Floyd McKissick
213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Floyd:

We are in the process of mailing the convention material. We have a major problem in that the addressing machine has broken down, but we hope to have it repaired and get the mailing out within the week.

I am enclosing the material on project bank accounts. I suggest that you, and I and Ed Day and Clora Coleman be authorized dual signatories for the account.

I made no change in registration rates; this means that we will have to stress some fund-raising activities at the Convention in order to meet expenses.

Sincerely yours,

George A. Wiley
Associate National Director

GAW:nm

File Convention

May 26, 1965

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
213 1/2 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Floyd:

This letter is a response to your two letters of May 24. Twenty copies of each of the Convention Memorandum are being forwarded under separate cover. The following is as complete a list of staff persons coming to the convention as can presently be prepared:

Jim and Mrs. Lula Farmer,(and the two children) George Wiley, Clora Coleman, Ed Day, Carl Rachlin, Jim McCain, Richard Haley, Dave Dennis, Ronnie Moore, Spiver Gordon. Also reserve spaces for 15 additional staff persons and three places for invited guest speakers.

Intensive work is just beginning on the design of a Convention Program.

Convention materials are being forwarded to Mrs. Callaghan as you suggested.

The addressing is completed and the convention materials should be in the mail tomorrow.

Yours very truly,

George Wiley
Associate National Director

GW:cd

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

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national director
Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Norman Hill
program director
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

213 1/2 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

May 24, 1965

Mr. George Wiley
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

Please send me about 20 copies of each Convention Memo as I am already receiving request for same. This would save all parties much time.

Please send name of staff persons who will be in attendance to the convention as reservations will have to be made for them. The hotel has requested this three times already.

Please advise as to what progress is being made on a Convention Program--in which advertisements will be sold. This could pay for the convention if done in a hurry.

With very kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick
National Chairman

FBMcK:sal

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213 1/2 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

May 24, 1965

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Norman Hill
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James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

Mr. George Wiley
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

Please send a copy of all convention materials, announcements, etc. to Mrs. Mildred Callaghan, Jack Tar Hotel, Durham, North Carolina. She is handling all of the convention matters for us and desires to be kept abrest so as to see that the hotel fully lives up to its obligations.

I do hope the addressing machine is now O. K. and that the convention materials are flowing to all chapters, even those who are not affiliated.

You should also notify National Press of the convention, etc. I do not recall whether I had mentioned it to you or not. Normally they want details and will cover parts of the convention.

With very kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick
National Chairman

FBMcK:sal

fill Convention '65

May 28, 1965

Mr. Floyd McKissick
213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Enclosed is the Convention material that you sent to us on stencils a few days ago. We are terribly sorry that we could not mail these out from this office, but as you can imagine each of us in the National Office has Convention material to prepare and mail.

Upon examining the instructions we discovered that it would take a couple of days at least, to collate and find the addresses of those you wish the information to go to, and neither the Administration Department or the Organization Department could possibly find that much time right now.

George Wiley asked that I tell you that he will be in touch with you tomorrow by phone.

Again, our apologies.

Sincerely yours,

Maxine Skurka
Department of Organization

cc: G. Wiley

P.S. Sorry. They were mailed already under separate cover.

Lic Convention

June 8, 1965

Mr. James T. McCain
317 W. Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McCain:

George asked me to let you know that he is definitely planning to send Maxine to the Convention if she is able to go; I mentioned it to her and she said that she thinks she will be able to, but will let you know as soon as possible.

Hope all is well with you; looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

JUN 4 1965

317 W. Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina
June 2,1965

Dear George:

If Maxine is able to travel during the Convention, please give her your permission to come. I am sure there will be questions asked about affiliation of chapters at the NAC meeting preceeding the Convention and I may need Maxine there to help answer them.

Maxine is attempting now to get certain information from field personnel that will be needed at the NAC and Convention. Let me know as soon as you can if she can attend the Convention. The work is moving along smoothly.

Your Truly,
Booker
James T. McCain

def planning to send her to convention
cpy Maxine

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF CORE RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
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James Farmer
national director

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general counsel
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina
June 12, 1965

Mr. George Wiley
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

The Convention planning committee has expressed a desire to have a night of African entertainment. Such authentic entertainment can be secured through "African Stars." They can be contacted by writing:

Mr. G. Leo Mensah, Director
African Stars
P. O. Box 352
New York, New York 10031

Please contact agents and, if financially feasible, secure such entertainment for the convention.

Matters of the convention have now become a 36 hour a day job for your good, kind information.

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:sss

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

Convention

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina
June 17, 1965

JUN 18 1965

Mr. George Wiley
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

Please see that this final call to the convention is sent air mail to each chapter.

We are sending this to national because you have the addressograph and the best facilities for getting this out. We down here have our hands full!

Thank you.

Yours truly,

F. B. McKissick
National Chairman

FBMcK:sss
Enclosure

sent to Chap. Chairman list

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

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James Farmer
national director

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Marvin Rich
community relations director

JUN 24 1965

213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina
June 22, 1965

Mr. George Wiley
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

A final reminder needs to be sent to the NAC. Please send a last notice to each member that our first session of the convention will be on June 29, 1965, at 9:30 a.m. in the Wedgewood Room of the Jack Tar Hotel.

Many thanks.

Yours truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:sss

file CORE Convention 1965

MAR 10 1965

March 8, 1965

Mrs. Louise K. Ferrell
Durham Recreation Office
Erwin Auditorium
Durham, North Carolina

Re: CORE CONVENTION JULY 1 - 4, 1965
DURHAM CIVIC CENTER CONFIRMATION

Dear Mrs. Ferrell:

Enclosed please find our check #10229 dated March 4, 1965, in the amount of $50.00, for deposit in regard to the above named convention. The dates of the convention are July 1st through 4th.

We will be contacting you after we have completed our convention plans with Jack Tar Durham. If you desire further information please feel free to call.

With very kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick
National Chairman CORE

FBMcK:ls

Enclosure:

cc: Mr. George Wiley
Associate Director CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Mrs. Mildred H. Callaghan
Jack Tar Durham

Clara file - Convention '65

Clara
Ed Gray

LAW OFFICES OF
F. B. McKISSICK
213½ WEST MAIN STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE 682-8106
RESIDENCE 682-6578

THEAOSEUS T. CLAYTON, ASSOCIATE

JUN 16 1965

June 14, 1965

Mr. George Wiley
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

Enclosed please find Mechanics and Farmers Bank signature cards ready for those whom you have designated to perform those duties which are always necessary.

Return immediately, please.

Yours truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:sss
Enclosures

file
Convention '65

JUN 16 1965

2131 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina
June 14, 1965

Mr. Moss H. Kendrix, Director
The Moss H. Kendrix Organization
1826 11th Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Moss:

We got your letter and check in the amount of $1,000.00 for the CORE Convention. We will follow your suggestions.

Appreciated your phone call also and you may rest assured that we will have accommodations for you when you arrive on the Sunday of July 4th for the reception scheduled for that evening.

Thanks again, Ole Buddy.

Yours truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:sss
c.c. James Farmer

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

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chairman
Rudolph Lombard
1st vice chairman
Wilfred Ussery
2nd vice chairman
Ralph Rosenfeld
secretary
Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor
Gordon Carey
program director
James T. McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

Convention '65

AUG 18 1965

213 1/2 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

August 16, 1965

Mr. George Wiley
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

Enclosed herewith, please find a copy of a letter I have just received from The Jack Tar, Durham regarding delinquent accounts which have not been paid. I would appreciate your determining the status of these people and if they are actually with chapters. We would, of course, see Jack Tar paid and I wanted to cooperate with them in the collection of these if at all possible.

Let me hear from you within the next few days.

With very kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:ls

cc: Jack Tar, Durham

Enclosures:

Jack Tar Durham
HOTEL AND MOTOR LODGE
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702

AUG 10 1965

TELEPHONE
682-1101
AREA CODE 919

August 9, 1965

Mr. F. B. McKissick
Attorney
213½ W. Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. McKissick:

This is the reminder letter you asked for.

We have three accounts left by CORE:

Mr. James Harrison amount $37.86
3322 W. Congress Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

He stated he would contact CORE to pay this bill. No further information.

Taylor Jones amount $56.30
2704 Illinois Avenue
E. St. Louis, Illinois

Mail returned marked "moved - left no address."

David N. Laurence amount $38.51
1118 E. Pacific Avenue #6
Santa Anna, California

Mail returned "moved left no address."

Prepare to be Pampered

GRAND BAHAMA HOTEL & COUNTRY CLUB,
West End, Grand Bahama Island, Bahamas
JACK TAR GROVE PARK INN, Asheville, North Carolina
JACK TAR DURHAM, Durham, North Carolina
JACK TAR POINSETT, Greenville, South Carolina
JACK TAR FRANCIS MARION, Charleston, South Carolina
JACK TAR HOTEL, Clearwater, Florida
JACK TAR BEACH HOUSE, Destin, Florida
JACK TAR HOTEL, Lansing, Michigan
JACK TAR KEYS MOTOR LODGE, Marathon Shores, Florida
JACK TAR HOTEL, Orange Texas
JACK TAR HOTEL, Galveston, Texas
JACK TAR CAPITOL HOUSE, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
JACK TAR HOTEL, San Francisco, California

These are the ones we discussed when you checked the accounts. I hope you will be able to give us some information or request that we transfer these to the CORE account.

We would like to keep the CORE account in good standing.

Sincerely yours,

B. B. Nicholson, Jr.

B. B. Nicholson, Jr.
Assistant Manager

BBN:mdl

65
CORE

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
September 9, 1965

TO: Clora Coleman and Ed Day
FROM: George Wiley

I talked to Floyd McKissick on the phone last night, and he pushed me to pay $500 to the Jack Tar in Durham right away, with an indication that we will pay them $500 a month until it's paid off, or $500 every two weeks, or some such thing as that, but that we offer to make some definite arrangement. I would like CLora to draft one of her charming letters to Jack Tar to send with the check and send a copy to Floyd McKissick.

65
conv

November 3, 1965

Mr. Richard E. Arey
General Manager
Jack Tar Hotel
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Arey:

Enclosed is a check for $425.80covering the balance of our account from our conventionthis summer. You will note that this check is $74.20 less than the $500 previously discussed.

Enclosed you will find photostatic copies of twelve of the room bills charged to our account at the time of the convention. You will note to the right of the line marked "charges" there are slash marks which have been made by our bookkeeping department. These indicate discrepancies in the room rates from the amounts we believe we are responsible for. As you will recall, the pre-convention arrangements were for members of the CORE staff for whom we would be paying room rentals and they were to be housed together (two to three to a room). Unfortunately, your main desk when making room assignments assigned some of our staff members to private rooms. This error was not discovered by us until several days after the convention had begun. At that time I arranged with the room clerk to double up staff members as had been the arrangement. Therefore, in these instances where higher room rates were charged as a result of this mistake in room assignments, we have deducted the difference between the basic rate and the higher rate, which appears on your invoices. At the bottom of each enclosed room invoice you will find a notation by our bookkeeping department marked O.C. with a figure following. This is to indicate the overcharges on that invoice.

We are pleasedto complete payment on the balance of this account. Again we wish to thank you for the hospitality shown our members at our 1965 convention.

Yours truly,

Edwin A. Day
Business Manager

EAD:ms
Enclosures

CNV 65

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
November 3, 1965

TO: Floyd McKissick, National Chairman
FROM: George Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: Final payment to Jack Tar Hotel

As you will recall, at the time of the convention the room clerk of the Jack Tar Hotel failed to assign our staff members appropriately, resulting in several members of the staff being placed in private rooms. This discrepancy was discovered several days after the convention had begun and Ed Day worked out with the room clerk the reassignment of the staff members so that there were two or three people per room. The error by the Jack Tar resulted in higher room rates for the first several days, for which we informed the hotel at that time we would not assume responsibility.

Enclosed is the final check to the Jack Tar and a letter with attached room invoices outlining in detail this matter and making the appropriate deductions. Since you have handled most of the arrangements with the hotel, it seemed appropriate to send you this material rather than forward it directly to Mr. Arey. Should any insoluble problems develop concerning this, please let me know.

Conven '65

T E L E G R A M

June 29, 1965

LEE WHITE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE A MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO THE NATIONAL CORE CONVENTION BEING HELD AT THE JACK TAR HOTEL, DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA JULY 1 - 4. WOULD NEED SUCH GREETINGS PRIOR TO OPENING SESSION MORNING JULY 1.

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

AA376

1965 JUN 29 PM 9 25

A WA516 GOVT NL PD=THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC 29=
JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, REPORT DELIVERY=
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY JACK TAR HOTEL
(CARE OF ASST HOTEL MGR ON DUTY) DURHAM NCAR=
THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY'S ANNUAL CONVENTION COMES AT A TIME WHEN INCREASING ATTENTION IS BEING GIVEN TO THE NEED TO TRANSLATE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL RIGHTS INTO IMPROVED EDUCATION, BETTER EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY, ADEQUATE HOUSING AND FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. CORE'S MEMBERSHIP CAN PLAY A MEANINGFUL ROLE IN THIS PHASE OF THE MARCH TOWARD OUR

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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GOAL OF EQUAL TREATMENT AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS.
THE GENUINE PROGRESS OF THE PAST YEAR IS CLEAR EVIDENCE OF THE NATIONAL SUPPORT THAT UNDERLIES THE EFFORTS OF CORE AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS TO ARRIVE AT THAT DAY WHEN THE JUDGMENT OF A MAN'S WORTH WILL HAVE NO RELATIONSHIP TO THE COLOR OF HIS SKIN, THE CHURCH HE ATTENDS, THE MANNER IN WHICH HE SPELLS HIS NAME OR THE SECTION OF THE COUNTRY FROM WHICH HE COMES.
PLEASE EXTEND MY BEST WISHES FOR A FRUITFUL MEETING TO

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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THOSE WHO ARE IN ATTENDANCE=

LYNDON B JOHNSON.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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AA181 CTE257 WG175 (22).

WW BUB023 GOVT PD=BU WASHINGTON DC 30 310P EDT=
1965 JUN 30 PM 3 05

:FLOYD MCKISSICK=

CORE 213-1/2 WEST MAIN ST DURHAM NCAR=

:CONGRATULATIONS ON A SUCCESSFUL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF CORE AND I SINCERELY REGRET MY ABSENCE=

JOHN CONYERS JR=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax

A NA229 PD 6 EXTRA=WUX NEW YORK NY 29 551P EDT=
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY CONVENTION=
JACK TARR HOTEL DURHAM NCAN= 65 JUN 29 PM 5 22

ON BEHALD OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE, I EXTEND GREETINGS
TO THE CONGRESS ON RACIAL EQUALITY GATHERED IN
CONVENTION IN DURHAM. OVER THE YEARS YOU HAVE BEEN
LEADERS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IN OUR LAND. YOUR
DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF NON-VIL
VIOLENCE HAS INSPIRED AND INSTRUCTED MANY FOR THE

file - Convention '65

1270 (1-81)

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax

DEEDS REQUIRED IN THE PRESENT CRISIS. NOW THE STRUGGLE DEEPENS AND INTENSIFIES EVEN AS THE PROMISE OF VICTORY APPEARS NEARER THAN EVER BEFORE. WE PRAY FOR YOUR CONTINUED INSPIRATION AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHER FRUITFUL ASSOCIATION WITH YOU IN THE TASK WE ARE PRIVILEGED TO SHARE.

ROBERT W SPIKE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR NCC
COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE.

1270 (1-67)

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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AA329 NSB485

1965 JUL 1 PM 11 21

NS BRA423 PD=BATON ROUGE LA 1 845P CST=
FLOYD MCKISSICK=
JACK TAR HOTEL DURHAM NCAR=

THE PEOPLE OF BOGALUSA ARE NOT GIVING UP. MORE PUBLIC PRESSURE MUST BE EXERTED IN ORDER TO MAKE THE MAYOR AND COMMISSION COUNCIL OF BOGALUSA KEEP THEIR PROMISES TO END SEGREGATION AND DUAL CITIZENSHIP IN THE SOUTH LOUISIANA MILL TOWN OF 800 KLANSMAN. WE APPEAL TO YOU TO ALLOW ISAAC REYNOLDS, LEADING CITIZENS OF BOGALUSA, AND OTHERS FROM LOUISIANA TIME BEFORE THE CONVENTION SO THAT THEY MAY PRESENT TO THE ENTIRE BODY THE SITUATION

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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IN BOGALUSA. YOURS FOR FREEDOM=
RONNIE M MOORE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
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NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

AA333 NSB486

NS BRA424 PD=BATON ROUGE LA 1 845P CST= 1965 JUL 1 PM 11 20

FLOYD MCKISSICK=

JACK TAR HOTEL DURHAM NCAR=

THE CITY OF BOGALUSA IS PRESENTLY ENGAGED IN A STRUGGLE TO END SEGREGATION AND TO SECURE EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL ITS CITIZENS. WE NEED OUTSIDE HELP TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE MAYOR AND LOCAL OFFICIALS IN ORDER TO PERSUADE THEM TO LIVE UP TO THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE LAW THE BOGALUSA CIVIC AND VOTERS LEAGUE THEREFORE REQUEST PERMISSION FOR TIME AT THE CONVENTION SO THAT ITS REPRESENTATIVES MAY DESCRIBE THE SITUATION IN BOGALUSA

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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AND APPEAL TO YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT=

BOGALUSA CIVIC AND VOTERS LEAGUE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

file Convention

June 15, 1965

Mr. Dick Gregory
1451 East 55th. Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dick:

CORE is very happy that you will be with us at our Annual Convention in Durham, North Carolina on July 4th. We are deeply grateful to you.

We are very much aware of your extremely tight schedule, and in light of it we have made the following travel arrangements.

July 4th.

	LEAVE		ARRIVE	
San Francisco	8:00A.M.	Atlanta	3:27P.M.
Atlanta	5:55P.M.	Durham	8:30P.M.

July 5th.

Durham	7:00A.M.	Washington	9:55A.M.
Washington	10:30A.M.	Chicago	11:45A.M.
Chicago	12.25P.M.	San Francisco	2:25P.M.

We are hoping this will be satisfactory with you. Again we are most thankful, and eagerly looking forward to seeing you.

I remain yours in freedom,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/bp

P.S. We will send the tickets to your Chicago address unless you prefer otherwise.

DURHAM CORE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

2131 W. MAIN ST.
DURHAM, N. C.

June 25, 1965

file - convention '65

[illegible] DAVIS
[illegible] DAVE

Secretaries
DOROTHY L. WALLER
ROSIE MICHAUX

Treasurers
LIZZIE SMITH
SADIE HUGHLEY

Parliamentarians
MINNIE FULLER
ATTY. C. C. MALONE

Miss Doris Castle
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

In Re: DICK GREGORY BENEFIT, JULY 4th (CORE CONVENTION)

Dear Doris:

Be advised that we have secured the Stallion Club, a first rate night club in the city of Durham for the purpose of having the Dick Gregory Benefit. Our arrangements with the Stallion Club are as follows:

1. We assume the expense of bringing Dick Gregory to Durham and returning him to California.

2. The Stallion Club will publicize and promote the Dick Gregory Show, utilizing radio, television, handbills and posters.

3. There will be two shows, the early show will commence at 9:30 p.m., admission to the Stallion Club will be $2.00 per person for the first show. The late show which will commence at mid-night, will be $2.50 per person.

4. A dance band along with other entertainers will provide for dancing between Gregory's performances.

5. We will split fifty-fifty after deducting all expenses. Under these arrangements I do not think that we will go into the hole.

Since you desired a memorandum, this should be sufficient for your files.

With every good wish, I am

Yours very truly,

F. D. McKissick

[illegible]

HANDBOOK FOR COIC CONVENTION

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I. DUTIES OF THE CONVENTION SECRETARY AND THE HOST CHAPTER

A. Duties of the Convention Secretary

Type correspondence between Pre-Convention Headquarters and
- Convention guests
- Speakers
- Workshop Personnel
- Chapters
- National Office
- Community churches, businesses, and dignitaries

Act as liaison between Pre-Convention Headquarters and hotel
- Make room reservations
- Make reception arrangements
- Select convention rooms

Arrange for convention equipment
- Typewriters
- Projector, Screen, and Speaker
- Spirit duplicator
- Telephones
- Office supplies

Supervise these activities
- Partial Registration
- Housing
- Meeting guests at airport
- Sunday Services

Handle finances
- Establish National CORE Convention bank account
- Handle petty cash
- Balance convention books

Help Chairman compose
- Convention Schedule
- Workshop Schedule
- Public Meeting Agenda

Revise the CORE Convention Handbook

B. Duties of the Host Chapter

Secure Convention Kit materials and pack the kits
Decorate the Convention Hall
Serve at Registration
Organize guest and delegate transportation within the city
Accumulate list of Private Housing facilities
Make posters for Public Meetings and Convention needs
Compose list of restaurants near the Convention Hotel
Organize the Pre-Convention Party
Be on hand at Pre-Convention Headquarters to help when needed

II. CONVENTION FINANCES

It is best to set an amount which is available for the Convention expenses and try to work within that amount. Funds from certain contributors are especially appropriate for Convention use. (For example, funds from Coca Cola were used for the 1965 Convention and Coke was purchased and served to delegates at the Convention Hall. A sign gave credit to the contributor.)

Special Convention events such as receptions are also funded by the contributors who sponsor them. Negro businesses, banks, etc. in the Convention city should be approached for such a sponsorship. (This is best left to the Chairman and Director.)

Financial matters handled by the Convention Secretary for the Convention should include the following:

1. Open a National CORE Convention bank account when first Convention funds arrive.

2. Keep careful record of all deposits and withdrawals made to this account.

3. Have $100 in petty cash available 2 weeks before the Convention at Pre-Convention Headquarters ready for necessary expenditures. Make sure this amount is at $100 again before the Convention weekend. Keep petty cash in a locked place!

4. All expenditures from petty cash must have a clearly itemized receipt which is kept in the Convention Bookkeeping file.

5. Cash no checks for delegates or observers or anyone from this petty cash fund without the OK of the Chairman.

6. After the Convention the Convention books must be balanced.

Typical expenses from the Convention Account would be those for telephone installation, public address system installation, liquor, and typewriter rentals.

Typical petty cash expenditures would be additional office supplies, motion picture projector rental, and other last minute expenses.

It is necessary to remember that CORE Conventions are done on a shoestring. Luxuries such as banquets and expensive decorations are out. Every expenditure must be justified. The Convention Secretary should check with the Chairman before any expenditure is made, regardless of who says it is needed. All supplies not used should be returned for credit. The Convention should not have to pay for these items even if they are used later for CORE purposes. (Check with the Chairman on this.) As always in CORE, make do with what we've got.

III. RADIO AND PRESS COVERAGE

The Convention Secretary will help the Chairman compose and issue news stories about the approaching convention, guest speakers, etc. to the press of the Convention city. Two or three news stories should be placed in the local newspapers before the Convention begins. Guest speakers and benefit entertainers may be requested to send press photos for this purpose. The Convention Secretary may be asked by the Chairman to talk with the local press. She should be certain that she knows what information is to be released when.

The local radio station may desire to broadcast live or tape the major speeches of the Convention. Perhaps the Chairman will want to approach the station about this if they do not initiate the idea. If broadcast time is arranged, the Convention Secretary will help the station make arrangements and will notify them about the exact place and time of the major addresses.

After the Convention begins, the dealings with the press will be handled by the National Staff member acting as CORE's press representative. The Convention Secretary must be careful not to answer questions or volunteer information to the national press. Refer them to the press representative from the National Office.

The room provided for press use in the Convention Hotel is discussed on page 29.

IV. CORRESPONDENCE WITH CHAPTERS

The local chapter is CORE. If the chapters do not know who is speaking at the Convention, what the workshops are about, and when and how to register, the Convention is off to a bad start. The chapters must be kept informed about the Convention plans.

This chapter includes suggestions for communications and materials which should be sent to each chapter. It is the responsibility of the Pre-Convention Headquarters to prepare most of the materials and the responsibility of the National Office to see that they are sent out. This handbook does not include discussion of the Convention materials, if any, prepared and sent to chapters, guests, etc. by the National Office. (It should, however. Maybe the 1966 revision of this handbook could add this information.)

Recommend Communications to be Sent to Chapters

A. Note from the National Chairman

This brief message should be sent 2 months prior to the Convention. It is the Chairman's invitation to attend. He may wish to mention the function and duties of the Convention, its highlights, or anything else he may wish to personally request of the delegates. (See page 5 for one such note to delegates.)

B. Convention Reservation and Partial Registration Form

Two copies of this should be sent to each Chapter at least 6 weeks before the Convention. (See page 6 for a sample of this form.) The Chapter will send one copy of this form to the Convention Hotel and one to Pre-Convention Headquarters. This procedure is fully discussed later.

C. Tentative Convention Schedule

This agenda of meetings and workshops should be sent 3 weeks before the Convention. It will help delegates plan arrival and departure times if their stay at the convention must be a limited one.

D. The Convention Newsletter

This should reach the Chapters 2 weeks before the Convention. It contains any last-minute instructions or news delegates will need to know before arriving at the Convention. It is usually Pre-Convention Headquarters' last communication with the Chapters, and it contains information about topics such as the following:

1. Notification of private or low cost housing arrangements (if any).

2. Announcement of the Pre-Convention Party for early arrivals if it is to be held.

3. Latest news on guest speakers or benefit shows.

4. Time and place Registration will begin

5. Location of delegates' work room in the Convention Hotel.

Remember that these communications with Chapters must be prepared in time to be sent to National Office and then on to the Chapters. The time allotments above apply to the time they should reach the Chapters.

SAMPLE NOTE FROM THE CHAIRMAN

A NOTE ON DISCIPLINE
PRE-CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS
Address

15 May, 1965

CONVENTION DATES - July 1 - 5 THEME: The Black Ghetto: An Awakening Giant

Dear CORE Member and Friends:

The Durham Chapter of CORE has planned a great convention and we welcome you. This is a very significant convention, for what happens in Durham will determine the future course of the Civil Rights Movement.

In the process of accomplishing the purpose of the convention, we want everyone to maintain the "CORE Image" of a dedicated organization working to abolish racial discrimination based on skin color. All persons are asked to avoid overt public display of affection, drunkeness or disorderly behavior which are not in the best interest of CORE or the Durham Community, both black and white. You are relatively free in North Carolina, but your conduct will be closely watched for the purpose of editorial criticism.

Please accept this "Note on Discipline" in the spirit in which it is intended.

Conventionally yours,

National Chairman

SAMPLE

CONVENTION RESERVATION AND PARTIAL REGISTRATION FORM

22nd ANNUAL CORE CONVENTION - JULY 1 - JULY 5, 1965

TO: PRE-CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS, Address

FROM: CHAPTER _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

Number of Delegates and Observers _____ Males _____ Females _____
A Community Chapter has (3) votes, but as many persons as a chapter can afford to send to the convention may divide and cast the (3) votes.

DELEGATES	OBSERVERS
1. _____	1. _____
2. _____	2. _____
3. _____	3. _____
4. _____	4. _____
5. _____	5. _____
6. _____	6. _____
7. _____	7. _____
8. _____	8. _____
9. _____	9. _____
10. _____	10. _____

NAME OF PERSON MAKING RESERVATION _____
DATE _____ TITLE _____
WHO WILL PAY HOTEL BILL? _____
ARRIVAL DATE _____ ARRIVAL TIME _____
WILL ARRIVE BY: PLANE ___ TRAIN ___ AUTO ___ BUS ___
DEPARTURE DATE _____ HOUR _____
FIRST CONVENTION STARTS PROMPTLY AT 9:30 a.m. July 1, 1965.
REGISTRATION FEE: $5.00 FOR DELEGATES - $8.00 for OBSERVERS
IMPORTANT: SEND 1 COPY OF THIS FORM TO THE ADDRESS ABOVE BY JUNE 15 WITH CHECK FOR REGISTRATION FEE MADE OUT TO NATIONAL CORE CONVENTION. SEND 1 COPY TO: JACK TAR HOTEL AND MOTOR LODGE, DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
PUT AN X BESIDE THE NAMES OF PEOPLE FOR WHOM HOTEL RESERVATIONS ARE DESIRED.

V. INVITATIONS TO THE CONVENTION

Invitations to attend the CORE Convention are sent to many people besides CORE members. The National Director and Chairman will compose and send invitations to individuals whom they feel will be interested. This will include contributors, Congressmen, Negro leaders. etc.

The Host Chapter should be consulted above local friends of CORE to whom they would like invitations sent. These may include the local Committee on Negro Affairs, other Civil Rights groups, the local Muslim organization, etc. Usually a workshop schedule or list of major speakers is enclosed with invitations to VIP's and friends of CORE.

The Pre-Convention Headquarters usually sends invitations to the following people in the convention city and state as a matter of course.

Negro Churches
Negro Lawyers
African Students at nearby universities
Negro owned company officials

(See pages 7, 8, & 9 for samples of letters sent to these groups.)

Invitations are usually sent out two weeks before the Convention.

SAMPLE INVITATION TO FRIENDS OF CORE

1965 CORE CONVENTION
July 1-5, 1965

Theme: "THE BLACK GHETTO: AN AWAKENING GIANT"

Pre-Convention Headquarters
(Address here)

The Call to the Convention

TO: All North Carolina Friends of CORE:

Because of your interest in CORE and the support you have given its activities in the past, we are sending you this information about our forthcoming convention.

We would be pleased to have you attend the convention as an observer. Accommodations may be made through the Convention Headquarters at:

(Convention Hotel Address here)

Anticipating your continuing interest in CORE, I am

Yours very truly,

National Chairman

SAMPLE INVITATION TO NEGRO CHURCHES

1965 CORE CONVENTION
July 1-5, 1965
Jack Tar Hotel

Theme: "THE BLACK GHETTO: AN AWAKENING GIANT"

Pre-Convention Headquarters
(Address here)

Dear Durham Clergyman:

We of the Congress of Racial Equality are certain of your interest in the increasingly important role the Negro is beginning to play in the social, economic, political, and spiritual life of America. For this reason, we are pleased to invite you to send at least one individual to represent your congregation as an observer of the Plenary Meetings and Workshops of the convention. We are confident that you will want to meet and share ideas with the prominent leaders of the Civil Rights Movement who will be at our convention. These include James Farmer of CORE, Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and Congressman John Conyers, Jr. The following workshops will also be of special interest to you: The Power Structure: Assessing it, researching it, how to deal with it and get results; and CORE and the Federal Government.

Because some members of your congregation are in CORE and others may also be vitally interested in improving the future of the Negro, we would appreciate your announcing the dates, location, and some of the above highlights of the convention to your congregation, possibly the Sunday before the convention convenes.

All observers may register in the lobby of the Jack Tar Hotel by paying the $6.00 observer's registration fee. Thank you for your help in making our convention a fruitful one.

Yours very truly,

National Chairman

SAMPLE INVITATION TO AFRICAN STUDENTS

THE 22nd ANNUAL CONVENTION OF

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
July 1-5, 1965
Jack Tar Hotel
Durham, North Carolina

Pre-Convention Headquarters
(Address here)

Dear African Student:

It is our pleasure to invite you to the 22nd Annual Convention of The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Just as the American Negro has been influenced by the Freedom Movement and the subsequent independence of most African countries, we feel that the Civil Rights Movement in this country affects Africa. Ours is a common cause. For this reason we are looking forward to your participation as an observer in the Plenary Sessions and Workshops of our convention. We know that you will be interested in hearing the outstanding Civil Rights leaders who will be attending the convention -- Mr. James Farmer of CORE, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and Congressman John Conyers, Jr.

You know, undoubtedly, that much is taking place in the social, political, economic, and religious spheres of American life. CORE believes that the Negro will be playing an increasingly influential role in each of these areas. For this reason, the theme of the CORE Convention is "The Black Ghetto: An Awakening Giant."

We need your participation. We need your contribution. If you need assistance in your plans to attend the convention, feel free to contact us at the above address.

Yours very truly,

National Chairman

VI. ACQUISITION OF CONVENTION EQUIPMENT

This chapter is a discussion of the acquisition of equipment only. The use and location of convention equipment is discussed later.

A. Telephones - The order for the 5 telephones needed in the press, National staff, and Convention Hall rooms must be placed with the telephone company 3 weeks in advance. (2 additional lines are usually added to the Per-Convention Headquarters 2 weeks before the Convention.) Three weeks' notice is necessary because in many cities, the telephone company is far behind in its installations. A deposit is necessary before any work will be done. This can come from the National CORE Convention account.

B. Typewriters - These are needed for press and staff room and Registration. They usually must be rented for a period of a month. In the past, 10 typewriters were needed, 2 electric and 8 manual. Usually, all of them must be rented but this number may be reduced if the hotel can provide some or if magic markers are used for name tags. On the other hand, the number must be enlarged if the Pre-Convention Headquarters can not be used during the Convention and this staff must also share the National Staff room. In that case, perhaps some equipment from that office can be moved to the staff room.

C. Spirit Duplicator - This can be rented from an office supply agency for about $15. It is essential for the National Staff room. This agency can also provide duplicator fluid, masters, and paper.

D. 16mm Projector, Screen, and Speaker - This equipment is needed only if someone requests that it be made available. This rental requires a sizeable deposit and usually the company will not deliver the equipment. Someone from the Host Chapter should pick it up and sign for it because photography rental services usually prefer to give this to someone with a local address. It can be rented for only the day or two needed.

E. Tape Recorders - If the Workshop sessions or speeches are to be recorded, several recorders (4) must be rented or better yet, borrowed from delegates or a friendly radio station. Reels of recording tape (8) must also be purchased. Check with the Chairman to see if recordings are to be made.

VII. HOUSING: HOTEL AND PRIVATE

A. Hotel

Ideally, all delegates will be able to stay in the Convention Hotel. For those who will stay in the hotel, the Convention Secretary must call the hotel to be certain that their reservations have been made. (See page 13 for further discussion of this matter.)

CORE provides rooms (pays for them) for the NAC, the guest speakers, (for example, Fannie Lou Hamer, B. Rustin, and Dick Gregory) the officers, and the Staff. (Check with the Chairman to be certain this is correct.) It is the Convention Secretary's job to make certain these reservations are made. Most of the staff officers and all of the NAC will arrive 1 or 2 days before the Convention begins so their room reservations must take this into account. Get their arrival and departure dates from the Chairman or ask National to send them.

Room accommodations for Staff and NAC are double rooms. The Chairman can suggest appropriate roommates. (That last was not supposed to be funny.) You can request the hotel to put this group on the same floor or as conveniently located with each other and Convention Hall as possible. Usually the hotel provides a complimentary room for the Director, Chairman, or both.

Get definite arrival and departure times from the guest speakers and make appropriate reservations. These people, of course, have private rooms.

B. Private

Inevitably, some delegates will not be able to stay at the Convention Hotel. Sometimes inexpensive or free housing can be provided for them. If this can be done, the Chapters should be notified about how much private housing is available in the Convention Newsletter. This goes to the Chapters 2 weeks before the Convention. (Earlier notification about private housing might encourage too many delegates to count on it.)

Private housing is usually handled on a first-write-in-first-served basis. The Convention Secretary assigns delegates to residences, writes the delegates about the address of the residence, and notifies the host. Any private housing not used in filling mail requests can be made available at the Convention Information Desk for delegates who need it after they arrive.

One year inexpensive ($2.50 per night) dormitory accommodations were made for some delegates. In the event that this is done, delegates must be told in the Convention Newsletter to bring their own towels and bedding. Perhaps a local school would have empty dorms which it would donate for this purpose. If so, the school usually requests that a supervisor be hired to be in the dormitory while the delegates are there. Since dormitory-type dwelling involves bedding, supervisors, and perhaps damage costs, a better arrangement might be free housing in homes. The Host Chapter could canvass the Negro community a month

before the Convention to find people who would be willing to have a delegate live with them. If this is done, it is suggested that Pre-Convention Headquarters get the following information from the host:

Name and address
Telephone number
Directions to Host's house from Convention Hotel
Number of people Host could accommodate
Number of beds available
Host's preference of male or female guests

The Host needs to be told the name of his guests(s) and his arrival and departure dates and times. At the time that the Host volunteers his home he should be told that guests will not be assigned to his home until 1 or 2 weeks before the Convention and that he may have a guest for all, part, or none of the time. Guests may be Negro or white.

Low-cost or private housing has been one of the most difficult areas to plan and carry out of past conventions. This handbook only <u>suggests</u> the above procedure.

A <u>responsible</u> person from the Host Chapter is a <u>necessity</u> to head the private housing committee. He must be available at any time of the day or night during the Convention to find shelter for a delegate. He must resist the temptation to house indigent delegates by bedding them down on another delegate's hotel room floor. The duties of the private housing chairman and the information desk person can be best handled by the same individual because any private housing remaining at the time of the Convention is assigned at the information desk.

VIII. CHAPTER RESERVATIONS AND PARTIAL REGISTRATION

About 3 weeks before the Convention, the Convention Reservation and Partial Registration Forms will begin to arrive at Pre-Convention Headquarters. (See page 6 for a sample of this form.) The Convention Secretary will do as follows with the money and information which arrives with the forms:

A. Record on the Master Partial Registration List the following:

1. Date form arrived in the office
2. Name of Chapter
3. Total amount of enclosed fees
4. Names of Delegates and Observers paid for

B. Call the Convention Hotel and make certain that reservations have been made for the Delegates and Observers whose names are marked with an X on the form.

C. Deposit the fees in the CORE Convention Account.

D. Make name tags for Delegates and Observers. (These will then be all ready to go to the Registration Table.

Delegates and Observers who have partially registered by sending fees will, of course, still have to go through the Registration line at the time of the Convention in order to receive voting cards, etc.

IX. ORGANIZING CONVENTION ACTIVITIES **

A. National Action Council Meetings

The NAC usually meets for 1 or 2 days before the Convention begins. The Convention Secretary is responsible for finding a place in the Convention city for these meetings. Possibly a local church will permit the meetings to be held there without charge. Since these meetings are before the Convention actually begins, the hotel will probably not provide free meeting space, but it is worth asking. These meetings are usually all-day ones. The Convention Secretary should arrange transportation, if needed, to the meeting (line up Host Chapter people or Council members themselves to drive) and may be asked to arrange for a lunch to be sent over.

B. Pre-Convention Party

This party may be held the evening before the Convention Call to Order. It is intended for delegates who have already arrived and local students and friends of CORE who are interested in a good time.

This is an opportunity to make some money for CORE by charging each person 50¢ admission. The needs of the party include:

Music
Recreation hall or club for the meeting place
Transportation (perhaps a borrowed bus) from hotel to party and back
Drinks and food

These must all be donated or otherwise free or of minimal charge if any money is to be made. This may tax the ingenuity of the Host Chapter, but the party should not be held if it will cost CORE money. Sometimes a local night club will let CORE use its facilities since the party is usually on a Wednesday or Thursday night. This way the club can make some money by selling drinks and food. In order to insure a worthwhile crowd, notice of the party's time and place and maps to its location should be distributed at local campuses.

Caution must be taken that people under legal drinking age do not attend if liquor is served. Approximately 100 people attended the 1965 Pre-Convention Party.

C. Convention Call to Order and other Plenary Sessions

At these business meetings the National Chairman presides and

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** Registration is discussed in a separate chapter.

aside from corresponding with any guest speakers who may appear at these meetings, the Convention Secretary has little other involvement in these plans. The time and place for such meetings have already been arranged with the hotel (See page 28 for a discussion of these arrangements.)

D. Workshops

This activity demands much of the Convention Secretary's time for planning and staffing. The following procedure has been used in the past.

1. The National Chairman sends a letter to the NAC, Director, Associate Director, Department Heads, Director of the Southern Office, and Senior Field Secretaries of each region. He encloses a list of suggested workshop personnel and asks for further recommendations. (See page 18 for a sample of this letter.)

2. The Chairman selects workshop subjects and the personnel for each. He will compose several letters which will be sent to the personnel inviting them to serve on the workshops. These letters will vary according to (a) the type of person being invited (staff or non-staff), (b) the financial aid which can be offered the individual, and (c) the type of presentation requested of the participant. Each letter has a code designation. (See page 19 20 21 for samples of some of these letters.)

3. The Convention Secretary sends the appropriate letter to the appropriate individual and encloses a reply form on which she has typed the title and time of the workshops in which he is requested to participate. (See page 22 for sample reply form.)

4. When the replies from workshop personnel arrive, the Convention Secretary makes hotel reservations for those who request them and arranges for any equipment or materials he indicates he will need.

   If the individual can not participate, the Convention Secretary notifies the Chairman and sends a letter and reply form to another qualified individual.

5. The Convention Secretary will keep a Master List of Workshops on which is found the workshop title, time and place and the participant's chapter, acceptance reply, and code of letter sent to him. She must keep the Chairman up to date on how things are progressing. Workshops may have to be combined, scheduled for plenary sessions, or otherwise revised as things develop.

6. A final list of workshops; their time, place and personnel, will be made during the Convention and distributed to Delegates at the plenary session preceding the first workshops. (See pages 23 and 26 for samples of the Master List of Workshops and the Final Schedule of Workshops.)

7. If recordings are to be made of the workshops, someone with experience with tape recording equipment must be selected to head the recording crew. Remember, always keep tape recorders locked in the Chairman's room.

E. Public Meeting

This is the meeting at which major guest speakers appear. It is, of course, open to the public and held in the Convention Hotel if possible. Otherwise a civic center or church must be obtained.

The Convention Secretary is responsible for corresponding with and making sure that the people selected by the Chairman for this meeting will be present and understand their part in the program. The following speakers, music, prayers, etc. in approximately this arrangement usually comprise a public meeting:

Sample Agenda

Freedom Songs
Music
  Vocal chorus or organ prelude
Invocation
Scripture
Presiding
  Name and title of the presiding individual
Greetings
  Convention city mayor
  Local NAACP president
  Other assorted dignitaries
Address
  Guest speaker
Music
Response or Address
  CORE person or other guest speaker
Announcements
Benediction
Music
  Usually the audience in We Shall Overcome

A program for the evening should be prepared and distributed at the meeting by members of the Host Chapter. This program has been printed or mimeographed as advance planning and finances permit.

Ice will be furnished by the hotel and mixers purchased through the hotel.

SAMPLE

CHAIRMAN'S WORKSHOP LETTER TO CORE OFFICIALS

May 29, 1965

Convention Planning Committee
(Address here)

TO: NAC, Director, Associate Director, Department Heads, Director of Southern Office, Senior Field Secretaries of each region

FROM: Convention Planning Committee

Re: Resource Personnel for Convention Workshops

In an effort to have a convention that will be informative as well as inspirational, we are planning for a series of workshops during the Convention that will cover the areas of concern of most CORE Chapters. Enclosed is a list of suggested personnel. If you know of additional resource persons in your area who might be available but who are not yet assigned, please notify the Convention Committee at 213½ West Main Street, Durham, North Carolina.

We are also in need of persons who can preside over the workshops. Please submit names of persons who are familiar with the subject matter and are capable of leading group discussions.

Because of our limited finances, we will not be able to pay an honorarium to any resource persons and we are in hopes that they will be willing to pay their own expenses as their contribution to CORE. Please respond by return mail if you have any additions or comments, and in any event not later than the 4th of June.

Thank you for your cooperation.

National Chairman

Note: This letter will of course be mimeographed on CORE stationery.

Form NC-V SAMPLE

LETTER TO WORKSHOP PERSONNEL

1965 CORE CONVENTION - July 1-5, 1965
THEME: "The Black Ghetto: An Awakening Giant."
Pre-Convention Headquarters
(Address here)

May 29, 1965

(Inside Address Space here)

(Space for Salutation here)

The Congress of Racial Equality will be holding its 22nd Annual Convention July 1-5, 1965 in Durham, North Carolina. The theme of the Convention is "The Black Ghetto: An Awakening Giant."

So that the members of CORE might profit from the convention, we are scheduling a series of workshops on various aspects of the Civil Rights Movement. Your name has been suggested as a valuable resource person for the workshop listed below:

SUBJECT TIME

CORE is in serious financial straits and, therefore, is not in a position to offer you an honorarium for your services. In fact, we are in hopes that you will be able to assume the expenses of your travel and lodging as your contribution to CORE. If this is not possible, please notify the Pre-Convention Headquarters at once. We realize that this is a great deal to ask and very much appreciate the donation your presence would represent.

If there are certain materials you would recommend for the use of workshop participants, please inform the Committee as soon as possible so that an attempt may be made to procure them.

This is a crucial year for CORE and a successful convention will be instrumental in enabling us to meet the challenges before us. We hope we will have your cooperation in making it worthwhile. Please let us hear from you within a week, if that is possible, by returning the enclosed form to Pre-Convention Headquarters in Durham, indicating whether or not you will be available.

Yours very truly,

National Chairman

Note: This letter is, of course, mimeographed on CORE stationery.

Form NC-P SAMPLE

LETTER TO WORKSHOP PERSONNEL

1965 CORE CONVENTION - JULY 1-5, 1965
THEME: "The Black Ghetto: An Awakening Giant."
Pre-Convention Headquarters
(Address here)

May 29, 1965

(Inside Address Space here)

(Space for Salutation here)

The Congress of Racial Equality will be holding its 22nd Annual Convention July 1st through 5th in Durham, North Carolina. The theme of the convention is "The Black Ghetto: An Awakening Giant."

So that the members of CORE might profit from the convention we are scheduling a series of workshops on various aspects of the Civil Rights Movement. You have been suggested as a valuable resource person for the workshop listed below:

SUBJECT TIME

CORE is in serious financial straits and, therefore, is not in a position to offer you an honorarium for your services. If you will need traveling and lodging expenses, please notify the Convention Committee at the above address so that the finances can be secured. We deeply appreciate the donation to our organization which your time represents.

If there are certain materials you would recommend for the use of workshop participants, please inform the Convention Committee as soon as possible so that we may make an attempt to assemble them.

This is a crucial year for CORE and a successful convention will be instrumental in enabling us to meet the challenges before us. We hope we will have your cooperation in making it worthwhile. Please let us hear from you as soon as possible if you will be available by returning the enclosed form, within a week if possible.

Yours very truly,

National Chairman

Note: This letter is, of course, mimeographed on CORE stationery.

Form C SAMPLE

LETTER TO WORKSHOP PERSONNEL

1965 CORE CONVENTION - July 1-5, 1965
THEME: "The Black Ghetto: An Awakening Giant."
Pre-Convention Headquarters
(Address here)

May 29, 1965

(Inside Address Space here)

(Space for Salutation here)

Because of your expertise in the area to be discussed, we ask you to serve as a resource person in the CORE Convention Workshop listed below:

SUBJECT TIME

We are requesting that you prepare a ten-minute presentation on this subject and prepare to participate in group discussion. If you know of materials on the subject, please bring them or let the Convention Headquarters know well in advance so that they can be obtained.

CORE is in serious financial straits and, therefore, is not in a position to offer you any expense money. We are hoping that you were making plans to attend the convention and that even if you have not made such plans previously, you will be willing to come and participate in the program.

Please respond to the Convention Headquarters at the above address within a week by returning the enclosed form regarding your availability. Thank you for your efforts to make the 1965 Convention a great one.

Yours very truly,

National Chairman

Note: This letter is, of course, mimeographed on CORE stationery.

SAMPLE

CONVENTION WORKSHOP REPLY FORM

Return this form to: Pre-Convention Headquarters
(Address here)

Date _____

I will ( ) will not ( ) be able to participate in the following workshops:

SUBJECT	**TIME**

I ask the following assistance from the Convention Planning Committee: (check those desired)

_____ **Room reservation (arrival time** _____ **departure time**_____ **)**
at the Convention Hotel

_____ **Equipment or material for workshop:**

Other:

Signed _____

Note: This may be mimeographed on plain paper.

CORE CONVENTION PLANNING COMMITTEE
(Address here)

MASTER LIST OF WORKSHOPS (as of July 1,1965)

NO.	TITLE	PERSONNEL	FORM	REPLY	FROM	TIME
1	The Structure and Nature of CORE	CHM: Anna Holden Jim Peck George Wiley Mary Bazelon	WL C C C	 yes yes	D.C.	Fri., 7/2 2-3:30
2	Community Organization: How to make contact with the community (beginners)	CHM: Mike Lesser Jerome Smith Howard Fitts	 C C	 yes yes		Fri., 7/2 2-3:30
3	CORE and community organization a. Changes of structure and style required by new direction b. Problems to be aware of c. Relation of CORE to community groups organized by CORE d. Role of direct action in light of the new direction e. Internal organization 1. Role of CORE office 2. Role of officers and committees 3. Place of parliamentary procedure - style of meetings	CHM Eugene Nadler Norman Rich Louis Smith Joyce Ware Clora Coleman Richard Haley Blyden Jackson	 NC-V C C C C C	 yes yes yes	Cleveland	Fri., 7/2 2-3:30, contd. 4-5:30
4	How to organize for political action	CHM: John Edwards Al Raby Bill Claef Annie Devine N.T. Tillman	 C NC-P NC-V NC-P C	 yes yes yes	 Durham Chicago St. Louis MFDP Mississippi	Fri., 7/2 2-3:30

NO.	TITLE	PERSONNEL	FORM	REPLY	FROM	TIME
5	How to function in coalition, CORE and other groups	CHM Art Thomas Dave Dennis Golden Frinks Oretha Castle Willa Johnson Richard Jewett	C C	 yes 	 Nat. Council of Chs Durham	 Fri., 7/2 2-3:30
6	How to organize in the area of slum housing	CHM: Thompson Gaines Major Owens Donald Roberts	WL C C	 yes no	Cleveland Brooklyn Detroit	Fri., 7/2 4-5:30
7	Unique problems of small town chapters, problems of the college CORE chapter	CHM: Spiver Gordon Max Drake Rev. B.E. Cox David Aroner	C C C C		 Chapel Hill High Point Ann Arbor	 Friday., 7/2 4-5:30
8	The power structure: assessing it, researching it, how to deal with it and get results	CHM: August Meier Don Agger Jack Minnis Richard Haley	NC-V NC-P C C		 SDS, SNCC	Fri., 7/2 4-5:30
9	How to organize in the area of urban renewal, public housing	CHM: Bryon Baer Shirley Lacey Rudy Lombard Walter Brooks	C C C C		New Jersey N.J. CORE Connecticut	Sat., 7/3 10-12
10	How to organize in the area of education	CHM: Millicent Carpenter Noel Day Art Pearl Kenneth Clark Allen Gartner Willa Johnson	C NC-P NC-P C	 no yes	 Boston Howard New York	Sat., 7/3 10-12
11	Service programming and community organization 1. Role of the Freedom House 2. Avoiding becoming another service organization	CHM: Winston Lockett George Raymond Oppenheimers	 C C NC-P		 SNCC	Sat., 7/3 10-12
12	Community organization (adv.) 1. Developing comm. leadership 2. Programming around comm. problems 3. Developing organizational skills in community groups	CHM: Nicholas von Hoffman Mary Hamilton Sharon Jeffries Oppenheimer Asa Peters	 NC-P C NC-P C C		 SDS Cleveland CORE So. staff	Sat., 7/3 10-12 contd. Sun., 7/4 3:30-5:30

NO.	TITLE	PERSONNEL	FORM	REPLY	FROM	TIME
13	How to organize in the area of employment	CHM: David L. Anderson	C			Sat., 7/3
		Pete Brandon	NC-V	yes	SDS N. C.	10-12
		Norman Hill	NC-V		AFL-CIO	
		Beverly Axelrod	C		West Coast	
		Oliver Harvey	C	yes		
14	CORE and the Federal Government	CHM: Judi Nusbaum	C	yes	So. Staff	Sun., 7/4
		Jean Camper Cahn	NC-V	yes	Ex-OEO	3:30-5:30
		Edgar Cahn	NC-V	yes	OEO	
		George Esser	NC-V	yes	N.C. Fund	
		Walter Daye	C	yes	Phila. CORE	
15	Unique problems of rural and Southern CORE chapters	CHM: David Riley	C	yes	Durham CORE	Sun., 7/4
		James McCain	C			3:30-5:30
		Bruce Bains	C	yes		
		I. Reynolds	C	yes		
16	Community relations & fund raising	CHM: Marvin Rich	C			Sun., 7/4
		Rev. Melvin Swann	NC-V	yes	Durham	3:30-5:30
		William Slater	NC-V		WABQ-Cleveland	
		Doris Castle	C		West Coast	
17	Unique problems of the Northern Ghetto - Welfare problems, lack of interest in non-violence, etc.	CHM: Ruth Turner	WL	yes	Cleveland	Sun., 7/4
		Herb Callendar	C			3:30-5:30
		I. Bronson	C			
		Clarence Fannye	C	yes		

SAMPLE

FINAL CORE WORKSHOP SCHEDULE 1965

NO.	TITLE	PERSONNEL	TIME	LOCATION
2	Community organization (How to make contact with the community - beginners)	Mike Lesser - CHM Howard Fitts	Fri.2-3:30	Hill Room
3	CORE and community organization (Changes of structure and style required by new direction)	Louis Smith - CHM Eugene Nadler Joyce Ware Richard Haley Dave Dennis Rudy Lombard	Fri.2-3:30	University Ballroom #1
4	How to organize for political action	John Edwards - CHM Annie Devine Fannie Hamer N. T. Tillman	Fri.2-3:30	University Ballroom #2
5	How to function in coalition	Rev. Arthur ThomasCHM Richard Jewett Bayard Rustin	Fri.2-3:30	Washington - Duke Ballroom
3	CORE and community organization contd.	See above	Fri.4-6	University Ballroom #1
6	How to organize in the area of slum housing	Annette Ran - CHM Major Owens	Fri. 4 6	Hill Room
7	Unique problems of small town chapters, problems of the college CORE chapter	Spiver Gordon - CHM Max Drake Rev. B. E. Cox	Fri. 4-6	Washington-Duke Ballroom
8	The power structure, assessing it, researching it, how to deal with it and get results	Staff - CHM August Meier Robert Agger	Fri. 4-6	Oak Room
3	CORE and community org. Repeat above	See above	Sat. 10-12	University Ballroom #1
9	How to organize in the area of urban renewal, public housing	Byron Baer - CHM Shirley Lacy Walter Brooks Tom Schmidt Rudy Lombard	Sat 10-12	Oak Room

NO.	TITLE	PERSONNEL	TIME	LOCATION
10	How to organize in the area of education	M. Carpenter - CHM Alan Gartner	Sat. 10-12	Oak Room
11	Service programming and community organization 1. Role of Freedom House 2. How to avoid becoming another service organization	Winston Lockett CHM George Raymond	Sat. 10-12	Hill Room
12	Community organization:Developing organizational skills in community groups. (Adv.)	M. Oppenheimer CHM CORE staff	Sat. 10-12	Civic Center
13	How to organize in the area of employment-unionization	David AndersonCHM Norman Hill Tony Riley Oliver Harvey Peter Brandon Beverly Axelrod Michael Flug	Sat. 10-12	University Ballroom #2
14	CORE and the Federal Government	Judi Nussbaum CHM Edgar & Jean Cahn George Esser Walter Daye Bayard Rustin Kane	Sun. 1:30-3:30	Convention Plenary Session Civic Center
3	CORE and Community Organization	See Above	Sun. 3:30-5:30	University Ballroom #2
15	Unique problems of rural and southern CORE chapters	David Riley CHM James McCain Issac Reynolds Bruce Baines	Sun. 3:30-5:30	University Ballroom #1
16	Community relations and fund-raising	Martin Rich CHM Rev. Melvin Swann Doris Castle Robert Bailey	Sun. 3:30-5:30	Hill Room
17	Unique problems of the northern ghetto	Ruth Turner CHM Herb Callender Clarence Funnye	Sun. 3:30-5:30	Oak Room

X. HOTEL SPACE ARRANGEMENTS

Room Size, Arrangement, and Equipment

The Convention Hotel will probably be selected by the Convention Planning Committee. The Convention Secretary should be introduced to the hotel's Convention Manager, Reservations Manager, and any other personnel with whom she must work closely. Her handling of the relationship with these individuals is important to the Convention's success because they can be of enormous help if they are so inclined. The hotel can provide some services and equipment free of charge. However, the Convention Secretary must be certain to find out if there is any extra charge for services of "favors" which the hotel provides.

Besides rooms for Delegates, etc. a CORE Convention usually requires use of the following rooms.

A. Workshop Rooms (4)

Four workshops usually meet at one time during the Convention. Workshops are usually held afternoons of the Convention Friday and Sunday and on the morning of the Convention Saturday. (More people can participate if the workshops are scheduled for weekends.)

Workshop rooms must hold at least 50 people. Schedule the workshops that you believe will be the most popular for the largest rooms. The hotel will want to know ahead of time the approximate number of people expected. The hotel may be able to provide blackboards and microphones for these rooms.

An occasional workshop is designed for the entire Convention and so must be held in the Convention Hall and added to the agenda of a plenary session.

B. Convention Hall

Convention plenary sessions (and perhaps some public meetings) are held here. This room should accommodate at least 500 people. a room too large is better than one too small, but estimate attendance as best you can from partial registration sheets and hotel reservations.

This room should be set up with speakers' tables across the front. A telephone must be installed on this table. CORE posters or Convention Theme banners may decorate the wall behind these tables. These should not, however involve additional expense.

The floor of the Convention Hall is divided into five sections, each designated by a poster naming the region which will occupy it - Southeast, South Central, West, North Central, Northeast. A public address system with 2 microphones must be installed in this room, ideally one which can be turned on and off at the podium. Microphones are located at the podium and in the middle of the room for the use of delegates speaking to the convention. (There may be additional charge for installing this, but the hotel can usually make the arrangements with the sound company and save the Convention Secretary this chore.)

C. Committee Meeting Rooms (13)

These rooms must hold from 15 to 20 people. Since committee meetings are usually held when workshops are not scheduled, the workshop rooms and convention hall may be used for this purpose. Two committees may be assigned to the largest rooms if necessary, but this is not preferred.

D. Regional Caucus Rooms (5)

The largest workshop rooms may be used for these meetings. A region is approximately 150 people. In the past these meetings have coincided with committee meetings so the worst pressure for rooms came at this time.

As already stated, meetings, workshops, etc. are not held at the same time and since committees can double up on rooms if necessary, the convention actually needs only 12 to 15 meeting rooms at one time.

E. Reception Hall

Receptions are held in a large ballroom. About 100 to 200 people are usually present at a reception at the same time.

Receptions require the services of 2 bartenders. The hotel can arrange for this people. (Liquor needs are discussed on page 17.) A record player and records can be provided by a member of the Host Chapter if dancing is desired.

F. Press Room

This room should accommodate 10 to 15 people and should be furnished with tables. Two telephones (2 lines) should be installed here and 3 manual typewriters located here for the press. Hopefully, the press room is located near the convention hall.

G. National Staff Office Room

The staff room must accommodate 20 to 30 people and should be furnished with tables. (In the event that the Pre-Convention Headquarters is originally located outside the Convention city or not near enough to the hotel to be used, this staff and equipment also occupy this room during the Convention. In that event the room must be considerably larger.)

The following equipment must be supplied by the Convention Secretary for the staff office.

2 telephones (2 lines)
2 electric and 1 manual typewriter
1 spirit duplicator
1 can duplicator fluid
100 long running and 50 short running master sheets
6 magic markers
2 staplers and 2 boxes of staples
other assorted office supplies.

The Convention Secretary will meet a day or so before the Convention begins with a representative of the National Staff. The staff's wishes about supplies should be discussed them.

H. Delegates' Work Room

This room is a small one in the hotel furnished with tables and 2 manual typewriters for the delegates' use. Perhaps a quire of stencils and 2 bottles of correction fluid can be left here if, in the Convention Secretary's opinion, they will be safe.

A poster explaining the mimeographing procedure for delegates and a stack of Mimeographing Order Forms should be displayed in this room. (See page 36 for a complete discussion of this procedure.)

I. Lobby Space

1. Souvenir "Sales Room"

This may be just a table in the lobby or possibly a cloak room near convention hall. A cloak room is certainly preferred for this purpose for then the articles can be locked safely away when the sales room is not in business. Souvenir sales are handled by National Office.

2. Lobby Use

The lobby is, of course, used for Registration and for the Information Desk. (See pages 33 and 35 for a detailed description of this set up and procedure.)

The following is a summary of the equipment that will be needed in the hotel rooms described above. Starred items may be provided by the hotel or arranged for by the Convention Manager.

Speakers tables*
Table cloths, glasses, ice water, ash trays*
Public address system (2 microphones)*
Blackboards for workshops*
2 bulletin boards in lobby*
Registration tables, table cloths*
Information table*
5 telephones (1 on podium, 2 for press, 2 in National Staff room)
1 spirit duplicator, fluid, paper, and masters
2 electric and 1 manual typewriter for staff room
2 manual typewriters for delegates' work room
2 manual typewriters for registration*
3 manual typewriters for press room
Record player and records for receptions

XI. CONVENTION KITS

The kit itself usually contains items which will be helpful to the delegates. A list of suggested items appears below. It also contains basic CORE literature of which multiple copies are available. For instance, the 1965 kits contained the following booklets:

"CORE Rules for Action"
"The CORE-LATOR"
"Handbook of Federal Aids to Communities"

It is necessary that the kits cost CORE as little as possible - preferably nothing as did the 1965 kits. It is in kit preparation that the Host Chapter must make the maximum use of the community. The kits themselves are sometimes furnished free of charge by local newspapers, department stores, insurance companies etc. Matches, note pads, pencils, rain hats, cigarettes, and assorted junk can be obtained from local merchants for the advertising they provide.

Suggested Convention Kit Items

<u>Sharpened</u> pencils
Note pads
CORE and other literature
Matches and other items from merchants
Convention Schedule
Restaurant list

The Host Chapter could prepare a list of the ten or so restaurants nearest the Convention Hotel. This could provide delegates with meal price ranges, appropriate dress, house specialties, and an evaluation of the food and service.

Material for the kits should be arranged for about 3 weeks ahead of the Convention. Then 5 or so days before the Convention begins, the Host Chapter can pick up the materials and pack the kits. These are distributed to Delegates and Observers (only to paying people) at registration.

XII. REGISTRATION PROCEDURE

Convention registration should begin at noon on the day before the Convention Call to Order and continue until 9:00 p.m. that evening. This Accommodates early arrivals and helps reduce the crush at registration the next morning. It should be located in the main lobby of the hotel.

Schedule of Registration Hours

Day preceding Call to Order	12:00 noon to 9:00 pm
1st Day of the Convention On this day someone must be at the registration table during delegates lunch break.	9:00 am to 4:30 pm
2nd Day of the Convention	9:00 am to 12:00 noon 1:00 pm to 3:00 pm
3rd Day of the Convention	9:00 am to 12:00 noon

The person in charge of Registration, usually the Convention Secretary, will have to play it by ear and shorten or lengthen registration hours as the arrival of delegates and observers indicates.

Registration procedure is as follows:

1. Delegates and Chapter Observers fill out the Convention Information Sheet before coming to the Registration Table. This form asks for pertinent information about the individual. (Ask to see one of the filled-out forms from the 1965 Convention)

2. The delegate presents this sheet to the "card girl" who finds the name tag that has been made for the delegats if he partially registered by mail, or makes a name tag for him. Two typewriters are here for that purpose or magic markers are used, whichever the Convention Secretary prefers.

3. The delegate moves on as the information sheet is passed from the "card girl" to the "vote card girl". She checks his credentials on the membership list and issues the delegate the proper voting card. The "vote card girl" must be someone (usually from National Office) familiar with the voting system and able to make decisions about what Chapters are legitimate and which are not.

General Voting Policy

Each chapter gets 3 votes
If only one delegate is present from a chapter, he gets 2 votes.
If 2 delegates are present from a chapter, 1 gets 2 votes and the other gets 1 vote.
If 3 delegates are present from a chapter, each gets 1 vote.
If many delegates are present from one chapter they decide how their 3 votes will be divided.

Voting cards are usually of two colors, one signifying 2 votes, the other 1 vote. They also bear a distinctive stamp or seal which can not be duplicated by a wayward delegate. (An outdated notary seal was used in 1965)

Step #3 is of course not necessary for Observers.

4. The delegate and information sheet move to the "fee girl" who accepts cash or check (made out to National CORE Convention) and issues a receipt. If the delegate is listed on the Master Partial Registration List he has, of course, already paid and passes on to the next registration step. The "fee girl" has this master list in front of her and asks each delegate if he has pre-paid or not. Sometimes two people at this point, one to make change and the other to write the receipt, speed things up.

Registration Fees

Observer $6
Delegate $5
Chapter Observer $3
Students ?

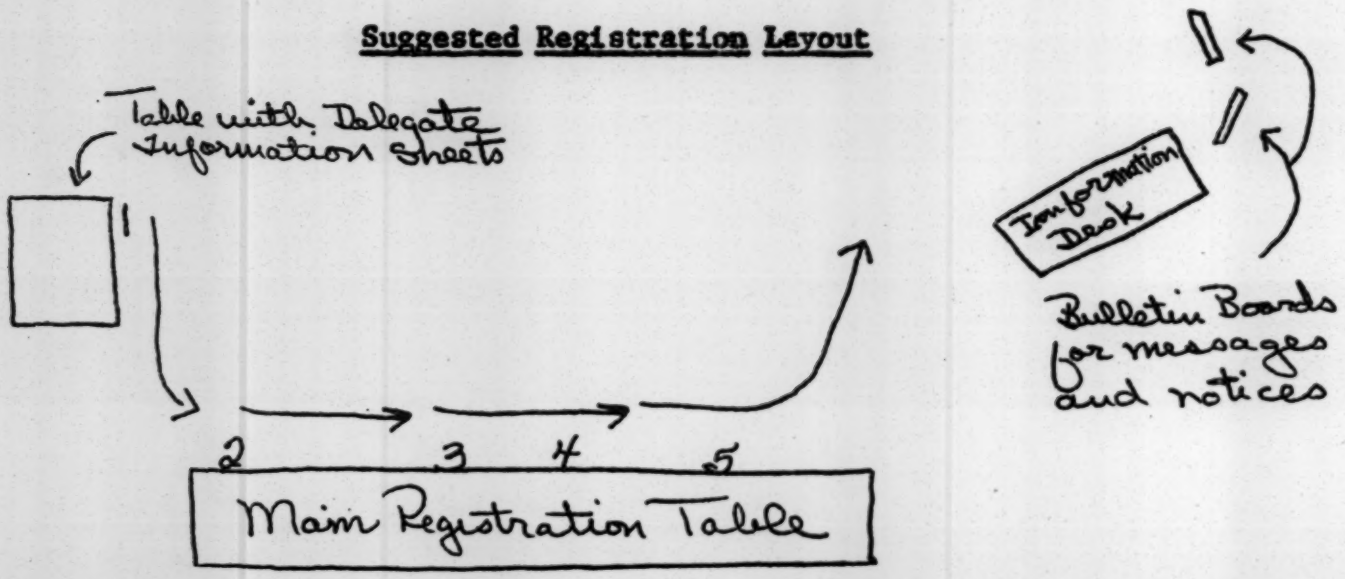
It may be wise to set a fee for high school and college students who may not be able to pay $6 but who should be encouraged to observe.

5. The delegate then receives a Convention Kit from the "kit girl" who also files his information sheet as he leaves.

When registration is not open, the money box must be locked in the hotel safe or in the Chairman's closet. The registration must never be left completely unattended during registration days. The staff may be cut down to just 1 or 2 people who understand the entire operation when business is slow or while other registration workers are at lunch.

Registration tables can hopefully be placed near a pay phone in the lobby so that the staff working there can be easily contacted.

Suggested Registration Layout



The Information Desk

Although not part of the registration procedure, discussion of this service logically follows here, for the information desk is located in the lobby and assumes some of the duties of registration after registration is closed. At this desk private housing can be arranged and messages for delegates left on the bulletin board beside it. This desk can also have the file of Delegate Information Sheets after registration is closed. With this information the "information clerk" could help delegates locate one another.

A reliable, non-gad-about type is needed to man this station. It need not be open all day, perhaps just two hours each morning and each afternoon. (This desk should not be labeled "Housing Desk" out of courtesy for the Convention Hotel.)

The following equipment is needed for registration and for the information desk:

Sharpened pencils for Delegates Information Sheet table.
2 typewriters for name cards
Name tags } These are available from National Office
Plastic covers }
4 large tables, table cloths
Vote cards in two colors (500 each)
Stamp or seal to put on vote cards
Master Partial Registration List
Receipt books (500 receipts)
Money box (one that can be locked)
Accordian file for information sheets
2 bulletin boards**
Convention kits
Chapter list

** The second bulletin board for the lobby is for notices for the entire Convention. Due to Convention size and sessions which run long or short, the assignment of a specific group to a specific room is frequently a last minute decision. Because of this, the name of the gathering, its time and room name are posted each morning on this notice bulletin board. The tentative schedule in the Convention Kits should include instructions for delegates to verify room and time assignments by frequently checking the bulletin board in the lobby.

XIII. MIMEOGRAPHING SERVICES FOR DELEGATES

During the Convention certain minutes, resolutions, and proposals need to be reproduced and distributed to the entire Convention. Pre-Convention Headquarters must be certain that the equipment, personnel and procedure are ready and organized to do the job.

The following procedure has been used in the past.

1. Following the posted instructions in the Delegates Work Room, the delegate cuts his own stencils on the typewriters in the work room. He obtains the stencils from the Convention Secretary or finds them in the work room, as she prefers. While in the work room, the delegate fills out a Mimeographing Order Form. (See page 37 for sample.)

2. The delegate presents the form to the girl in charge of duplicating at Pre-Convention Headquarters. She checks it against the list of people and chapters she has been given by the Chairman to be certain that it is official Convention business. (This saves time and expense and prevents wildcat proposals, etc. from getting to the convention floor.)

3. Delegate is told when to return for the finished product. In some cases where there are many pages involved, the delegate must collate them himself if the office staff is busy with other Convention work.

A girl should be at Pre-Convention Headquarters all the time who can operate the mimeograph maching.

The Pre-Convention Headquarters will need the following materials to handle mimeographing needs during the Convention.

1 mimeograph machine (electric)
3 quires of stencils
3 tubes ink
5 bottles of correction fluid
40 reams mimeo paper (cheapest weight)
2 staplers (small type) } some may remain from last year
2 boxes of staples }

SAMPLE

MIMEOGRAPHING ORDER FORM

YOUR NAME _____ ROOM NUMBER_____

TITLE OF PAPERS TO BE MIMEOGRAPHED _____

_____

NUMBER OF STENCILS _____ NUMBER OF COPIES PER STENCIL _____

THIS STENCIL IS FOR _____
(NAME OF WORKSHOP)

(INDICATE WHERE APPROPRIATE)

_____
(NAME OF COMMITTEE)

_____
(NAME OF CHAPTER)

_____
(STAFF MEMBER)

_____
(OTHER)

TIME STENCILS DELIVERED _____

TIME COPIES REQUESTED _____

YOU MUST RETURN TO THIS OFFICE TO PICK UP THIS MATERIAL

COPIES DELIVERED TO

_____
(PLEASE SIGN)

XIV. SUNDAY SERVICES

It has been the policy of past CORE Conventions to send integrated groups (3 to 6 people) to the local Negro Churches on the Sunday of the Convention. These groups attend the service and one member, when called upon by the clergyman, makes a brief plea for funds. Paper cartons are passed among the congregation at that time.

It is necessary to notify the churches 3 weeks in advance by telephone that CORE would like to send representatives to make a plea for funds. The clergyman needs this advance notice in order to keep CORE's collection from interferring with others. He will probably tell you to have the representative who will speak see him before the service starts. Be sure to get the time of the service and be sure to have the delegates there on time.

The following arrangements must be made the Saturday before Church Day.

1. Sign up the groups to attend each church.

2. Arrange for a car to get each group there.

3. Distribute cartons (more to the larger churches)to the delegates.

4. Assign a "speaker" for each group.

5. Tell delegates to turn the money in to the Convention Secretary after the group returns.

This money should be deposited to the National CORE Convention account.

Paper cartons (75) must be purchased 2 weeks in advance and labeled with CORE's name and slogan. (Some may remain from the 1965 convention.)

XI. A NOTE TO THE CONVENTION SECRETARY

This handbook is intended to provide suggestions, guidelines, and models for subsequent Convention Secretaries and Convention Planning Committees to follow or not to follow as they see fit and as the changing nature of CORE Conventions demands. It will be a disservice rather than a service to future CORE Conventions unless it is corrected, revised and up-dated by each Convention Secretary. New and better ways can be found for handling every convention need and problem. They must replace the material in this book.

Because handbook revision comes after the delegates have gone and after the applause has died down, it is perhaps the Convention Secretary's most difficult task. It is, however the Convention's epilogue. Don't ring down the curtain without the last word!

Yours for Freedon and Efficiency

Sue Schmitt

Sue Schmitt
1965 Convention Secretary

file - Convention '65

PRE-CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS
213 1/2 West Main Street, Durham, N. C.

"THE BLACK GHETTO: AN AWAKENING GIANT"

THE CALL TO THE CONVENTION

TO: CORE CHAPTERS, OFFICERS, ET AL

FROM: CONVENTION PLANNING COMMITTEE

1. North Carolina welcomes you and yours to the 22nd Annual Convantion of the Congress of Racial Equality. Its dates are July 1 - July 5, 1965. Its theme: "THE BLACK GHETTO: AN AWAKENING GIANT".

2. We are working to make this a great convention. Accommodations are made through the CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS AT:

Jack Tar Hotel and Motor Lodge
Corcoran Street
Durham, North Carolina 27702
Area Code 919 - 682-1101

3. ALL reservations are made through the above motel even though you might choose one of the other 17 hotels or motels. A list is enclosed along with a blank for your reservation. We expect over 700 delegates and visitors. Reserve your room now!

For your information we shall quote ARTICLE IX of the CORE Constitution below:

"ARTICLE IX. The Convention

Section 1. The Convention is the highest governing body of CORE.

Section 2. The Conventionn shall be composed of the national officers, delegates from the affiliated chapters and members of the National Action Council, provided that no person can vote in more than one of these capacities.

Section 3. The Convention shall meet annually.

Section 4. Each affiliated community chapter shall have a maximum of three votes at the Convention and shall be guaranteed that maximum except where there are multiple chapters within a city. The chapter may apportion its votes, in whole numbers, as it chooses. Each college campus chapter shall have one vote at the National Convention. College campus chapters shall not be included in any formula which limits the number of potential votes in a city, except that the total votes allocated to college chapters in a city shall not exceed one half of the total number of votes allocated to community chapters in that city.

a) There shall be a limitation of votes which the community chapters of any city may cast at the National Convention. The schedule for determining potential votes within a city shall be as follows:

Population	Potential Convention Votes
Up to 2,000,000	10
Over 2,000,000	20

b) When the affiliation of a new chapter would increase the number of votes within a city beyond the constitutional limit, then the National Action Council shall distribute the votes in equal whole numbers among the chapters in that city, but in no event shall any community chapter

have less than one or more than three votes.

Section 5. Voting delegates must be active members of the affiliated chapter for which they cast their vote(s)."

4. We are asking that all chapter chairmen convene a special meeting for your chapter to discuss the convention and make convention plans. A letter from the regional vice-chairmen will be forthcoming with more details.

BBELOW ARE ADDITIONAL POINTS ON RESERVATIONS:

Convention Housing Headquarters: Jack Tar Hotel and Motor Lodge

Other motels and hotels to which you will be assigned when the Jack Tar is filled are:

Malbourne Hotel (Students only)
Holiday Inn (City)
Holiday Inn (West)
Dutch Village Motel
El Rancho Motel
Chesterfield Motel
Biltmore Hotel ("Soul House")
Voyager Inn

Rates at Jack Tar are on the enclosed cards and will run likewise at other motels and hotels with some exceptions. Mail the enclosed cards immediately.

Send for additional cards if necessary.

NOTE: If private housing is desired, write and request the same from

PRE-CORE CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS
213 1/2 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

STAFF, NAC DO NOT have to make reservations. The Convention Committee will make same.

22nd ANNUAL CORE CONVENTION

"THE BLACK GHETTO - AN AWAKENING GIANT"

MEMORANDUM

DATE: 14th MAY, 1965

TO: REGIONAL VICE-CHAIRMEN

SUBJECT: "REGIONAL VICE-CHAIRMEN'S INFORMATION"

FROM: *1965 CORE CONVENTION, 213 1/2 West Main Street, Durham, N. C.
JULY 1 - 5, 1965

1) There will be 13 Convention Committees. Each committee will be made up of 20 persons. We are requesting that each Vice-Chairman contact the chapters within his region prior to the convention date to determine the number of delegates coming to the convention and assign them to the 13 committees listed below:

CONVENTION COMMITTEES (Assign 4 persons to each.)

Constitution
Nominations
New Directions
International Affairs
Regional Action Council
Credentials
Convention Site
Resolutions
Chapter Arbitration
Communications
Fund Raising
Political Action
Community Relations

2) Each region is entitled to 4 places on each committee. Thus each regional vice-chairman is responsible for a total of 52 names. *Mail names to Convention Office Now!

3) At the first session of the convention each region will be assigned a caucus room for its delegation.

4) Each regional Vice-Chairman will be expected to be ready Thursday afternoon July 1, to give a 10 minute report on chapter activities in his region. Be prepared and to the point.

5) Do not forget to make your reservation for you and yours!

PLEASE re-read this memorandum and respond as requested. Thank you very much. I am

Conventionally yours,

F. B. McKissick, National Chairman

Enclosures: Hotel and Motel list.
Note on Discipline

PRE-CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS
213 1/2 West Main Street, Durham, N. C.

"THE BLACK GHETTO: AN AWAKENING GIANT"

May 17, 1965

TO: CONVENTION COMMITTEES

FROM: CONVENTION PLANNING COMMITTEE

RE: COMMITTEE JOB DESCRIPTION

1. CONSTITUTION - To entertain motions to amend or change the existing constitution. Those changes recommended by the committee should be submitted to the convention IN WRITING July 5, for final action by the body. To advise other committees on the constitutionality of their recommendations, if requested. PERSONNEL - Allen Gartner; Earl Allen, Ralph Temple (Wash.) - co-chairmen.

2. CREDENTIALS - To establish voting procedures, determine accreditation of delegates. PERSONNEL - Clora Coleman; Robert Curvin, James O. Williams (Phila. CORE) - co-chairmen.

3. CONVENTION COMMUNICATIONS - To prepare convention kits and distribute them, forward resolutions from workshops and committees to the resolutions committee, communication center of convention through which all type and communications of the convention will be handled. PERSONNEL - Doris Castle; Virginia Burton, Marlene Wilson (Columbus) - co-chairmen.

4. NOMINATIONS - To receive nominations and prepare slate for the elections. Slate must be prepared and ready by Saturday afternoon, 2 p.m. July 3, 1965. Must work in close cooperation with credentials committee to determine eligibility of candidates. PERSONNEL: James McCain; Julia Lewis; Ollie Leeds (Brooklyn).

5. REGIONAL ACTION COUNCILS - To make recommendations for perfection of regional structure, make recommendations on regional program, establish methods of communication between regions and national office; and regions and chapters. PERSONNEL: Richard Haley; Ruth Turner, Art Silver (Los Angeles CORE).

6. CONVENTION COMMITTEE - To receive and evaluate invitations from chapters for the next convention and to make recommendations for improving the annual convention: PERSONNEL: Ed Day; Dick Rapp, Chairman of Kansas City CORE co-chairmen.

7. FUND-RAISING COMMITTEE - To recommend ways and means for regions and chapters to raise funds in the respective communities and to develop new fund-raising techniques with special emphasis on the Negro community. PERSONNEL: Eva Levy; Ralph Rosenfeld, William Bradley (San Francisco).

8. NEW IDEAS COMMITTEE - To present to the convention new ideas, innovations and techniques not previously used by civil rights organizations for the purpose of projecting the image of CORE as well as producing solutions to our problems consistent with the aims we seek. To evaluate past techniques and their effectiveness and development of more effective means to CORE . PERSONNEL: Winston Lockett, Dave Dennis, Loretta Hall, Gladys Harrington (New York CORE) co-chairmen.

9. RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE - To see that all resolutions recommended for adoption conform to and with prevailing law, CORE's policy, constitution and the by-laws. They shall recommend those resolutions they deem to be in the best interest of CORE. PERSONNEL: James Farmer, Hal Brown, H. Bragg - Akron, L. Elie (New Orleans) co-chairmen.

10. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE - To investigate and recommend on the role civil rights organizations can play in the political arena on a local, state and national level, to recommend ways of teaching the effective use of the ballot and ways of developing political power in a given community, to make recommendations as to CORE's participation in coalitions. PERSONNEL - Ronnie Moore, Lou Smith; Shirley Lacey, Robert Curtis - St. Louis, A. Perot - Cleveland.

11. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE - To assess international developments and recommend how they are related to CORE's role in the freedom struggle in the U. S. PERSONNEL, George Wiley, Will Ussery, Mark Dodson, Jim Kalonski (Eugene, Oregon).

12. CHAPTER ARBITRATION - To arbitrate disputes within and between chapters and recommend appropriate action. PERSONNEL: Carl Rachlin, John Due; A. D. Moore, Lincoln Lynch (Long Island CORE).

13. COMMUNITY RELATIONS - Recommend ways and means of projecting CORE and its aims, programs and objectives into all communities. Recommend means of coordination with the fund-raising committee. PERSONNEL: Marvin Rich: Sam Riley, Rev. Davis (Durham) or Jocelyn Boulware (Greenboro, N. C.).

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS:

1) Each committee shall pass a copy of resolutions (in writing) to the resolutions committee in order to avoid duplication. Committees may present their own recommendations BUT ONLY AFTER such recommendations have been cleared by the resolution committee. If the resolutions committee does not act favorably on a committee's recommendations, the committee has a right to make a minority report.

2) We ask all personnel listed above to prepare themselves well in advance for their assignments so that the committees will be run smoothly and efficiently. There will be approximately 20 persons on your committee. If you know of materials relevant to the committee's topic, please try to secure enough copies for your committee.

3) If for any reason you cannot attend the convention or cannot accept your committee assignment, please notify the National Chairman within 10 days of receipt of this communication.

CONVENTION RESERVATION LIST

22nd ANNUAL CORE CONVENTION - JULY 1 - JULY 5, 1965

TO: PRE-CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS, 215½ West Main Street, Durham, N.C.

FROM: CHAPTER_____

ADDRESS_____

_____

Number of Delegates and Observers_____ Males_____ Females _____
CONVENTION THEME: "THE BLACK GHETTO - AN AWAKENING GIANT"
A Community Chapter has (3) votes, but as many persons as a chapter can afford may divide and cast the (3) votes.

DELEGATES

1._____	1._____
2._____	2._____
3._____	3._____
4._____	4._____
5._____	5._____
6._____	6._____
7._____	7._____
8._____	8._____
9._____	9._____
10._____	10._____
11._____	11._____
12._____	12._____
13._____	13._____
14._____	14._____

NAME OF PERSON MAKING RESERVATION:_____
DATE:_____ TITLE:_____
WHO WILL PAY HOTEL BILL?_____
DATE OF ARRIVAL_____ TIME_____
WILL ARRIVE BY: PLANE____ TRAIN____ AUTO ____ BUS ____ OTHER _____
DEPARTURE DATE_____ HOUR_____

FIRST CONVENTION STARTS PROMPTLY AT 9:30 A.M. JULY 1, 1965
REGISTRATION FEE $5.00 FOR DELEGATES - $3.00 FOR OBSERVERS.
IMPORTANT: SEND 1 COPY OF THIS LIST TO THE ADDRESS ABOVE BY JUNE 15 WITH CHECK FOR REGISTRATION MADE OUT TO NATIONAL CORE CONVENTION. SEND 1 COPY TO: JACK TAR HOTEL AND MOTOR LODGE, DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

CONVENTION RESERVATION LIST

22nd ANNUAL CORE CONVENTION - JULY 1 - JULY 5, 1965

TO: PRE-CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS, 215½ West Main Street, Durham, N.C.

FROM: CHAPTER_____

ADDRESS_____

_____

Number of Delegates and Observers_____ Males_____ Females _____
CONVENTION THEME: "THE BLACK GHETTO - AN AWAKENING GIANT"
A Community Chapter has (3) votes, but as many persons as a chapter can afford may divide and cast the (3) votes.

DELEGATES

1._____	1._____
2._____	2._____
3._____	3._____
4._____	4._____
5._____	5._____
6._____	6._____
7._____	7._____
8._____	8._____
9._____	9._____
10._____	10._____
11._____	11._____
12._____	12._____
13._____	13._____
14._____	14._____

NAME OF PERSON MAKING RESERVATION:_____
DATE:_____ TITLE:_____
WHO WILL PAY HOTEL BILL?_____
DATE OF ARRIVAL_____ TIME_____
WILL ARRIVE BY: PLANE____ TRAIN____ AUTO ____ BUS ____ OTHER _____
DEPARTURE DATE_____ HOUR_____

FIRST CONVENTION STARTS PROMPTLY AT 9:30 A.M. JULY 1, 1965
REGISTRATION FEE $5.00 FOR DELEGATES - $6.00 FOR OBSERVERS.
IMPORTANT: SEND 1 COPY OF THIS LIST TO THE ADDRESS ABOVE BY JUNE 15 WITH CHECK FOR REGISTRATION MADE OUT TO NATIONAL CORE CONVENTION. SEND 1 COPY TO: JACK TAR HOTEL AND MOTOR LODGE, DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

A NOTE ON DISCIPLINE

PRE-CORE CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS
213 1/2 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina 27701

15 May, 1965 Area Code 919 - 682-8106

CONVENTION DATES - July 1 - 5 THEME: "The Black Ghetto: An Awakening Giant:

Dear CORE Member and Friends:

The Durham Chapter of CORE has planned a great convention and we welcome you. This is a very significant convention, for what happens in Durham will determine the future course of the Civil Rights movement.

In the process of accomplishing the purpose of the convention we want everyone to maintain the "CORE Image" of a dedicated organization working to abolish racial discrimination based on skin color. All persons are asked to avoid overt public display of affection, drunkeness or disorderly behavior which are not in the best interest of CORE or the Durham Community, both black and white. You are relatively free in North Carolina but your conduct will be closely watched for the purpose of editorial criticism.

Please accept this "Note on Discipline" in the spirit in which it is intended. I am

Conventionally yours,

F. B. McKissick
National Chairman

FBMcK:ls

THE 22nd ANNUAL CORE CONVENTION

Theme: THE BLACK GHETTO: AN AWAKENING GIANT
July 1-5, 1965
Durham, North Carolina

FINAL CALL

Convention Planning Committee
213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

June 17, 1965

RESERVATIONS & REGISTRATION

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TO ALL WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS:

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F R E E D O M

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TO SPEAK

CONGRESSMAN JOHN CONYERS, JR.

July 1, 1965 - 8:00

CORE, Congress of Racial Equali
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y.
CO 7-6270

TO: All CORE Chapters

FROM: Organization Department July 1, 1965

Attached is a list of all CORE chapters in the U.S. including either the Chapter chairman (where we have one on record) or the next most important contact (vice-chairman, sec., treasurer), or in some cases, the only contact left on our records.

On numerous occasions this department has sent memoranda requesting that your chapter secretary keep the National Office up to date on your officers, their addresses, and chapter headquarters addresses as they change throughout the year. I am afraid this has only been done by some of you and it is one of the reasons why your chapter does not receive all it should from the National Office.

To get the contact list up to date, please fill in the last page and leave it here at the convention with someone from the National Office.

One asterisk in front of a chapter signifies an un-affiliated chapter. Two asterisks indicates that your area Field Secretary is prepared to recommend your group for affiliation at the NAC meeti preceding the convention.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y.
CO 7-6270

CHAPTER INFORMATION SHEET

CHAPTER HEADQUARTERS _____
NAME OF CHAPTER

_____
street

_____
City State

_____
phone number

CHAIRMAN _____

_____
street city phone number

Vice-Chmn. _____

_____
street city phone number

Rec. Secy. _____

_____
street city phone number

Corres. Secy _____

_____
street city phone number

Treasurer _____

_____
street city phone number

DATE _____

CORE, Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y.
EN 9-0100

LIST OF CHAPTERS OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY AFFILIATED AND UNAFFILIATED - PREPARED FOR THE NATIONAL CONVENTION - JULY 1-5, 1965

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TO SPEAK

CONGRESSMAN JOHN CONYERS, JR.

July 1, 1965 - 8:00

Convention '65

Annual Report to the National CORE Convention

James Farmer, National Director
Durham, N. C., July 1, 1965

As CORE meets at its 23rd Annual Convention, we have behind us many successes achieved and victories won. But this report will not be a recounting of past successes; to rest on one's laurels is to petrify and die. Past victories--in public accommodations, in voting rights, in the support of law and public policy--have been in battles preceeding the major encounter.

The major war now confronting us is aimed at harnessing the awesome political potential of the black community in order to effect basic social and economic changes for all Americans, to alter meaningfully the lives of the Black Americans (our plight has not been and will not be changed by past victories), and to bring about a real equality of free men.

This job cannot be done for us by the Government. In the first place, the establishments--Federal, State, and Local--have too much built-in resistence to fundamental change. Any establishment by definition seeks its own perpetuation and rejects that which threatens it. For example, politicians take over and seek to make the anti-poverty programs an adjunct of their political aspirations. They attack community action programs of the anti-poverty war as being anti-city hall. School Boards, which have already lost the drop-outs and other under-privileged youth, reach out greedily to control community education programs and see that they do not shake up the school systems.

Powerful lobbies, such as the financial and the real estate interests, exert tremendous pressure to see that programs to relieve poverty do not threaten their interests.

Further, it is impossible for the Government to mount a decisive war against poverty and bigotry in the United States while it is pouring billions down the drain in a war against people in Viet Nam. The billion dollars available to fight poverty is puny compared with the need and insignificant compared with the resources expended in wars.

Thus, we must be constructive critics of the anti-poverty program, using its resources for our fight where we can, insisting that local anti-poverty boards be truly representatives of the deprived communities and the minorities which they are supposed to help, and attacking waste and pork-barreling wherever it occurs.

Yet it would be fatal to think that the anti-poverty program alone can make the necessary changes in the social and economic life of Black Americans. It can be no more a solution to our problems than were the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964 were, or the Voter Rights Act of 1965 will be. Like those laws, the anti-poverty program has to be seen as no more than a tool, useful at times but inadequate at best to do the job.

We can rely upon none but ourselves as a catalyst in the development of the potential power of the black community in its own behalf and in behalf of the nation. CORE alone has the nationwide network of militant chapters required, unshackled

by compromising entanglements, political commitments and alliances. CORE alone has the flexibility to move in the new directions demanded by this phase of the war, while it fulfills its commitments to the unfinished tasks of the last phase.

In this new phase of our war to change the life of the Negro in a changed America, there are two aspects: Community organization and Political organization. It must be clearly seen that neither aspect is an end in itself. Community organization, including social services, for its own sake is mere social uplift and has no basic importance in changing the life role of the Negro. Political organization for its own sake is sheer opportunism. While both aspects must be undertaken simultaneously, the first, community organization, may be seen as a step to increase the effectiveness of the second, political organization. Or another way of viewing it, is to see community organization as a tool--a tool to build a vehicle. Political organization, then, is the vehicle to take us to the desired objective. That objective is an open society free of race discrimination and forced segregation, shorn of poverty and unemployment, with decent housing and high quality education for all. The objective, in a word, is a new society, a free and open society.

Community Organization

The term, community organization, has become almost a cliche. The need now is to put content into that cliche. For two years, community organization has been widely discussed within CORE.

For many, the discussion of it has been a substitute for taking concrete steps to achieve it. Many CORE Chapters, however, have moved their offices into the heart of the black ghetto and have made a serious attempt at ghetto involvement and community organization. If we are honest we will admit that most have failed, though a few have had small successes at organizing their community. Thus the impact of some of our chapters has dwindled.

So now, here we stand, faltering for a necessary transition. If the need for community organization has been great in the past, it is now, I believe, desperate. It is now or never. CORE's survival as a valuable and relevant organization depends upon it.

Memoranda and papers have been written and disseminated and discussed. The National Director prepared a paper suggesting certain guidelines for the purpose of internal discussion on these matters. It is now time to act! Many chapters are calling upon their National Organization to provide direction in this new phase of struggle. This we intend to do.

Before a community can be organized in a way that is meaningful to the community, we must engage in a dialogue with that community. The indigenous people of a community know their hurts, their needs and their problems far better than we. We must encourage the community to speak, for it has much to say. And we must be prepared to listen. Yet we must not be afraid to talk to the community, for we, too, have something of importance to say growing out of our experience in the movement.

The decisions, however, must rest with the people of a community or a neighborhood, for it is their lives to be fulfilled, their dreams to be realized.

When, through the direction of CORE and a neighborhood, it becomes clear what the neighborhood desires, what services it wishes, CORE must be prepared to help the community to get them and to organize around them. If the need is for social and recreational activities, for conventional social services, or for block associations or women's clubs or youth clubs, we must see that the neighborhood gets them. Usually such services are best provided in a central place, so if a center is desired it should be set up--not in the CORE office for it must belong to the community, not to CORE. It should be set up in a loft or store front within the neighborhood itself.

Some chapters will find that their shortage of personnel and the requirements of their day to day operation prevent their effective action along these lines. In such cases the National organization must be prepared to provide subsistence for task force workers within that community to do the job. Such a plan can work only if there is close cooperation and collaboration between the chapter and the center, with the center maintaining its autonomy and making its own decisions.

Obviously any decision in this regard will be meaningless unless there is the money to carry it through. We have now received funds to reopen one center which has had three months experience in operation. I would estimate that each center will

cost a minimum of ten thousand dollars a year to operate, keeping expenses to a bare minimum, and achieving an acceptable measure of effectiveness. This plan can only be executed, then, if there is a crash fund raising campaign jointly conducted by the national office and all of the local chapters. This is unprecedented for CORE, but it is now a necessity. In the past we have sought to avoid making CORE chapters fund raising agencies, but in this new era, if we lack funds, we lack muscle.

If the plan is approved by this convention, we will have one center opening up immediately. I would suggest that we plan to open three centers, one in each of the northern regions, by the end of the summer. This means, I repeat, raising money. At a time when funds are desperately needed, for a new thrust to keep the civil rights resolution from faltering, we find ourselves strapped with a quarter of a million dollar debt and insufficient funds in sight to cover current operating expenses. I have every confidence that CORE members and CORE chapters will not want us to curtail activities further but will want us to advance into the new phase of our war. To do this we must raise much, much more money than we have in the past.

I would estimate that it would take 9 to 12 months of national direction of each center before it will be well enough organized for the chapter to pay for its operations without adversely affecting its other program.

Unlike other civil rights organizations which have centers, and unlike most other community organizing efforts, ours must be

seen as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. The central objective of the chapter--center cooperation and the community base which the center must provide for the chapter activities is political organization and action in the ghetto community.

Political Organization and Action

It is clear that the objectives we seek in the wiping out of poverty and unemployment, elimination of bad housing, city planning for integration in housing and schools, quality education--are political objectives depending upon responses we can exact from political machinery. We can no longer rely on pressuring and cajoling political units toward desired actions. We must be in a position of power, a position to change those political units when they are not responsive.

The only way to achieve political objectives is through power, political power. Only diminishing returns can be achieved through the pressure of demonstrations not backed up by political muscle.

We have won amazing successes without political muscle. The New York City CORE chapters came out against Wagner, and the National Director backed them up, and we toppled a Police Commissioner and a Mayor. Now, everyone is a candidate for Mayor and bidding for CORE support. This does not indicate strength. It merely shows what CORE can accomplish in spite of weakness, and thus how much more could be done if we had the political power which can derive from community organization and

political organization.

What a shrewd politician asks when he views our demonstrations is not, "How many people are there?", but "Are they voters?", and "Are they organized voters."

As as we organize the community through directed centers, so we must seek to organize the community politically--or, more accurately, to reorganize it politically. For the bosses and the machines have already organized it after a fashion with their ward heelers and their petty precinct captains. The greatest tragedy of all would be for the existing black vote to remain in, and the new black vote to be dumped into the general political soup now brewed by the machine bosses--black or white.

What is needed, I believe, is independent political action through indigenous political organizations. This is the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi and CORE is supporting it fully, including its challenge. After the Summer CORE Project in Louisiana, if activated communities articulate the desire we will help them organize a Louisiana Freedom Democratic Party.

In the North, independent political voices are needed too. When the black ghetto communities with which CORE chapters have dialogued articulate the desire, we must take the lead in helping them develop Freedom Democratic Movements to serve as a political voice for their awakening self-expression.

Only through such independent action can the growing black vote achieve maximum effectiveness in moving toward the goals we seek. Freedom Democratic Movements must not be racist and

should not exclude whites. But their base must be in the black ghetto, else they will be merely another exercise in liberal futility!

We must be prepared to put up candidates for nomination, when necessary, through such political vehicles, and to endorse or oppose candidates for election. A few of our chapters, Brooklyn, for example, are already doing this. Brooklyn CORE took the initiative in helping people in the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto in setting up the Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Movement. The CORE Chairman, Major Owens, is a candidate for nomination to the City Council under the BFDM banner (with the backing of the national organization)--challenging an incumbent machine politician. And Owens has a fighting chance to win the nomination.

This is, of course, a new departure in CORE policy. But the old policy is no longer applicable to the needs of the movement. We may as well admit that old policy is dead, and move boldly on with the new.

Such ghetto-oriented political movements must avoid, at a all costs, becoming an adjunct to, or a tool of any political party, bloc, or machine. They must be controlled by the interests of the black ghetto alone. They must be in a position to make alliances when called for, and break them when necessary. There should be no binding Grand Alliances where the black ghetto becomes a tail to some other kite, or a dancer to some other political fiddler's tune!

Now, it will be a disservice to the ghetto community if we seek to be its manipulators, to substitute CORE as the boss of a political machine which will, in the very nature of the case, become corrupt and oppressive, as boss-ridden machines always are. CORE bossism may be benevolent despotism, but it would be despotism nonetheless, and essentially no different from any other.

What is called for, instead, is dialogue and interaction between CORE and the community to determine goals. We must listen to them, and have the machinery for doing so, and hope that they will listen to us. But the community must be the boss, not we!

* *

This obviously is not a detailed program. It is not intended to be so. It is simply my view of what should be our essential direction.

Detailed program can come only from this convention's dialogue with itself, after which we must stop talking to ourselves and speak to, and be spoken to by, the black ghetto. And through the ghetto's emerging voice we must speak to the nation--and to the world.

Such new directions are developing in the South and being groped for in the North. In North and South, now, we must get moving with no further delay if the civil rights revolution is to succeed in this enormously difficult and highly complex new phase into which our past successes have thrust us.

In the North our chapters must make quick transitions from the old phase to the new if we are to remain relevant to the needs of the struggle. In the South, except for Klanism and massive police violence, our problems are not vastly different from the North. The South is becoming, and will become, increasingly like the North with de facto segregation substituted for de jure with the black man confined to a status of built in low-man on the economic, social and political totem pole--able to eat a hamburger, but not to have a rewarding life.

Our direction in the South, therefore, is essentially the same as it should be in the North. And in the South, CORE is doing community organization on a significant scale. In Bogalusa, for example, we do not attempt to be the leaders of the black community. CORE staff members interact with the Bogalusa Voters League, build up its leaders and have their expression through the indigenous voice of the community. It is A. Z. Young and Robert Hicks who speak for Bogalusa, and we are their consultants and advisors.

Yet, the Bogalusa Voters League, an indigenous, CORE-oriented local movement, has no voice in our present organizational structure. It is as important to the movement and to CORE as any chapter. It is unjust and wrong for its members, so vital in our new thrust, to be disenfranchised in our decision-making councils like the National Action Council and the National Convention. I think that we should proceed with dispatch at this convention to alter our structure so as to give CORE-oriented

and CORE-supported local movements related to our new direction a voice in our organizational decision-making. We must, in other words, broaden our structure to give relevant non-chapters a voice along with chapters in our organization. We must let the community speak not only to the nation, but also to us.

* *

This convention, then, has one over-riding purpose: to re-tool our organization to meet the changed requirements of the new phase of the war. Any organization which cannot do it does not deserve to survive. We can do it. CORE, the cutting edge of the old battles, will now become the sword's point of the new thrust!

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Inter-Office Correspondence

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CON 65

Date 4/9/65

To G Miley From EH Cory

Subject: Re attached -

1- To whom will such books be sold? For example is it likely Convention attendees will purchase books? Doubt if sales would make journal worthwhile -

2- Journals make money if people are prepared to go out + sell ads - in fact if a small nationally selected group + chapters participate would think worth doing - They would solicit ads at local levels - National could prepare contracts + suggestions.

3- There is I believe a need for such a descriptive book.

EHC

PUT IN WRITING WRITTEN MESSAGES SAVE TIME AND AVOID ERRORS.

CORE Routing Memo

To: Eva Levy From: G Wilson Date: April 7 R

Action Required:

- ☐ File ☐ Expedite ☐ Circulate
- ☑ Comment by Friday ☐ For your information and possible use
- ☐ Initial, date and return by _____.
- ☐ Please act on this matter and report to me action taken by _____.
- ☐ Report any action taken to _____.

Remarks:

DURHAM CORE

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Staff

March 23, 1965

213½ W. MAIN ST.
DURHAM, N. C.

MAR 2 5 1965

Mr. Marvin Rich
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Marv:

I suggest that we have a convention souvenir program in which the convention program will be outlined on a daily basis. That the souvenir booklet be sold at the price of $1.50 or $2.00 per copy. The booklet will also contain pictures of the staff and officers of CORE, describing their function in detail. The cost for publishing same could be supported by national advertising along with local advertising.

This is probably a policy decision which should come before the NAC at our next meeting. I, however, would appreciate your thoughts immediately along these lines.

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:ls

cc: Mr. Alan Gartner

Jane 23 8703

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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Mississippi Convention

213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina
June 12, 1965

Mr. George Wiley
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear George:

Some time ago we were to make up a CORE Directory in which we would have pictures of all officers and staff. It just came to my attention the other day that many of our chapters don't know who the National Director is, nor the National Chairman. If they don't know who I am, surely they should know who Farmer is.

I would suggest that you make arrangements to get snapshots of all of the people so that some type of directory can be made up at the convention even though many changes may be made after the convention's elections.

Let me hear from you in this regard.

Yours truly,

F. B. McKissick
National Chairman

FBMcK:sss

P.S. What the hell is happening to the adven brochure - Convention. We will proceed to secure local adv. if you are unable to go.

file 1965 Convention

JUN 16 1965

XXX
307

June 15, 1965

Floyd McKissick, Esq.
213 1/2 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. McKissick:

In conversation with George Wiley this morning, he referred me to you concerning a proposal for a convention workshop.

As you probably know, we have for a year been working on broad and detailed problems of urban ghettos as they relate specifically to the urban Negro population. We have held a major conference to explore aspects of this problem (see enclosed material), and have developed what many experts in the fields of planning and civil rights regard as a very promising concept for what we call deghettoization, e.g. urban integration by design.

Reviewing the theme of the convention, I feel it would benefit tremendously by a workshop seminar on the deghettoization concept. For this purpose, I am prepared to organize, package and present a complete workshop with related reading material and other information for the delegates. The seminar would be structured to insure full participation of all delegates who signed up for it.

I am by training a professional urban planner, and for the last two years have concentrated on problems of the ghetto. Unlike other consultants, my conduct of a workshop would entail no additional expense to the national organization, since I will be a member of our chapter's delegation in any case. Since the workshops are conducted in a parallel manner, this would present no scheduling difficulties, and I feel it would provide an excellent opportunity to introduce new and fresh insights to liven the convention and complement the probable workshops on housing, urban renewal etc.

The theme of the workshop could be: Deghettoization, the New Imperative? The central questions revolve around the growing philosophical dichotomy in hhe civil rights movement and elsewhere - the school which favors rebuilding and strengthening the ghetto to enhance black political power, and the school which regards such rebuilding as incompatible with our other objectives of integrated schools, increased employment opportunities, etc. I feel this deals in a very fundamental way with CORE's commitment to working for an integrated society, and would lead to a very stimulating discussion.

I hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience as to your decision on the feasibility of such a workshop, and look forward to seeing you at the convention.

Sincerely,

Clarence Funnyé, Chairman

CF/sb
cc: Dr. George Wiley

Conv. '65

May 14, 1965

Mr. Martin Oppenheimer
Sociology Department
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041

Dear Mr. Oppenheimer:

We are very pleased with your offer of assistance at the CORE convention in leading a workshop. As you probably know, the convention will be held in Durham, North Carolina from July 1st through the 4th.

We will be in touch with you later as we develop the program.

Yours truly,

George Wiley
Associate National Director

GW:nm

cp mcK

MAY 13 1965

May 12 Helen

Please let me know if I can help at the Convention in terms of being a discussion leader or resource person, for example on the Poverty Program, on nonviolence, or on Negro history, or on other sociological subjects. I am ass't. prof. of sociology at Haverford College, co-author of A Manual for Direct Action (Quadrangle, 1965), and a member of Phila. CORE.

Martin Oppenheimer

Martin Oppenheimer
Sociology Dept.
Haverford College
Haverford, Pa. 19041

PS- Will pay my own way if you need me.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Convention Coordinator
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Jerge

JUN 8 1965

June 7, 1965

Mr. Robert L. Bailey
CORE
P.O. Box 696
Pacoima, California

Dear Mr. Bailey:

Thanks sincerely for your letter of May 28, 1965 regarding the plight of CORE on the West Coast. Attached is the Convention Workshop schedule. I would like for you to serve as chairman of Workshop #16 Community Relations and Fund Raising. Your letter indicates that you clearly recognize our plight and problems. Our convention is for the purpose of tackling some of the very problems that you have mentioned as you will see from the schedule.

In reply to your question regarding a cut rate fare to the convention, be advised that during the last week in May I called Hal Brown of San Diego and told him that the rate would be $180.00 per person by chartered plane for 75 persons. Brown thought that cars would be cheaper. He did advise that he would contact the chapters and give instructions later. I talked with Virginia Burton yesterday regarding the same matter.

CORE has problems, there's no doubt about it. We have never quit, however, and don't intend to. It's the problems that we must overcome.

Yours truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBM:sss
cc: James Farmer

F. B. McKISSICK
M. C. BURT, JR.

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file - Convention '65

June 23, 1965

HIS EXCELLENCY ALEX QUAISON-SACKEY
PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
C/O VAUGHAN, 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE
U.N. CHARTER
VETERANS BUILDING, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

I HAVE BEEN ASKED BY MR. JAMES FARMER THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY TO INTERCEDE ON HIS BEHALF IN HIS INVITATION TO YOU TO BE THE MAIN SPEAKER AT THEIR CONVENTION IN DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA ON JULY 1ST 1965

John A. Davis

JOHN A. DAVIS
PRESIDENT
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF AFRICAN CULTURE

JUN 25 1965

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ATTY FLOYD MCKISSICK= 213 1/2 WEST MAIN ST
DURHAM NCAR=
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NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

LABOR WASHINGTON DC OTHER PANELISTS BEING INVITED ARE WHITNEY YOUNG JR, ROY WILKINS, - PHILLIP RANDOLPH, DR MARTIN LUTHER KING.

YOUR PARTICIPATION WILL CONTRIBUTE GREATLY TO THE SUCCESS OF THIS SEMINAR AND BE OF REAL BENEFIT TO THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION. I REGRET THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO GIVE YOU MORE ADVANCED NOTICE OF THIS MEETING. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE HAD TO MOVE QUICKLY TO ORGANIZE THE COMMISSION AND TO PREPARE FOR THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE VII.=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

(38).

PLEASE ADVISE IF YOU WILL BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE=
FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT JR CHAIRMAN EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION==

6-9 1965 8 10 PM 6 1965 102 VII=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

National Convention 65

July 28, 1965

Mrs. Annie Devine
1353 U Street
Washington, D.C.

Dear Annie:

I was very pleased that CORE's woman in Mississippi was able to come to our national convention and to inspire the delegates as well as myself with your presence and your words.

With our present increased emphasis on Louisiana it sometimes appears that we have forgotten Mississippi. I am sure that you know that CORE can never and will never forget the fight in Mississippi, for it is all of our fight.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

CORE 65

July 28, 1965

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer
Box 275
Ruleville, Mississippi

Dear Fannie Lou:

CORE was very proud that you were able to come to our national convention in Durham last month. Especially knowing about your recent ill health we are particularly thankful for your being there.

The inspiration that your presence as well as your words gave to our delegates is, I know, immeasurable. As long as there are Fannie Lou Hamers in the movement - we <u>shall</u> overcome.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

REPORT OF GENERAL COUNSEL

July, 1965

In the report given to the convention a year ago we said, after an explanation of the philosophy of the Legal Department, that "The legal program is still in a stage of development. We know now the necessity of dove-tailing it with the action program." That report traced the development of the program from the simple defense of persons arrested into the more complex and imaginative affirmative responses to discrimination which were conceived of and began to have general utilization. Prior to the Freedom Riders, civil rights legal defense was a haphazard catch as catch can activity very often persons going to jail and not cooperating with the court system; for all the requirements of that era this was satisfactory for the needs as they arose.

But the Freedom Riders forced a major change in our attitudes and required us to experiment with and rethink our approach to the new problems as they arose. While the removal of cases to the Federal Court was considered on the very day the first arrests were made in Jackson, there was a reluctance on the part of the Mississippi attorneys associated with civil rights for a variety of reasons to utilize this weapon. Because of the lack of experience of ourselves at that time to remove cases to the Federal Court (it must be kept in mind that this was a rarely used legal procedure until the civil rights movement brought it into popular use) the first efforts were ineffectual. And then, as was inevitable by constant experimentation in the use of removal, new techniques were developed and the Civil Rights Act improved our legal position to the point where during the summer of 1964 everything was being removed almost automatically. Further reexamination has helped us to refine and improve our use of this weapon.

At the time of my report to the convention last year the wholesale use of removal to the Federal Courts was going into its full sway. Partly because of the lack of finances and partly because of the necessity of developing legal programs which would suit the needs of an action organization we created a new organization, broadened our relations with other organizations and generally tried to prepare for the onslaught of attacks upon civil rights workers. It was through

our efforts in creating the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee that still greater tragedies did not occur last summer. The murders of Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman, dreadful as they were occurred early in the summer before the full weight of the presence of the lawyers in Mississippi was felt. LCDC, founded at our instance, last summer sent over 130 lawyers south, a large part to Mississippi as well as large numbers to Louisiana and scattered but effective groups to northern Florida and elsewhere. From all the reports we have received from persons in the field, from newspaper reporters present, the large numbers of lawyers, mainly LCDC but also some from the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, National Lawyers' Guild and the President's Committee, kept down the violence that might have resulted from the presence of hundreds upon hundreds of students from all over the country in Mississippi.

It is not our purpose to evaluate the significance of the presence of large numbers of students in Mississippi. That will be done by others; but the presence of the lawyers, without hesitancy I can say, helped protect them from the violence of the police and other officials. This work was done without cost to CORE despite the many thousands of dollars needed.

Our relations with LCDC have continued on a most intimate basis though there have been a number of changes which may be of concern to the convention.

The current financing of LCDC has been, in good part, taken over the the American Civil Liberties Union with whom we have the closest working relationship. We are happy that the ACLU could see its way to give major assistance to LCDC but at the same time it is a sad commentary that independent financing from individuals and foundations was inadequate to meet the remarkably small sum of money LCDC needed in order to function. As you know the General Counsel of all the civil rights organizations were called together by your General Counsel for the purpose of creating this instrument of the civil rights movement.

While LCDC is not an arm of CORE there is no question that CORE's activities in various areas are a main source of

the legal affairs handled by LCDC, and as your representative in LCDC it was my function to make certain that the needs of CORE, the philosophy of CORE are understood and protected to the extent possible. And so LCDC is active in CORE areas assisting our workers in Louisiana, Mississippi, northern Florida, etc.

With increasing clarity it became evident that while volunteers are extremely important to the function of the movement their services were best utilized in two fashions: (1) in working as legal firemen in times of heavy civil rights activity(mainly the summer) when large numbers of lawyers were needed in various communities and (2) in special major cases requiring the attention of several keen legal minds concentrated on a single case, generally one in which a counter assault was being made against the institutions of segregation and discrimination. This left a large area uncovered, that is the day to day protection of the civil rights workers and their friends and allies during the so-called "off-season" (most of the year) as well as the assistance to the poor Negroes in southern communities who had no one to turn to when various kinds of problems arose. For example, the land and title problems of Negro farmers are numerous and need considerable attention, and numerous other problems of this type, not directly connected with civil rights, but at one with the philosophy we have, that practically every legal problem of the Negro in the southern areas (I will attempt to discuss some of the northern problems a little later) in a truer sense is a civil rights problem. Since the Negro in the south rarely can get justice in any kind of matter, it was clear then that a permanent legal program had to be developed.

As a result and despite the difficult efforts in obtaining money a permanent office was set up this past winter in Jackson staffed by one of our volunteers last summer, Alvin Bronstein, together with three younger lawyers working full time and being available to work in a wide area of Mississippi and northern Louisiana to assist our regular attorneys, Collins, Douglas & Elie, as far south as Bogalusa. It is fair to state that this new approach, the creation of a permanent office has already had remarkably good effects so far as the full time civil rights workers in those areas are concerned. It was originally hoped that CORE with the assistance

of CORE SEDF would set up this office but the final decision was made to work with LCDC. We all can be proud of how we are meeting the challenge and needs of the times. More has to be done and money and coordination are required but we have gone part of the way to do our job.

And so this summer LCDC will be functioning not only with the permanent attorneys but with a large group of volunteers. LCDC and your General Counsel made arrangements to open offices in northern Louisiana, Shreveport, and Monroe as well as continue the program in New Orleans under the lead of Collins, Douglas, & Elie who have been associated with civil rights for so many years. I hope that at the next convention we will be able to tell you that this advance has proved its worth and that further advances are developing.

CORE SEDF

At the same time that this was going on and in recognition of our responsibilities particularly in areas where CORE was working almost alone, we applied to our sister organization SEDF for assistance to develop a legal program in northern Florida an area practically abandoned by the other civil rights groups. No attorney who will handle civil rights cases exists between Jacksonville and Pensacola. This area includes the state capitol and a section of the south that is one of the most arrogant and discriminatory. It was essential that the legal needs of the civil rights workers and of the Negro people in northern Florida be met as much as possible and to work in conjunction with CORE task forces there. With that thought in mind a legal office was opened in Tallahassee and our own John Due was put in charge. John has been kept incredibly busy with a tremendous variety of matters varying from major litigation to the handling of the small problems of individuals who need competent advice. As an example of major litigation we are attempting currently to have the Federal Court direct Tallahassee to reopen swimming pools closed for discriminatory reasons. It is one thing to have the court order a city to desegregate a publicly owned facility. It is, unfortunately

a more serious problem when we not only ask the court to desegregate the facility but to direct the city to open what is closed. On the other hand we have got to fight this as hard as we can, including taking it to the United States Supreme Court if necessary because we wish to take away the possibility of communities,who do not wish to desegregate, from closing what has been available to the public for a long time. Because of our relations with LCDC we are going to be able to give John Due summer assistance through volunteer lawyers.

Of course CORE does not and cannot control by law the function of CORE SEDF but hopefully SEDF will be able to raise more substantial sums of money so that further development of legal programs can be instituted. A permanent office under the direct aegis of ourselves in northern Louisiana and South Carolina where major voting rights activity is being lead by CORE as well as in other communities would be most helpful when funds are available.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

While our major cooperation in the legal areas is with CORE SEDF and LCDC our relations with several other organizations is also very close and their efforts have been of help to us.

(a) The Law Students Civil Rights Research Council works very closely with CORE. They are always available for assistance and research projects and during this summer they have placed three law students in the office of General Counsel to assist in research. In addition, they have sent students to work in the offices of CORE cooperating volunteers in various parts of the United States north and south. Support of these students is very important because they are able to undertake many chores for the lawyer so as to enable him to perform the more serious and more urgent work that is necessary.

(b) Our relations with the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee, and the Workers Defense League all continue very close and they are frequently of help to us at difficult times.

PARTICULAR CASES OF SPECIAL INTEREST

(a) One of the most important cases to be decided by the United States Supreme Court during the entire term of 1964-1965 was Cox v. Louisiana. It is hard to conceive of a case more frequently cited by the judges and lawyers than this case. Nils Douglas of New Orleans and your General Counsel argued this great victory and happily we were able to persuade the Supreme Court of the drastic errors of the lower court. Considerable important law was made in the Cox case with regard to the unconstitutionality of vague statutes such as "breach of the peace" and "disorderly conduct" which are so often used against civil rights workers. This victory will last many years.

(b) In addition, Callendar v. Florida, which involved our own Herb, was another major victory won in the Supreme Court.

(c) The Supreme Court has accepted for argument Brown v. Clinton, an interesting case involving the use of libraries in Clinton, Louisiana.

(d) The mass arrests at the New York World's Fair have been completely handled by a large group of volunteer attorneys under the direction of George Schiffer of New York working in close coordination with General Counsel.

(e) Floyd McKissick together with the assistance of several lawyers in North Carolina have valiantly carried on large numbers of cases from his office in Durham, North Carolina over a wide area in North Carolina.

(f) There was several important victories for civil rights workers in the higher courts of the State of New York involving the use of so-called anti-trespass laws.

FUNCTION OF THE LEGAL DEPARTMENT

Briefly, we see the responsibility of the Legal Department to undertake the following:

(1) to initiate legal action wherever possible in an affirmative and dramatic manner, so we try to enjoin the enemies of freedom, the police, etc. This is an example of a case that is tactically offensive but strategically defensive. Then there are cases that are both strategically and tactically offensive. An example of this is an action brought against the St. Tammany Parish school board in Louisiana to restrain the issuance of a school bond which would be used for segregation purposes. Despite the fact that up until recently the legal problem of schools have not been a primary concern to CORE we obtained a dramatic victory by tying up the bonds, and the school board gave in in the fastest school case on record. We intend to utilize this kind of approach in other situations as well as schools. More and more we are considering affirmative approaches to school problems, and expect to use Title VI of the Civil Rights Act in this and other areas.

(2) Most of the chapters do not have regular legal assistance, even of a voluntary nature; or when large problems develop in a particular area the legal assistance other chapters have been obtaining is swamped. Thus, one of the functions of the Legal Department is to work closely with local lawyers, or chapters without lawyers, to make certain that their problems are taken care of. An example of this occurred in Syracuse where the activity involving Niagara-Mohawk became so vast that despite the excellent work of our northern New York attorney, Faith Seidenberg, she required assistance in some matters. We helped her prepare

a remarkably fine Petition for Removal of a large group of civil rights cases to the Federal Court in a northern context. Hopefully this case may lead to a new approach in northern civil rights problems, where Federal Courts have so far refused to accept the removal of cases from state courts.

(3) It is our constant necessity to expand our volunteer system of lawyers all over the country. At the present time we have some 500 or more active volunteers and an additional 500 attorneys with whom we keep in touch. If there were more money available and General Counsel had more assistance in the office he would like to spend more time in the field organizing panels of volunteer lawyers in areas where this is essential. Several areas need it badly, particularly in northern cities.

(4) General Counsel must keep in close contact and work with other organizations and a large amount of time is spent in meeting with these other groups some of which have been mentioned above.

(5) We encourage legal groups and chapters to turn over their appellate work to us for several reasons. (a) it is important that the approaches to legal problems be coordinated throughout the country as much as possible. (b) we have many volunteers in the northeast in the vicinity of National Office who can give us Grade A assiatance. (b) by taking this type of work as much as possible off the shoulders of local attorneys we enable him to remain involved in action programs and not be spending too much of his time on appellate work.

(6) Another important duty of General Counsel is to speak at law schools, government conferences, on the work that is being done by CORE and the civil rights movement. This is generally not understood and these talks and attendances at conferences are very important. Also they lead to developing future volunteers amongst future lawyers; furthermore, we can obtain deep research on important problems for which we do not have the time. For example, General

Counsel has been very disturbed about landlord tenant problems in northern ghettos. New legal approaches must be found if we are to be of any assistance to people living in slums and ghettos. Because of our good relations with Boston College Law School, one of their classes undertook a major research job and we have just the other day received their report which is being studied by one of our experts in the field. We expect to test this soon, and will work with and advise the Harlem Legal Assistance Bureau, a neighborhood law office closely related to CORE.

(7) It is essential that we keep abreast of legislative proposals and in accordance with this, for example, we have played active roles in
   (a) the proposed Federal Bail Bill, a most useful matter to which we have added amendments,
   (b) the Voting Rights Bill
   (c) reapportionment

(8) In addition to the above there is the voluminous correspondence and CORE general legal business which must be handled.

THE 1964 LEGAL CONFERENCE

We have now had two annual legal conferences both of which have been considered successful. Our last one so much so that three of the papers presented to the conference have been reprinted in a legal magazine entitled "Law in Transition". One of the papers included was the paper prepared by your General Counsel entitled "The 1964 Civil Rights Act, A Hard Look". Copies of this paper are available for distribution on request. Already more than 1,000 are in circulation. The conference brought together lawyers from all over the United States and prepared papers were read and discussions were had on a number of important projects. This not only develops new ideas, but also adds to the stature of CORE.

NORTHERN LEGAL PROBLEMS

As the civil rights movement moves northward the problems change, the issues are not so clear, and often more difficult to handle. Physical abuse by police is often as great in the north, sometime even worse than it is in the south. The courts, particularly in New York are as unsympathetic and the issues are never as sharply defined. Difficult as they are and imbued with violence as they are, southern legal problems at least present reasonably clear cut matters which can be described to a fair-minded appellate judge in terms understandable to him. Since there are a number of federal judges in the south who fit this desceiption we do obtain victories in the southern courts.

In the north, however, the problems are often the result of old living and working patterns, brought about by northern hypocrisy. School, housing and employment discrimination is generally of a de facto and not af a de jure nature. Further complications arise because of union seniority systems built up over many years in the unions. Unfortunately some of the major problems have not been attacked by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, as we described in our article "The 1964 Civil Rights Act, A Hard Look."

In addition, the process of getting into the ghetto, reaching out to the people, and de-ghettoizing the areas require new approaches by chapters as well as to legal problems. New kinds of techniques and assistance will have to be devised. In the future CORE lawyers will probably have to be expert not only in landlord tenant matters but in the great variety of problems that happen to poor people who don't know where to turn for legal help. Welfare legal problems, general criminal law, compensation problems, will be some of the things our lawyers will have to assist in. We will also have to be able to advise people of what their rights are in small business transactions, such as wage assignments, credit contracts, and in their problems with employers and labor unions. In other words, a neighborhood law office, working in close coordination with CORE ghetto activities and familiar with the functions of all social and welfare agencies, will have to be opened, staffed by lawyers, and assisted by volunteers and students; the legal clinic type of approach will have to be used.

To some extent the Office of Economic Opportunity (the Poverty Program) will make funds available for this purpose. We have got to be ready in many communities to undertake such activities so as to play our role in the northern ghettos.

SUMMARY

In a report of this kind it is not possible to describe the great variety of other problems that must be met by the General Counsel as well as the heavy correspondence and articles written for publication, all part of his duties as General Counsel. It is clear however, that we have rapidly to develop the approaches that are necessary to meet problems, even to anticipate them as they arise. It is only by close coordination with people in the field, with persons directly involved with action programs that the Legal Department can have a meaningful program. This requires two-way communication. One of the things the Legal Department would like to do for the future is to send out a short monthly newsletter which would keep people abreast of important legal developments. On the other hand, it is very important that chapters communicate with General Counsel on legal problems when they arise, or even before they arise so that we can be of maximum assistance to local attorneys in preparing defenses or writing briefs,etc. Without this cooperation it is difficult to function as a national organization and we can not perform the services to our members and to those who need our services, that is our duty and responsibility, and to which we have devoted our lives.

CARL RACHLIN
July, 1965

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

REPORT OF THE CONVENTION FUND RAISING COMMITTEE

PROBLEM

The Activity and service of the Congress of Racial Equality for which money is needed, fall into the following categories:

NATIONAL ACTION PROJECTS
REGIONAL ACTION PROJECTS
NATIONAL AND REGIONAL OFFICE OPERATING COST
STAFF SALARIES
STAFF TRAINING
CHAPTER SERVICING
RESERVES FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL FUND
RAISING PROGRAM
EDUCATIONAL WORKSHOPS
NATIONAL CONVENTIONS
NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL AND STEERING COMMITTEE
MEETINGS
LEGAL

Both the number of fund raising sources developed, as well as the amounts of funds raised to meet the above enumerated fiscal needs, are inadequate.

The number of sources for funds and the amount of funds raised must be significantly increased.

CORRECTIVE ASSUMPTIONS FOR CORE'S FUND RAISING EFFORTS.

CORE must broaden its base of fund raising efforts, to include other sources of potential funds. This will eleiminate CORE's relience on any particular community, and avoid having our funds reduced when various elements of the community becomes sensitive to some specific efforts that CORE is involved in.

In order for CORE to not have a built in sensitivity to white back-lash elements, it must develope its oun fund raising base with roots in the black community which has been referred to at this convention as an awakening giant.

(The following resolution was passed unanimously by the Convention)

Whereas the Congress of Racial Equality needs a consistently reliable annual source of revenue which would not only keep the organization viable, but which would endow the organization with that maximum degree of programatic mobility afforded only by adequate funds.

And whereas the achievement of programatic mobility is imperative to maintaining or enlarging CORE's present position of leadership in the movement.

And whereas there exists within CORE the intellectual and financial resources needed to develop an approach to a solution of CORE's monetary needs.

Whereas there also exists outside CORE, in the general community , an adequate number of sympathetic, and professional consultants in various fields related to fund raising, who would voluntarily assist CORE in the development of specific fund-raising programs.

And whereas CORE's internal resources, along with the external expertese it is able to enlist, when coupled with a concept of unified investigation and programming activity, can yield a comprehensive, contemporary, national fund-raising program.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT WE AS INDIVIDUAL ACTIVE CORE MEMBERS, AND WE AS CORE CHAPTERS, WE AS REGIONS OF CORE, WE AS A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION ALONG WITH ITS STAFF COMMIT OURSELVES TO THE IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF A TRULY COMPREHENSIVE, CONTEMPORARY, NATIONAL FUND RAISING PROGRAM.

This means that as an individual active CORE member, we can do the following:

(a) Each individual commit himself to sell as many associate memberships as possible.
(b) Each individual give a social affair.
(c) Person-to-person fund-raising among your friends, neighbors, and co-workers. Each person a one-man task force.
(d) Personal pledge to raise $200.00 in the next six weeks.
(e) Continuing periodical personal pledge to National CORE (preferably checks and money orders).
(f) Call on your local radio stations for fund-raising spots.
(g) Request to your local minister to take a special offering for CORE.
(h) Individuals who can call friends from the Convention stating the urgency of money for National CORE.
(i) Individuals could start a national nickel campaign for National CORE.
(j) Individuals could adopt a field worker.

This means that as chapters, we can do the following:

(a) Special mailings requesting a specific small amount of money for National CORE.
(b) Each chapter delegate at the convention give to Alan Gartner the names of any individuals who would give a gift of $1,000 or more to CORE. Or loan the organization a sum of $5,000 or more interest free.
(c) Chapters can sponsor immediate social events with all proceeds going to National CORE.
(d) Encourage people in the community to give affairs for CORE or donate funds. These groups could perhaps be sororities, fraternities, social and civic groups, churches, Masonic Temples, wealthy individuals...
(e) Send a contribution as a chapter to National CORE immediately.
(f) Send taxes in immediately.
(g) Sponsor a field worker from the South to aid in fund-raising efforts.
(h) Adopt a field worker.
(i) Enlist support of performers and performances to give one night's profits to National CORE.
(j) Have a crisis can collection, street and door-to-door, each weekend until the duration of this immediate emergency. (including bars, barber-shops, restaurants, etc.)
(k) Sponsor a theater group or musical group with all money going to National CORE.
(l) Sponsor or participate in radio and TV panels and end with an appeal.

This means that as a CORE region we can plan a Labor Day Weekend Regional Conference predominately concerned with fund raising, for the purpose of discussing specific methods of fund raising within the region and a rational determination of what allocations or division of funds between national, regional and local chapter levels of CORE.

This means that as a CORE staff person involved in community action projects, we will seek local financial support of such projects.

This means that as national office staff we can do the following:

(a) provide effective national support of individual, chapter and regional fund raising projects.
(b) Provide information to chapters as to when national officers are planning to be in their areas.
(c) Make contact with national Negro news media for coverage of CORE's new programatic thrust and the need of funds to carry it out.
(d) That Jim Farmer seeks appearance before Negro religious groups immediately.
(e) The full prestige and influence of the national office should be used in the recruiting of teams of fund raising consultants who would assist CORE in programming the abovementioned comprehensive contemporary national fund raising program in the following cities:

1. New York City, New York
2. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
3. Boston, Massachusetts
4. Washington, D.C.
5. Chicago, Illinois
6. Detroit, Michigan
7. Cleveland, Ohio
8. New Orleans, Louisiana
9. St. Louis, Missouri
10. Seattle, Washington
11. San Francisco, California
12. Los Angeles, California

CORE
Congress of Racial Equality

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURES
FOR YEAR ENCING MAY 31, 1965

Income:

General Contributions -- Individuals	$435,053.68
General Contributions -- Organizations	50,387.01
Income from Chapters	27,359.41
Miscellaneous Income	43,936.92
Grants	67,902.16
Other Fund Raising	60,927.48
Items for Sale	53,191.78
Income - Designated for Field or Raised in Field	63,514.35
TOTAL	$803,272.79

Expenditures:

Finance and Membership - Maintenance	$110,119.30
Finance and Membership - Recruitment	65,665.26
Other Fund Raising	64,725.46
Items for Sale	41,762.94
Administration	178,944.23
Public Information and Education	63,418.30
Legal Department	56,308.93
National Programs	70,325.88
National Projects	6,251.06
Training and Area Conferences	3,462.21
Northeast Region	33,297.64
Southern Region	262,950.49
Midwest Region	40,014.69
Western Region	26,085.75
TOTAL	$1,023,332.14

Excess of Expenditures over Income	$ 220,059.35

Convention '65

RESOLUTIONS FOR THE RESOLUTION COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF CORE, JULY 1 TO JULY 4 FROM THE NORTHEAST REGION

1. CORE accepts the concepts in "Proposals for Effective Organizing in the Black Ghetto" by Blyden Jackson. Details of this proposal for 10 or 12 community centers will be worked out at a postconvention session.

2. CORE accepts the concept of self defense by the Deacons, and believes that the use of guns by CORE workers on a Southern project is a personal decision, with the approval of that project's and the Regional directors.

3. CORE encourages independent political action and specifically supports the Mississippi and Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Parties.

4. (alternative resolution if 3. fails) CORE specifically supports Major R. Owens in his campaign for election to City Council from Brooklyn.

5. CORE commits itself to assisting the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to realize its aims in unseating the Mississippi Congressional delegation.

6. CORE condemns the United States intervention in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam and demand immediate withdrawl of American troops from these non white countries.

7. CORE urges the establishment of civilian review boards all over the country to investigate and punish incidents of police brutality.

8. CORE will continue its efforts toward school integration.

9. CORE supports the concept of the educational park system in urban areas, as outlined in the Allen plan.

10. CORE will employ an urban renewal expert as a permanent national field staff member.

11. CORE will work for federal rent control laws which are at least as strict as the strictest local and state rent control laws in the United States.

12. CORE condemns present inhuman densities now existing in typical racial ghettos and will rigorously foster a policy of density reduction.

13. CORE adopts a program whereby systematic reduction in ghetto housing is regidly pursued to the end that many present ghetto dwellers are rehoused in standard housing outside ghetto areas.

14. CORE calls for a moratorium on new low income housing in ghetto areas and encourages instead construction of such housing in areas where the low income and minority people can enjoy quality integrated schools and community facilities of a multi racial character.

15. CORE urges an intensive federal and state program of low income housing construction to meet the needs of urban and rural communities everywhere in the United States, now.

16. CORE calls for, advocates and continuously supports proposals for massive public works projects to provide immediate jobs for unemployed and unskilled urban workers.

17. CORE will pursue a program of organizing marginal workers (i.e., sharecroppers, migrant workers, employees of non profit institutions) in conjunction with crusdaing unions or alone where these do not present themselves.

18. CORE will involve itself with the rank and file in its fights for union reform.

19. The National office of CORE will make handbooks available to chapters on their request outlining the experiences of other chapters and groups in urban renewal, political action, community organization, etc.

20. CORE demands and will make every effort to assure that the poor be put on local war against poverty boards.

21. CORE will create semi autonomous units within chapters or regions to participate in the anti poverty program and insure that benefits are given directly to the poor.

Staff Meeting Agenda

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Affiliated CORE Chapters February 6, 1964

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: 1965 National Convention

At the 1964 National Convention, July 2 - 6, we intend to select the site for the 1965 Convention.

Chapters interested in hosting the 1965 Convention should bring proposals to the coming July Convention. Such proposals should include tentative housing and meeting arrangements, cost, etc. These proposals will be submitted to a committee of the Convention which will make recommendations back to the floor.

If your chapter is interested in the 1965 Convention, you should begin to look into arrangements now. It is difficult to know how many persons might be at the 1965 meeting, but it should be in excess of 750. Most cities maintain a bureau which should assist you in making arrangements.

Remember, bids for the '65 Convention must be submitted in writing.

Convention '65

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York City, New York 10038
31 August 1964

TO: David Dennis, and Richard Haley

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: 1965 National Convention

At the last meeting of the Steering Committee I was instructed to investigate the possibility of holding the Convention in Jackson, Mississippi or possibly in New Orleans, Louisiana. Within the next week or two it would be most helpful to me if I could have your comments on these sites.

It would seem that the only possible location in Jackson would be Tougaloo Southern Christian College. In New Orleans Richard would be in a position to recommend investigation of various colleges and/or hotels.

I would like to have a report next Steering Committee Meeting, and any ideas that you may have would be helpful.

future CORE convention

September 18, 1964

Mr. Donald B. Zager
Convention Manager
The Convention and Visitors Bureau
1525 John F. Kennedy Boulevard
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Mr. Zager:

I would like to thank you for your interest in having a subsequent CORE convention in Philadelphia. Our national convention is held annually, usually the last week in June or the first week in July.

The convention site is generally selected by our Steering Committee upon invitation from a local chapter.

I am sending a copy of your letter as well as a copy of my reply to Mr. James O. Williams, Chairman of Philadelphia CORE. You should, of course, feel free to contact Mr. Williams is you so desire.

Thank you again for your interest.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC/em
cc: Mr. James O. Williams

September 18, 1964

Mr. James O. Williams
Philadelphia CORE
2229 N. Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Jim:

I am including a letter which I received from The Convention and Visitors Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia. They are obviously interested in getting the convention in your fair city. I am passing it on to you for whatever it may be worth.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC/em
Enc.

Card. N.4. Convention Bureau

re addresses of Convention Bureau of Mid-West & State Chambers of Commerce.

Write letter to Elmhurst College (nr. Chicago)

Elmhurst

Richmond - Indiana

Mr. Charles H. Wesley
President
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

Mr. Rembert E. Stokes
President
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Mr. James P. Dixon
President
Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Mr. Novice G. Fawcett
President
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Mr. Edward J. Sparling
President
Roosevelt University
Chicago, Illinois

16 October 1964

Mr. Charles H. Wesley, President
Central State College
Wilburforce, Ohio

Dear Sir:

In 1956 CORE held its Annual Convention at Central State College and found the accommodations offered very satisfactory for our needs.

We are now planning our 1965 Annual Convention and are wondering if you would be able to make the campus available to us again. We plan to schedule the Convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June--if it is impossible to secure the campus for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JFMLP

16 October 1964

Mr. Charles H. Wesley, President
Central State College
Wilburforce, Ohio

Dear Sir:

In 1956 CORE held its Annual Convention at Central State College and found the accommodations offered very satisfactory for our needs.

We are now planning our 1965 Annual Convention and are wondering if you would be able to make the campus available to us again. We plan to schedule the Convention for July 1 - 15; however, we could move it up to June--if it is impossible to secure the campus for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JHELP

16 October 1964

Mr. Novice G. Fawcett, President
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Dear Mr. Fawcett:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to make your campus available to us for this purpose. We plan to schedule the Convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June 24 - 28--if it is impossible to secure the campus for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

16 October 1964

Mr. Hoxice G. Fawcett, President
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Dear Mr. Fawcett:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to make your campus available to us for this purpose. We plan to schedule the Convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June 24 - 28--if it is impossible to secure the campus for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

America's First College owned
and operated by Negroes

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Wilberforce University

Wilberforce, Ohio 45384

Sa du

OCT 2 6 1964

October 24, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City 38

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I do appreciate so much your willingness to consider Wilberforce University as the site for the CORE-1965 Annual Convention. However our present capacity for adequate housing is approximately 400 and during this date suggested, our summer school will be in session.

I congratulate you on the significant and invaluable contribution you are making to American society through deep insight and courageous action.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Rembert Stokes

Rembert Stokes
President

RS:hbw

enclosure

NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION

Central State College
CHARLES H. WESLEY, PRESIDENT
WILBERFORCE, OHIO - 45384

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 26, 1964

OCT 28 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have received your letter concerning the 1965 Annual Convention of CORE, and have noted your request for accommodations for this convention at Central State College.

I have taken up this matter with our Business Manager, and find that we are scheduled to have both a larger summer school this summer than we had last year and there is the possibility that we will have another Peace Corps Unit. We will also have the Grand Lodge of Masons, the National Tennis Association and several church groups. The number of the CORE delegation would make it impossible for us to take care of our usual annual assemblies and at the same time to take on the additional convention. Moreover, we have to plan some vacation for our workers and at least one of our cafeterias is not operating and some of our dormitories also need repairing during these periods.

I recall with pleasure and satisfaction the 1956 Annual Convention held here and I also recall how small it was at that time, as we were also. Both of us have grown since then and the growth of CORE is due primarily to your own distinguished and well-known leadership, and I have no hesitation in extending to you this word of appreciation for the magnificent work which you, with your associates, have accomplished.

Be assured that if it were not for these pressures which I have noted above, that from the point of view of appreciation and sentiment rather than practicality I would be most pleased to have our College serve as host on this occasion.

With cordial personal regards and looking forward to seeing you when you are here, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles H. Wesley

CHW/cs

ANTIOCH COLLEGE YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO 45387 · PHONE 767-7331

October 22, 1964

OCT 2 6 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

President Dixon has referred your October 16 letter to me.

Due to the fact that Antioch operates on a year-round calendar, we can no longer accommodate outside groups.

We're sorry we cannot be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Morton A. Rauh
Vice President

MAR:mr

OCT 2 9 1964

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
190 NORTH OVAL DRIVE
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 26, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am in receipt of your letter of October 16, 1964 inquiring about the availability of space on The Ohio State University campus for the 1965 Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality. The Ohio State University is just now beginning a project which will provide us with a continuing education center to enable us to provide housing and meals for large groups. At the present time our Summer Quarter enrollment on campus is something over 12, 000 students and during the summer months we provide orientation programs for over 10, 000 young people who are to enter the University as freshmen in the Autumn Quarter. In addition to these on-going academic activities we have a regular flow of small conferences, short courses, and meetings during the summer months.

Accordingly, we do not have the facilities at the present time to provide for a convention of the size and scope of the Annual Meeting of the Congress of Racial Equality. As I mentioned earlier, this is a definite shortcoming for a major university campus and we are hoping to solve this problem within the next 4 or 5 years. I am sorry that we will be unable to assist you as you plan for your meeting in 1965.

Sincerely,

Novice G. Fawcett

Novice G. Fawcett
President

NGF:er

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 29, 1964

NOV 2 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We have your letter of October 16 addressed to Mr. Sparling, former President of the University, regarding the availability of our campus for your 1965 Annual Convention next summer.

We are sorry that we do not have adequate facilities to accommodate your meeting. We have no dormitories and our dining and auditorium facilities are limited.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Pitchell
President

gt

Quint City Congress Of Racial Equality

TELEPHONE XXXX 322-0700

XXXXX, DAVENPORT, IOWA
329 E. 11th. Street.

November 2, 1964

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York. 10038
Attn: Mr. Mc Cain

NOV 6 1964

Dear Mr. McCain:

In reply to the Memorandum sent us concerning the 1965 Annual Convention to be in the mid-west if possible, we are looking into the matter.

We are wondering if it is only a campus or camp site that you are interested in at this time? Or maybe a hotel. We do have the Blackhawk chain here who has in the past been able to accommodate 1500 to 2000 pelple by using the three hotels here in Davenport that are in their chain.

We will pass on to you information as we are able to secure it.

Sincerely,

Amber Spahn

(Mrs.) Amber Spahn, Corresponding Secretary
329 E. 11th. Street,
Davenport, Iowa.

30 November 1964

Mr. John B. Marshall, Executive Director
St. Paul Convention & Visitors Bureau
356 Cedar Street
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Marshall:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to help us to secure either a college campus or a camp-site that would be suitable or any other location you think we might be able to use. We plan to schedule the convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June 24 - 28, if there are no facilities available for the July 4th weekend. 6-9

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

ELMHURST COLLEGE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 3, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

DEC 7 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Have received your letter inquiring as to the availability of the Elmhurst College campus and of our facilities for the Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality in July of 1965.

I appreciate this inquiry. In reply let me say that our facilities would not be adequate for your purpose. We accommodate at the most 500 people in our dormitories, and our dining room would not be able to serve the number of people indicated.

In addition to this, we are initiating a summer session on our campus, which will require a considerable portion of our dormitory accommodations. This summer session would be in the midst of its work at the time which you indicated. I am sorry, therefore, that we cannot offer our facilities for this purpose. We have not booked any large group for this next summer.

It would seem to me that some urban university would be indicated as the site for the convention which you contemplate.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Stanger

Robert C. Stanger, President

RCS:as

December 3, 1964

Mr. James P. Schroeder, Director
Centennial & Territorial Halls
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear Jim:

The enclosed letter from James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, regarding the possibility of campus facilities for a proposed convention July 1-5 or June 24-28, 1965, was received today.

Will you please be so kind as to reply to Mr. Farmer giving him information as to University facilities which could be made available for this meeting?

We note that Mr. Arnold M. Rose is a member of the Advisory Committee and are assuming that it is Mr. Rose from the Department of Social Science.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this request. It will be appreciated if you would send us a copy of your letter to Mr. Farmer.

Sincerely yours,

CC: James Farmer

Julius L. Perlt, Manager

COPY

MINNEAPOLIS CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU
DIVISION OF MINNEAPOLIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
701 SECOND AVENUE SOUTH • LUTHERAN BROTHERHOOD BUILDING • 612-339-8521
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402

JULIUS L. PERLT, Manager
JOHN B. MARSHALL, Asst. Mgr.

December 3, 1964

DEC 7 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Upon receiving your letter of November 30 today, we forwarded it to Mr. James P. Schroeder, Director of Centennial and Territorial Halls for the University of Minnesota here at Minneapolis.

We are sure Mr. Schroeder will be in touch with you soon with full information as to the facilities the University can make available for the dates requested.

If we can be of further service, please write us again.

Yours very truly,

Julius L. Perlt

Julius L. Perlt, Manager

CC: James P. Schroeder

All America City

COLUMBUS CONVENTION BUREAU

50 W. BROAD ST. • COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215 • TELEPHONE 221-6623

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FRANK A. LOTT, PUBLIC RELATIONS

December 4, 1964

DEC 7 19

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y., 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We received your letter today addressed to Mr. Bashor regarding your convention plans for 1965.

Mr. Bashor is out of town and will return to Columbus on December 12th. We will bring this to his attention immediately upon his return.

Our Convention Bureau looks forward to being of service to your Association.

Cordially,

Robert A. Thomas
Convention Manager

RAT:ls

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MEMBER INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CONVENTION BUREAUS

December 4, 1964

Mr. Morris B. Landau
Secretary and General Manager
Convention Board of Greater St. Louis
911 Locust Street
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Mr. Landau:

Thank you for your letter of December 2, addressed to Mr. Farmer, suggesting use of Kiel Auditorium and/or Statler Hilton for our convention.

We have not yet made a final decision on location and are still considering your offer. We appreciate your help and will be in touch with you shortly regarding this.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Muterelli
Staff Associate

NM/m

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OF GREATER ST. LOUIS

911 LOCUST STREET · ST. LOUIS, MO. 63101 · PHONE: GARFIELD 1-1023

DEC 4 1964

December 2, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Unfortunately St. Louis does not have a college campus or campus site that could take care of the housing of 1500 persons.

We could arrange for the Opera House at Kiel Auditorium for your meetings. Actually, this hall seats 3500 with 1750 on the main floor and 1750 in the balcony. If Kiel Auditorium is used, the cost would approximate $250 per session. There is no rental charge -- the estimate is based on reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenses such as stage hands, clean-up men, etc.

I talked to Greg Lucy, Sales Manager of the Sheraton-Jefferson. While they do have a room that can seat 1600, unfortunately they have the Western Chess Tournament and the room will be taken. I could still secure 300 rooms at the Sheraton-Jefferson and 450 at the Statler-Hilton plus additional housing, if necessary, at near-by hotels.

The Statler-Hilton has a meeting room that seats 850. If you feel that this room is sufficiently large, it would be furnished free of charge as long as you use the Statler as headquarters.

We have a few small conventions in St. Louis on June 24 that would create a little conflict, but we could definitely work out your meeting on July 1-5 if you would be interested in the facilities that I outlined.

We would be very happy to work with you.

Sincerely,

Morris B. Landau

Morris B. Landau
Secretary and General Manager

MBL:jg

BAltimore 1-2424

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF KANSAS CITY
Convention and Visitors Bureau
1030 BALTIMORE KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, 64105

E. L. "LEW" PAVEL, MANAGER
MARY NUGENT, ASSISTANT MANAGER
R. C. BISHOP, ASSISTANT MANAGER—SALES

December 4, 1964

DEC 7 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Your letter of December 2 arrived during Mr. Pavel's absence from the city. He will return to his desk about December 15th at which time your letter will be brought to his attention.

Sincerely,

Mary Nugent

Mary Nugent
Assistant Manager

mn/jn

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION BUREAU, INC.
332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60604 Telephone 922-3530

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Executive Director

December 4, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

DEC 7 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have received your letter of December 2 in regards to securing facilities for your 1965 convention, July 1-5 or June 24-28. We shall certainly be happy to be of assistance in obtaining the desired dates and accommodations.

In regards to college facilities, the maximum that any of the individual schools can handle is approximately four to five hundred people. Of course, you could consider housing some of your attendees in surrounding properties, but this would create logistics problems.

There are two outstanding properties that are large enough to handle your housing and meetings and have your dates available.

I have requested written proposals to be sent to your office and which should be in your hands by December 13.

We certainly do look forward to seeing the Congress meet in Chicago and perhaps you might be gracious enough to keep us up-to-date on your arrangements.

I will be in touch with you before January 1 to determine if a decision has been finalized.

If there is anything further we can do, at this time, please contact us. In the interim, be assured of our continuing interest.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Andrew P. Kelly

ANDREW P. KELLY
Convention Representative

al

December 5, 1964

Mr. George Wiley
329 Westcott Street
Syracuse, New York

Dear George:

We have been receiving many answers to our requests for either a campus or camp site for the National Convention in July; however, all of them can offer only hotel accommodations with auditorium.

What about Syracuse? Shall we also investigate sites in North Carolina? Please let me know whether to proceed in trying to locate a hotel or keep trying for a campus or camp site.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM/m

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THE Cleveland

CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU, INC.

511 TERMINAL TOWER • MAIN 1-4110
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44113

December 7, 1964

DEC 9 1964

Mr. James Farmer,
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Mr. Brennan is out of the city and will not be back until December 11th, at which time I will bring your letter to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Martha M. Zeedick

Martha M. Zeedick
Associate Director

MMZ/vb

DETROIT CONVENTION BUREAU

626 BOOK BUILDING, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226

December 7, 1964

962-9100
Area Code 313

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WILLIAM L. STACEY

DEC 14 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York - 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Your letter of December 2nd addressed to Mr. Rolston has been received in our office during his absence from the city.

Mr. Rolston will return around the 15th of December and your letter will be brought to his immediate attention.

Sincerely,

Beatrice Deak

Beatrice Deak
Secretary to Mr. Rolston

MEMBER INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION CONVENTION BUREAUS

EARLHAM COLLEGE
RICHMOND, INDIANA

THE PRESIDENT

December 8, 1964

DEC 10 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear James Farmer:

I have read with interest and appreciation your recent letter asking about the availability of Earlham facilities for the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality this coming summer. A number of our students and faculty have been keenly interested in the work of CORE, and I know they would be very happy if your annual meeting could be held on the Earlham campus.

Your needs in terms of food service and housing, however, are beyond what we can provide. We do not have sufficient residence hall and food service facilities to accommodate more than 800 or 900 persons on campus at any one time.

Were it not for this difficulty, we would be very happy to cooperate with you in working out arrangements for your 1965 annual convention. Realistically, however, we simply could not do justice of the needs of 1500 delegates. I am sure you will find other colleges with somewhat larger facilities who will be glad to host your convention this summer.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Landrum R. Bolling

Landrum R. Bolling

LRB:bnr

SAINT PAUL CONVENTION and tourist BUREAU
MINNESOTA'S CAPITAL CITY

SAINT PAUL AREA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
390 SAINT PETER STREET · SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102
PHONE 222-2721 (AREA CODE 612)

December 11, 1964

DEC 17 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

In answer to your recent letter, our records indicate we currently do not have any large convention booked on the dates you mentioned.

During the June dates, the Saint Paul Open Golf Tournament will be in progress, but this event does not require many rooms for housing.

Our major hotels here are the Saint Paul and the Lowry. However, for the number of people you mention, it would be necessary in Saint Paul for many of them to be housed in numerous, widely scattered motels.

Many conventions use the Auditorium Theatre here for their general sessions. It seats 2700. It would also be necessary to use the Auditorium Arena for a banquet if 1500 people have to be served. None of our hotels have ballrooms large enough to accommodate that many people for a banquet.

Sincerely yours,

Mel Jones
Director

bls

The Pick-Congress Hotel
Five Twenty South Michigan Avenue
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE HARRISON 7-3800
EXECUTIVE OFFICE

December 11, 1964

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Council on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 8, New York

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

July 1965 is not far off!

I do hope we can be working together at that time, Miss Mutarelli, to bring about a successful meeting for CORE.

With this in mind, I would like to put forth the Pick-Congress Hotel and the city of Chicago as the two most decisive factors that will insure a good meeting.

The Chicago Convention Bureau will, I am sure, speak for itself and for the city; however, I would like to help you make a decision by adding my feelings.

A major consideration of your organization is the ability to get your message to the maximum amount of people. This important item can be achieved in the city of Chicago because our central location will insure the optimum in attendance. Andy Kelly, of the Chicago Convention Bureau, will no doubt go into other important factors but this one major fact cannot be stressed too often.

The Pick-Congress Hotel has now completed an eight million dollar expansion and modernization program, which is evident in the enclosed brochure. Our location is also a plus factor. We are located at the terminus of all the major expressways, making it convenient for automobile travel. Grant Park and Lake Michigan are in our front yard.

We know that you would like to meet on a college campus. I want to point out that our location is also enhanced by being situated next to one of the midwest's great institutions of learning...Roosevelt University. The University, I am sure, will cooperate in many of the affairs and sessions you will be having.

So that you will have an idea of cost facts, I will go through major areas that concern your meeting:

MEETING ROOMS

Your General Session will, no doubt, be held in either our Great Hall or Gold Room. These areas will be reserved for your use exclusively for the entire time of your convention. In addition, you probably will need office and press rooms. As you can see from the layout in our brochure there are rooms near the Gold Room on the second floor that can be used for these purposes.

Committee rooms are also available and you will find that we have almost every type to fit your need. All these rooms will be extended to the Council on Racial Equality free of charge; therefore, you need not concern yourself with expenses in this area.

Should your meeting require special effect as lighting, staging, etc., we will determine later if there is a cost factor involved.

CATERING

Breakfast, luncheon and dinner menus are enclosed. These are only suggestions, Miss Mutarelli, and we want you to know that we can tailor make any menu that you might have in mind. In general, you will find these prices to be competitive throughout the city.

RATES

The Pick-Congress Hotel regular rates are as follows:

Singles....From $9.00 to $17.00

Twins.....From $13.00 to $21.00

As you can imagine, Miss Mutarelli, the lower priced rooms are Inner Court. As we go higher in price, the major difference is one of location rather than the quality of room. All of our rooms have been appointed with the same high quality furniture and fixtures. Basically, we have three different types of rooms - Inner Court, Outer Rooms (other than Lakefront) and Lakefront. For your organization, I would like to make a special rate for each of these categories.

In the past, for groups meeting in July, we have made the following special rates:

	Singles	Twins
CHOICE - 150 rooms (Inner Court)	$10.	$14.
DELUXE - 280 rooms (other than Lakefront)	$13.	$17.
LAKEFRONT DELUXE - 70 rooms	$16.	$20.

I would like an expression from you as to the desirability of a rate structure such as this. One important factor to remember is that this structure allows your delegates a choice of rooms, thereby preventing later comparison and dissatisfaction.

The rates I have quoted you are only suggestions at this time and we will be happy to discuss this matter further.

I would like to propose the dates of July 6-10 for your meeting. As you know, the Church of God in Christ - Youth Congress - is meeting with us on July 1-5. The following week, however, is free and we could offer the entire hotel for the exclusive use of the Council on Racial Equality. All of our energies would be directed toward a successful meeting during this week.

In addition to all these factors, Miss Mutarelli, I would like to point out that our hotel is anxious to have your business. The people who manage the hotel and the employees who will coordinate your convention will do everything they can to make sure your meeting is a success. This is our method of making sure that should the Council on Racial Equality again favor Chicago with a convention in 1966 or 1967 they will think of only one hotel in which to have it....THE PICK-CONGRESS.

We are very familiar with your organization and know your goals, your achievements and your hopes. We would like to be a part of them in 1965.

May I hear from you?

Sincerely,

John P. Monahan
SALES MANAGER

JPM/fz

ENC.

cc: Mr. James Farmer, National Director

Mr. Gordon Carey, Asst. National Director

Mr. Andy Kelly, Chicago Convention Bureau

The Pick-Congress Hotel
Five Twenty South Michigan Avenue
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE HARRISON 7-3800

December 11, 1964

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May I hear from you?

Sincerely,

John P. Monahan
SALES MANAGER

JPM/fs

ENC.

cc: Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Mr. Gordon Carey, Asst. National Director
Mr. Andy Kelly, Chicago Convention Bureau

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December 15, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, NY

DEC 17 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Since Mr. Dempsey is out of the city until December 21, I am taking the liberty of answering your letter of December 2.

I have checked on both of our universities here, the University of Cincinnati and Xavier University, and regret that they are unable to give facilities on the dates of July 1-5 and June 24-28, 1965. The Public Relations Director of the University of Cincinnati, Mr. John DeCamp, tells me that their summer program now goes on for 11 weeks and that their dormitories are filled. Another problem is that their dining room, the Student Union, will be undergoing remodeling and, therefore, will be closed. Mr. Beumer, Business Manager of Xavier University, tells me that they would have no housing available at all and their Armory is used during the summer and, as a matter of fact, would not hold 1000 people.

If there is any other way we can help, please let us know. We would be happy to send you information on our fine hotels, if you would be interested in holding your 1965 Annual Convention in a hotel.

Sincerely,

Mary June Eckert

Mary June Eckert
Manager

ME:hb

DETROIT CONVENTION BUREAU

626 BOOK BUILDING, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226

December 16, 1964

962-9100
Area Code 313

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HONORABLE JEROME P. CAVANAGH
MAYOR OF DETROIT

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STAFF ASSOCIATES
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GEORGE P. LAUDER
WILLIAM M. LAWICKI
WILLIAM L. STACEY

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York - 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Absence from the office since early in December has prevented me from writing you until this time. I sincerely hope that the delay has not created any problems for you.

We are delighted to learn that the Congress of Racial Equality is giving serious consideration to the possibility of holding its 1965 Annual Convention in Detroit. I very much regret to advise you that Detroit's major central convention facilities are already committed to other national organizations for their conventions over both the dates of June 24-28 and July 1-5, 1965. By central facilities, I am referring to Cobo Hall-Convention Arena, Detroit's famous convention building, and the major hotels located within the downtown area.

Based on your stated need for an auditorium capable of seating 1,000 for meetings, and facilities to house and feed up to 1,500 people, it would still appear that there might be a possibility of working out arrangements for you in the metropolitan area however. We have no dormitory or campus facilities available that I know of within the metropolitan Detroit area, although there might be a possibility that you could work out arrangements at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. I truly do not know who you would contact there in this regard however.

In Detroit, the Masonic Temple, which contains several ballrooms capable of seating and feeding in excess of 1,000 persons, could, in all likelihood, have facilities available during either of the dates that you describe. They prefer to deal directly with associations, however, so I would suggest that you contact the manager of the Temple, Mr. William Van Lopik, 500 Temple, Detroit 48201, for further information.

The only other possible site for your convention that might be utilized would be the State Fairgrounds, but the size of the Coliseum, (which will seat 9,083) is such that I am afraid that it would actually be far too large for the type of meeting you

(continued)

plan to have.

If you think it would be possible to meet later in July of 1965, the facilities of Cobo Hall and Detroit's hotels are available during the dates of July 15-19 (Thursday through Monday), or July 12-16 (Monday through Friday).

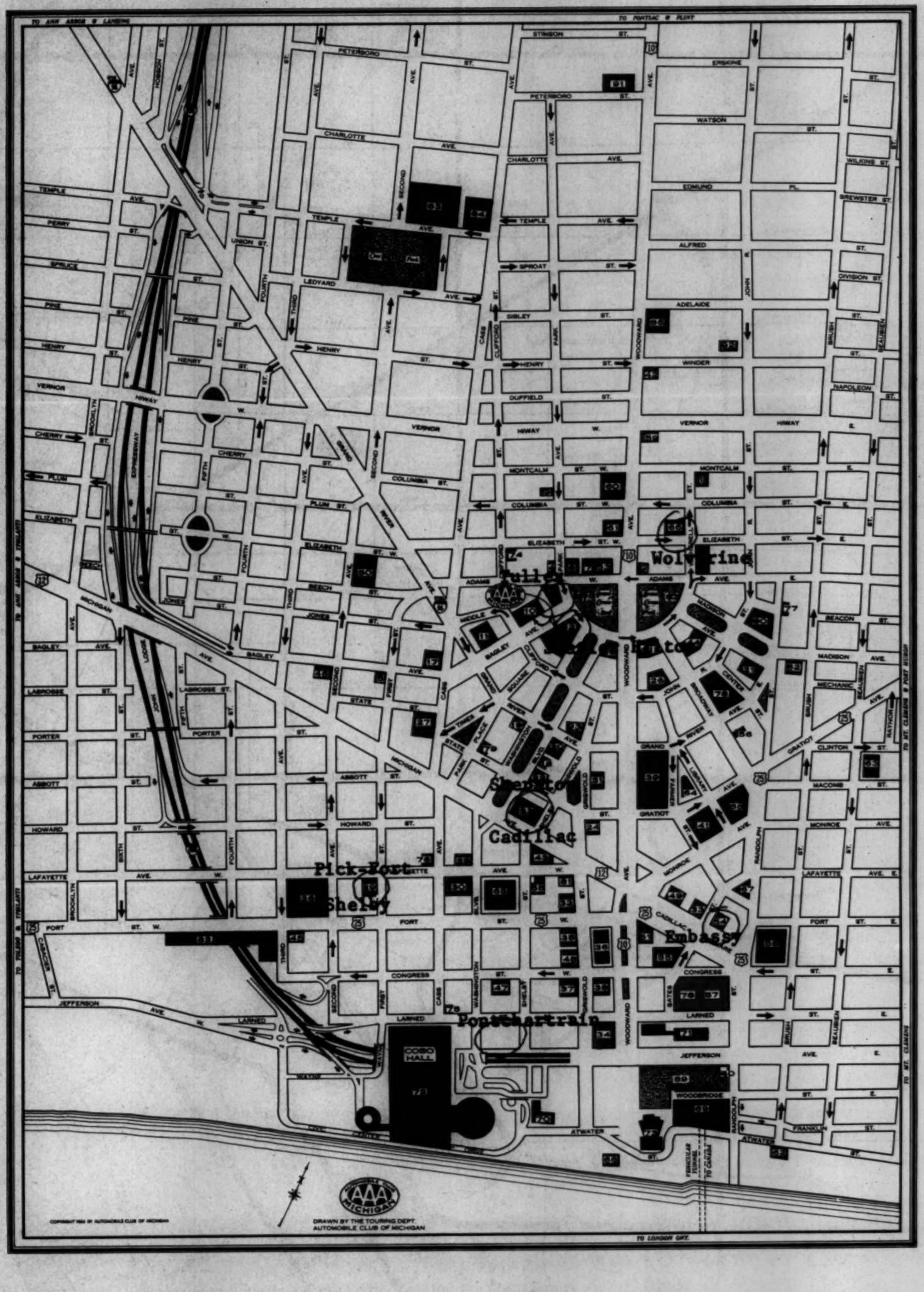
I wish that the information I had to relate to you was more encouraging, Mr. Farmer. In the event that the dates and facilities that we have discussed above are not satisfactory, perhaps Detroit can work into the picture for CORE in 1966. Thanks very much for your interest in holding a convention here.

Cordially,

Leonard E. Rolston

Leonard E. Rolston
Executive Vice President

LER:bd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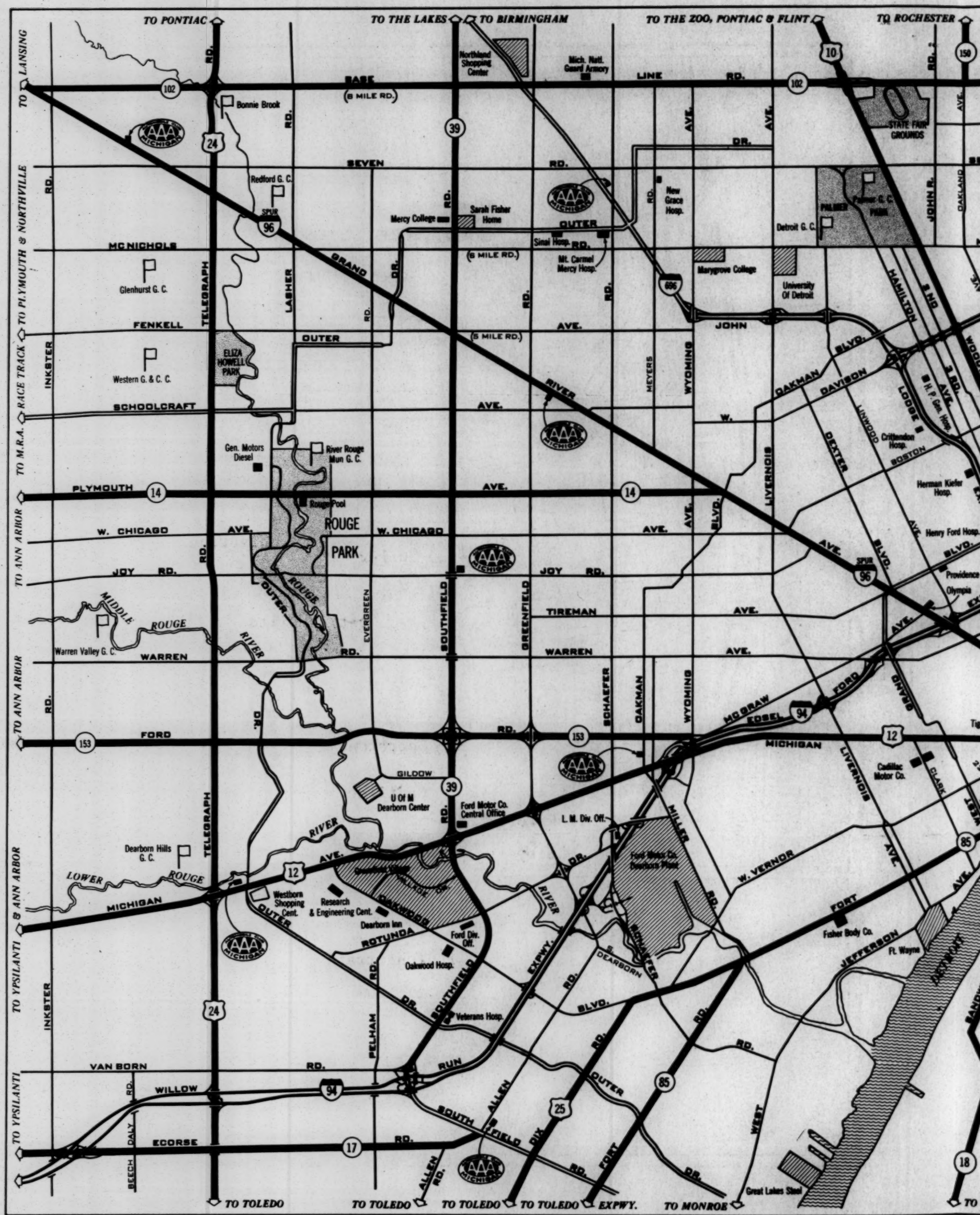
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LINE RD.
SEVEN RD.
MC NICHOLS
FENKELL
OUTER (5 MILE RD.)
SCHOOLCRAFT AVE.
PLYMOUTH
W. CHICAGO AVE.
JOY RD.
WARREN RD.
WARREN AVE.
TIREMAN AVE.
FORD RD.
VAN BORN RD.
WILLOW RD.
ECORSE RD.
GRAND RIVER AVE.
MICHIGAN
JOHN R.
HAMILTON
WOODWARD
OAKMAN BLVD.
DAVISON
W. VERNOR
FORT
JEFFERSON
TELEGRAPH
LASHER
INKSTER
DEARBORN
SOUTHFIELD
GREENFIELD
EVERGREEN
SCHAEFER
OAKMAN
WYOMING
LIVERNOIS
MEYERS
DEXTER
LODGE
CHRYSLER
FISHER
MILLER
BEECH DALY
PELHAM
ALLEN RD.
SOUTH FIELD
DIX
Northland Shopping Center
Mich. Natl. Guard Armory
STATE FAIR GROUNDS
Bonnie Brook
Redford G. C.
Glenhurst G. C.
Western G. & C. C.
Warren Valley G. C.
Dearborn Hills G. C.
Palmer G. C.
Detroit G. C.
Sarah Fisher Home
Mercy College
Sinai Hosp.
Mt. Carmel Mercy Hosp.
New Grace Hosp.
Marygrove College
University Of Detroit
ELIZA HOWELL PARK
Gen. Motors Diesel
River Rouge Mun G. C.
Rouge Pool
ROUGE PARK
MIDDLE ROUGE
LOWER ROUGE
Westborn Shopping Cent.
Research & Engineering Cent.
Dearborn Inn
Oakwood Hosp.
Veterans Hosp.
U Of M Dearborn Center
Ford Motor Co. Central Office
GILDOW
ROTUNDA
L. M. Div. Off.
Ford Div. Off.
Ford Motor Co. Dearborn Plant
Fisher Body Co.
Ft. Wayne
Cadillac Motor Co.
Great Lakes Steel
Crittenton Hosp.
H. P. Gen. Hosp.
Herman Kiefer Hosp.
Henry Ford Hosp.
Providence
Olympia

TO ROCHESTER
TO UTICA
TO MT. CLEMENS
TO ST. CLAIR BEACH
TO MT. CLEMENS
Dodge Truck Plant
Light Guard Armory
FARWELL FIELD
Chrysler Eng. Pl.
EIGHT MILE RD.
NINE MILE RD.
TEN MILE RD.
ELEVEN MILE RD.
TWELVE MILE RD.
THIRTEEN MILE RD.
FOURTEEN MILE RD.
FIFTEEN MILE RD.
SIXTEEN MILE RD.
SEVEN MILE RD.
MCNICHOLS RD. (8 MILE RD.)
Eastland Shopping Center
Lockmoor Club
G. P. Yacht Club
St. John's Hosp.
Country Club Of Detroit
REMI BALDUCK PARK
CHANDLER PARK
CANNON FIELD
DETROIT CITY AIRPORT
Chrysler Cent. Off.
Plymouth Motor Corp.
CHANDLER PARK Golf Course G. C.
Dodge Plant
Fisher Bldg.
New Center Bldg.
General Motors Bldg.
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Providence Hosp.
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Main Library
Historical Museum
Art Institute
Rackham Bldg.
Wayne Univ.
Grace Hosp.
Harper Hosp.
Receiving Hosp.
Deaconess Hosp.
Tiger Stadium
Civic Center
Tunnel
Post Office
Ambassador Bridge
Chrysler Div.
WATERWORKS PARK
Marine Hosp.
OWEN PARK
MEMORIAL PARK
Naval Armory
Belle Isle G. C.
BELLE ISLE
PECHE ISLE
Assumption University
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Roseland G. & C.C.
WINDSOR AIRPORT
CANADA
TO AMHERSTBURG
TO LEAMINGTON
TO LEAMINGTON
TO LONDON
TO TILBURY
TO LONDON TORONTO OR BUFFALO
DETROIT AREA MAP
DRAWN BY
AAA MICHIGAN
COPYRIGHT 1963 BY AUTOMOBILE CLUB OF MICHIGAN

TO PONTIAC
TO THE LAKES
TO BIRMINGHAM
TO THE ZOO, PONTIAC & FLINT
TO ROCHESTER
TO LANSING
TO PLYMOUTH & NORTHVILLE
TO RACE TRACK
TO M.R.A.
TO ANN ARBOR
TO YPSILANTI
TO TOLEDO
TO MONROE
EXPWY.
BASE (8 MILE RD.)
LINE RD.
SEVEN RD.
MC NICHOLS
FENKELL
OUTER (5 MILE RD.)
SCHOOLCRAFT AVE.
PLYMOUTH
W. CHICAGO AVE.
JOY RD.
WARREN AVE.
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WILLOW RD.
ECORSE RD.
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DETROIT AREA MAP

DRAWN BY

AAA MICHIGAN

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DETROIT POINTS OF INTEREST:
(pop. 1,861,500; alt. 635 ft.)

Leading automobile manufacturing city in the world, Detroit is the fifth city in population in the U. S. and the world's largest producer of industrial products for foreign trade. Leads in production of pharmaceuticals, office equipment, rubber products, lacquer, varnishes, salt, marine engines, synthetic resins and paint, chemicals, air conditioning equipment and automotive accesseries. The following are some of the more popular attractions for visitors: (hours and fees subject to change)

AMBASSADOR BRIDGE — 22nd and Porter; open 24 hours; 50¢ cars, 10¢ passengers.

BELLE ISLE CHILDREN'S ZOO — Belle Isle; 10-5:30; Mid-May thru Sept.; 10¢.

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MARINER'S CHURCH — 170 E. Jefferson; 8-5 daily; free.

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Tuller 8
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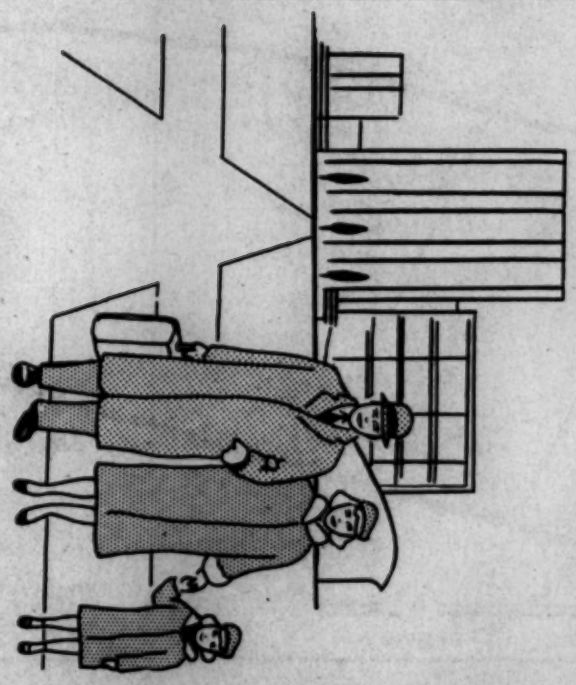
Visitors Map OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT



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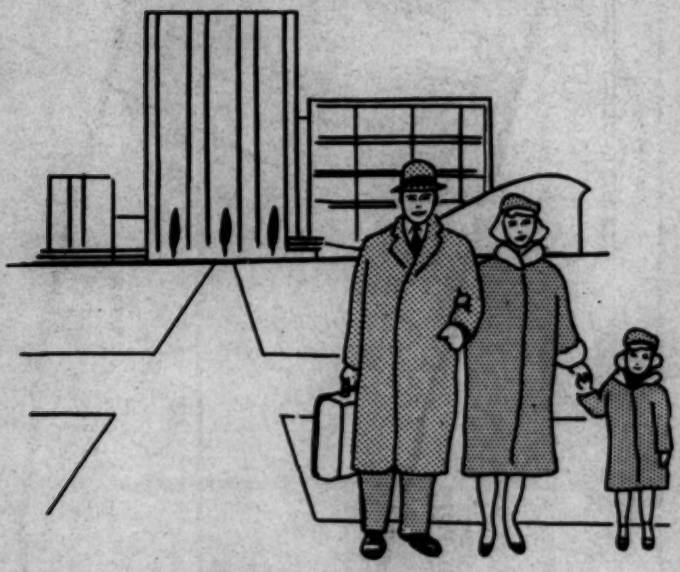

MAP OF DOWNTOWN
DETROIT WITH INDEX TO
IMPORTANT BUILDINGS

AUTOMOBILE CLUB OF MICHIGAN

BAltimore 1-2424

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF KANSAS CITY
Convention and Visitors Bureau
1030 BALTIMORE KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, 64105

E. L. "LEW" PAVEL, MANAGER
MARY NUGENT, ASSISTANT MANAGER
R. C. BISHOP, ASSISTANT MANAGER—SALES

December 18, 1964

DEC 21 1964

Mr, James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New YOrk

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Sorry to have been delayed in replying to your inquiry which arrived during my absence from the city.

Because the use of college campuses or church sponsored camp sites by convention groups puts these non-taxpaying organizations in direct competition with taxpaying business firms which, in essence, must assist in providing the funds to build these non-taxpaying facilities, and since this organization is supported entirely by voluntary contributions from the taxpaying business firms of this community, we do not attempt to book any conventions or meetings into this type of facility, and therefore have little or no information on them in this respect.

However, as far as I know, none of the colleges in Kansas City are sufficiently well-equipped with dormitories at this time to accommodate 1500 persons even during off-school months.

Should you be interested in further information relative to our regular transient guest facilities, we will be delighted to provide complete data upon request.

Sincerely,

E. L. Pavel,
Manager

ELP/jl

SHERMAN
HOUSE
CHICAGO

WORLD FAMOUS HOTEL

CLARK & RANDOLPH FRANKLIN 2-2100
TWX 312-222-0631

N. A. RICKMAN
SALES AND
CONVENTION DEPARTMENT

HOME OF
THE FAMOUS
RESTAURANTS

COLLEGE INN PORTERHOUSE
PORTERHOUSE LOUNGE
WELL OF THE SEA
CELTIC CAFE
CELTIC LOUNGE

Mr. Gordon Carey,
Convention Chairman
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

I spoke to James Farmer today in Washington and he advised me that our proposal should be directed to you.

The attached prospectus covers any contractural agreement between C.O.R.E. and the Sherman Hotel and simply represents our commitment to you.

Location-wise, we are in the very center of activity in downtown Chicago, in close proximity to theatres, shopping districts, churches and transportation terminals.

The hotel has been completely redecorated, with 1500 modern, air conditioned rooms, with appointments to satisfy the most discriminating.

Our biggest asset at the Sherman House is our employees and you will find a warmth of hospitality here second to none.

Should your travels bring you to Chicago in connection with this convention, I would appreciate having you here as my guest so that I may be able to show you what we have to offer in the way of facilities.

Incidentally, if you are acquainted with any of the members of the National Bar Association, they have had two or three most successful conventions here and will

vouch for the Sherman House and the personalized service that we render.

Please let me hear from you as we are most anxious to add the name of your group to our roster of fine conventions of various groups.

Sincerely,

N.A. Rickman

r

SHERMAN
HOUSE
CHICAGO

WORLD FAMOUS HOTEL

CLARK & RANDOLPH FRANKLIN 2-2100
TWX 312-222-0631

N. A. RICKMAN
SALES AND
CONVENTION DEPARTMENT

HOME OF
THE FAMOUS
RESTAURANTS

COLLEGE INN PORTERHOUSE
PORTERHOUSE LOUNGE
WELL OF THE SEA
CELTIC CAFE
CELTIC LOUNGE

December 10, 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey,
Convention Chairman
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

The undersigned agrees to provide and you agree to use the facilities of the Sherman House as hereinafter referred to for the 1965 convention of the Congress on Racial Equality.

A. Convention Dates	The convention will be held July 1-5, 1965.
B. Guest Rooms We will confirm and assign your delegates at the rates they request.	The Sherman House is hereby designated official convention headquarters and all major food functions will be held at the Sherman. In consideration thereof, the hotel will provide 500/600 guest rooms to accommodate your delegates. For rates, please see enclosed rate schedule.
C. Complimentary Accommodations	The hotel will provide 4 suites on a complimentary basis for your officers during the period of the convention.

D. Advance Reservation

The Sherman House will provide advance postage paid reservation cards with the name of the group and the dates of the meeting imprinted thereon, for the convenience of delegates in making hotel reservations.

E. Banquet Information

Attached are current luncheon and dinner banquet menus for your consideration. Prices are subject to 14% waiters gratuity and 4% Illinois sales tax.

F. Function Space

It is the policy of the hotel not to charge for space in connection with conventions. Space has been reserved for your organization as follows:

All space will be held for your group until your program is finalized.

We are most hopeful that your organization will decide favorably to headquarter at the Sherman House in 1965 and you have my personal assurance of the complete cooperation of our entire staff in making this your most successful convention.

This memorandum represents our commitment to you. We would appreciate your signing the attached copy of this memorandum on the line marked "ACCEPTED" and returning same to us.

Looking forward to hearing from you, and with best regards, I am

Sincerely,

N.A. Rickman

ACCEPTED BY:

_____

_____

OFFICIAL TITLE

_____DATE

R/r

22 December 1964

CHATANOOGA CONVENTION & VISITORS' ABUREAU
399 McCallie Avenue
Chatanooga, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to help us to secure either a college campus or a campsite that would be suitable or any other location you think we might be able to use. We plan to schedule the convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could mover it up to June 24 - 28, if there are not facilities available for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

22 December 1964

Memphis Convention & Visitors' Bureau
Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce
P. O. Box 224
Memphis, Tennessee 38101

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JF:LP

22 December 1964

Louisville Chamber of Commerce
300 West Liberty Street
Louisville, Kentucky

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Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

22 December 1964

Des Moines Convention & Visitors' Bureau
800 High Street
Des Moines, Iowa

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James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

2 December 1964

Mr. E. L. Pavel
Kansas City Convention & Visitors Bureau
1030 Baltimore Avenue
Kansas City, 5, Missouri

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James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

cc: Mr. Leonard Radaton (2) Mr.
Ft. U-P.
Detroit Conv. + Vis Bur
626 Book Building
Detroit, Mich

2 December 1965

Mr. Alvin J. Monroe
Milwaukee Convention & Visitors Bureau
North Broadway
Milwaukee66, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Monroe:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to help us to secure either a college campus or a camp-site that would be suitable or any other location you think we might be able to use. We plan to schedule the convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June 24 - 28, if there are no facilities available for the July 4th weekend.

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National Director

JF:LP

cc. Mr. Robt. W. Basler
Gen Man.
Colombus Conv & Vis Bur
50 W. Broad St
Colombus, Ohio

2 December 1964

Mr. Philip A. Dempsey
Executive Vice-President
Cincinnati Convention & Visitors Bureau
915 Union Central Building
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mr. Dempsey:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to help us to secure either a college campus or a camp-site that would be suitable or any other location you think we might be able to use. We plan to schedule the convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June 24 - 28, if there are no facilities available for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

30 November 1964

Mr. Julius L. Parlt, Manager
Minneapolis Convention & Visitors Bureau
711 2nd Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Parlt:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to help us to secure either a college campus or a camp-site that would be suitable or any other location you think we might be able to use. We plan to schedule the convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June 24 - 28, if there are no facilities available for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmerf
National Director

JF:LP

cc: (1) Mr. Edward C. Brennon
Ex. V-P
Cleveland Con + Vis Bur.
511 Terminal Tower
Cleveland, Ohio

(2) Mr. Gerald Sanderson
Ex Dir
Chicago Con. + Vis. Bur.
332 So. Michigan Ave
Chicago Ill.

1 December 1964

Mr. S. H. Rein, General Manager
St. Louis Convention & Visitors Bureau
911 Locust Street
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. Rein:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to help us to secure either a college campus or a camp-site that would be suitable or any other location you think we might be able to use. We plan to schedule the convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June 24 - 28, if there are no facilities available for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

30 November 1964

Office of the President
Elmhurst College
Elmhurst, Illinois

Gentlemen:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to make your campus available to us. We plan to schedule the convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June 24 - 28, if it is impossible to secure the campus for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

30 November 1964

Office of the President
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Gentlemen:

The Congress of Racial Equality is now planning its 1965 Annual Convention. We are wondering if you would be able to make your campus available to us. We plan to schedule the convention for July 1 - 5; however, we could move it up to June 24 - 28, if it is impossible to secure the campus for the July 4th weekend.

We will need housing and meals for 1500 people and the use of an auditorium seating 1000.

I should very much appreciate hearing from you about this at your earliest convenience.

/Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

File - 1961 Corr.

1/4/65

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Associate Director
MARTHA M. ZEEDICK
Associate Director

THE Cleveland
CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU, INC.

511 TERMINAL TOWER • MAIN 1-4110
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44113

December 29, 1964

Mr. James Farmer,
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am sorry about the delay in replying to your letter which arrived while I was out of the city.

I do not believe there are any college campuses or camp sites available in the Cleveland area which would be suitable for your needs. However, if the Convention is such that it could be held indoors, our Auditorium could be made available and all visitors, of course, could be housed in the downtown hotels. Meals could be handled either on an individual basis in restaurants in the hotels or could be catered in the Auditorium.

We are looking forward to the possibility of working with you on this project.

Cordially yours,

E. C. Brennan

Edward C. Brennan
Executive Vice President

ECB/vb

METROPOLITAN MILWAUKEE
ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE

611 N. BROADWAY
MILWAUKEE, WIS. 53202

CABLE "MILCOM"
AREA CODE 414
273-3000

January 4, 1965

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Mr. James Farmer, Natl. Dir.
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We have been delayed in answering your letter of December 2 while we endeavored to find out whether or not facilities could be made available on a college campus or a camp site that would accommodate your group of 1,500. Unfortunately, we have been unsuccessful in our search for such facilities.

However, we do have an alternate suggestion to offer.

Our local hotels and motels could make sleeping accommodations available for $3 to $3.50 per person, per night, provided 3 or more persons shared a room.

Our auditorium, which is located in the center of the city, is fully equipped to serve meals to as many as 1,200 persons at one time. We could arrange to provide luncheon buffet and dinner at the auditorium for a total price of $7 per person, per day, gratuity included. An air conditioned meeting room would also be made available at the auditorium to accommodate your business sessions for 1,000 persons, rent free. These facilities at present are available from July 1-5 this year.

Should your delegates have available time, they would, of course, enjoy the entertainment which is provided here as part of our July Fourth observance.

METROPOLITAN MILWAUKEE ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE

We are enclosing literature descriptive of the auditorium as well as maps of the downtown area.

Cordially yours,

AJM:mll

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

TO: Ruth Turner

FROM: George A. Wiley

RE: National Convention

This is to follow up on our phone conversation of January 6th, regarding Cleveland as a possible site for the convention. Our requirements are as follows:

1. Housing and meals for 750.
2. An auditorium seating 500 that would be available for the entire time. all day - concurrent
3. Ten meeting rooms - of various sizes, but at least one must be able to accommodate 50 people.

   (all of the above must be within walking distance of each other.)
4. A hall accommodating 2,000 people, available two nights so that we may choose the most convenient one for the rally. This may be located anywhere in the city.

I would appreciate finding our if appropriate facilities are available in Cleveland and if Cleveland CORE is amenable to having the convention there.

CW:nm

$5 per pers. (3)
$13 double
$4 sing

LOUISVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

INCORPORATED

300 WEST LIBERTY STREET, LOUISVILLE 2, KENTUCKY

January 11, 1965

JAN 13 1965

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Office of the National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, N. Y. 10038

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

This will confirm our telephone conversation earlier this week in reply to Mr. Farmer's inquiry concerning a 1965 convention site for the Congress of Racial Equality. As I related to you over the telephone, the University of Louisville is entirely a metropolitan downtown facility, with an extremely limited amount of dormitory housing as of this time. After conferring with the University officials, it is apparent that not more than 100 units of dormitory housing would be available during the summer months. This is primarily the result of an intensive summer program at the University, which conducts a large number of classes at this time of the year for Youth Educators, notably Primary and Secondary School Teachers. Unfortunately, as of this writing the University does not have a facility that will seat over 600 persons in one Auditorium.

There are no camp sites in Kentucky, which to my knowledge would support your requirements. There is, of course, the possibility that the University of Kentucky would have some facilities available, but since they are 75 miles east of Louisville, I am not in a position to advise you definitely on this. I would suggest that you communicate with Dr. John Oswald, President of the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, for information about their facilities and availability thereof.

Thank you for your inquiry and consideration of Louisville.

Sincerely,

David B. Humphrey

David B. Humphrey
Manager

DBH:jc

CONVENTION BUREAU

cc: Mr. James Farmer

LOUISVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Inc. Louisville Kentucky

INTERNATIONAL ASSN OF CONVENTION BUREAUS IACB

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION BUREAU, INC.
332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60604 Telephone 922-3530

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Executive Director

Nancy

January 12, 1965

JAN 14 1965

Mr. Gordon Carey
Assistant Director
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Carey:

Perhaps at this time you might advise us as to whether or not a decision has been made in regards to the 1965 meeting of the Congress on Racial Equality.

It would be very helpful to bring our records up-to-date.

We shall be looking forward to hearing from you.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Andrew P. Kelly

ANDREW P. KELLY
Convention Representative

al

MEMBER AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAVEL AGENTS — ASTA

HSMA — HOTEL SALES MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION — EUROPE 1963

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JAN 14 1965

HAMPTON HOUSE MOTEL and VILLAS

COMPLETELY AIR-CONDITIONED

4200 N. W. 27th Avenue • Miami, Florida 33142 • Telephone 633-0611

January 13, 1965

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

IN RE: 1965 CORE Convention

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

Thank you for your letter of January 5th. I believe you mis-understood our letter to Mr. Farmer of December 31st. A copy is enclosed for your reference.

We are interested in participating in your 1965 convention and wish to know the site and dates. Our offer of a door prize will be the way in which we would participate in your convention.

We are also interested in bringing the CORE Convention to Miami and would like to know when the next open year is.

Your reply to our letter of December 31st will be appreciated. We are enclosing another convention questionnaire form.

Cordially yours,

HAMPTON HOUSE MOTEL & VILLAS

Harry Markowitz

HM:dr

Encls.

AIR CONDITIONED

HAMPTON HOUSE MOTEL and VILLAS

4200 N. W. 27th Avenue Miami 42, Florida Telephone NE 3-0611

CONVENTION QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

NAME OF CONVENTION _____

BUILDING OR HOTEL _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

DATES OF CONVENTION _____

TIME AND DATE OF DOOR PRIZE DRAWING _____

PLACE OF DOOR PRIZE DRAWING _____

SIZE OF PROGRAM _____

PRICE OF ADS: FULL PAGE AD _____ HALF PAGE AD _____
ONE FOURTH PAGE AD _____

WILL YOU SHOW OUR MOVIE "TORCH OF FRIENDSHIP"? _____

HOW MANY DELEGATES WILL ATTEND? _____

HOW MANY VISITORS WILL ATTEND? _____

MAY WE HAVE PICTURES OF THE LUCKY WINNER ALONG WITH THE PRESIDENT OF YOUR ORGANIZATION AND HAMPTON HOUSE REPRESENTATIVE? _____

MAY WE HAVE NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS OF STORIES APPEARING IN LOCAL NEWSPAPERS ABOUT LUCKY WINNER AND YOUR CONVENTION? _____

WILL YOU INSERT OUR BROCHURES AND OTHER MATERIALS IN YOUR CREDENTIAL KITS? _____

CAN YOU SET UP HAMPTON HOUSE PLACARDS AT YOUR CONVENTION? _____

CAN WE HAVE OUR REPRESENTATIVE PRESENT AT YOUR CONVENTION? _____

WILL YOU LIST IN YOUR PROGRAM AND ON THE AGENDA OUR NAME AND THE TIME, DATE AND PLACE OF THE DRAWING? _____

December 31, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

IN RE: Congress of Racial Equality Convention
1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Would you please let us know where and when the 1965 Congress of Racial Equality will be held as we are interested in participating in same.

Our offer is as follows: We would give your convention a door prize of a week's vacation for two persons at the Hampton House including meals (not including transportation) in exchange for your organization printing our full page ad in your souvenir program without charge to us.

We will supply you with printed tickets for the door prize such as the sample enclosed. These will be attached to our brochures and can be inserted in the delegates credential kits. On the last day of the convention you hold a drawing and pick a winner. That winner then has the privilege of choosing who will accompany him on his vacation at the Hampton House. All ticket stubs are to be returned to us after the convention.

Enclosed you will find a convention inquiry form which we will appreciate your filling out with reference to our participation in your convention.

We are also interested in inviting your convention to Miami in the near future. We can provide you with invitations from our Mayor and Governor inviting your organization to convene in Miami with your

headquarters at Hampton House. Having been here in the past I am sure you are aware of the fine facilities Miami has for conventions. Enclosed you will find a convention form which we would appreciate your filling out so that we will know your requirements.

Looking forward to hearing from you and wishing you a very Happy New Year, we are

Cordially yours,

HAMPTON HOUSE MOTEL & VILLAS

Harry Markowitz

HM:dr

MEMBER AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAVEL AGENTS — ASTA — HSMA — N·H·A Nationwide Hotel Association — HOSPITALITY PLUS SERVICE — NATO

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4200 N. W. 27th Avenue • Miami, Florida 33142 • Telephone 633-0611

December 31, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

IN RE: Congress of Racial Equality Convention
1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

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HAMPTON
HOUSE MOTEL and VILLAS

December 31, 1964

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Looking forward to hearing from you and wishing you a very Happy New Year, we are

Cordially yours,

HAMPTON HOUSE MOTEL & VILLAS

Harry Markowitz

Harry Markowitz

HM:dr

COLUMBUS CONVENTION BUREAU

50 W. BROAD ST. • COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215 • TELEPHONE 221-6623

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*THOMAS S. WALKER — Pick - Ft. Hayes Hotel
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*W. E. WEST — Nationwide Mutual Insurance Co.

*Executive Committee Member

January 13, 1965

JAN 14 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Please refer to your letter of December 2nd requesting information on a college campus or a campsite which might be suitable for your 1965 annual convention.

We understand you have already been in touch with the Ohio State University officials and have received information from them concerning the O.S.U. facilities.

The only other facility we know of in this vicinity which might accommodate a crowd as large as yours would be our Ohio State Fairgrounds here in Columbus. We are sending a copy of this letter to Mr. E. J. Keirns, Manager of the Ohio Exposition Commission, with the request that he communicate with you direct regarding their facilities.

The only other idea I had for accommodations like you mentioned would be one of the state parks, and I doubt if any of these are equipped to handle as many as a thousand or fifteen hundred people at one time. In order to pursue this idea further, you may wish to address the Ohio Department of Development here in Columbus.

I hope this information will be of some value, and if we can help further in any way, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely,

Robert W. Bashor

Robert W. Bashor
General Manager

RWB:ii

CC - Mr. E. J. Keirns, Manager
Ohio Exposition Commission

COME TO COLUMBUS & DISCOVER AMERICA

MEMBER INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CONVENTION BUREAUS

THE
STATLER
HILTON
BUFFALO

DELAWARE AVENUE at NIAGARA SQUARE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14240 • TEL. Area Code 716 856-1000

JAMES E. McMAHON
SALES REPRESENTATIVE

January 15, 1965

Mrs. Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mrs. Mutarelli:

Confirming our telephone conversation of Wednesday, January 13, we are pleased to outline the prospective arrangements for your 1965 convention for which Buffalo is being considered along with the cities of Cleveland and Chicago.

It is our understanding you are interested in the dates July 1-5, 1965, at which time you would require housing for approximately 750 persons over these dates. Also an auditorium for 500 persons which would be set up theatre style and in addition, 10 meeting rooms for 50 persons or less as well as an Auditorium to seat 2000 persons for one evening.

We can provide these facilities here in Buffalo with all of the function rooms other than the meeting for 2000 held in our hotel, with the meeting for 2000 in our Buffalo Auditorium.

Our various function rooms are depicted in the enclosed brochure.

As far as guest rooms are concerned, we would be pleased to arrange triples at $5.00 per person - choice of twins or doubles at $13.00 per room ($6.50

THE
STATLER
HILTON

per person) or singles at $8.00.

We understand the decision as to location will be made within the month, and we sincerely hope that Buffalo will be selected.

Therefore, in the meantime, if you would like any additional information regarding our city or hotel, please do not hesitate to call or write me.

Sincerely,

James E. McMahon.

JM:ps
cc: Mr. Edward E. Murphy, Jr.
National Sales Representative
Hilton Hotels Corporation
The Statler Hilton
New York, New York

January 27, 1965

Mr. Don L. Finlayson
Director of University Housing
University of Minnesota
100 Wesbrook Hall
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear Mr. Finlayson:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 12th.

We appreciate your consideration of our request to hold our convention on your campus. Although we have not yet decided on a definite location, we have decided to consider sites only in Ohio, Illinois, North Carolina and New York.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

UNIVERSITY OF *Minnesota*

JAN 14 1965

UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE COMMITTEE
100 WESBROOK HALL · MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455

January 12, 1965

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

Mr. Julius Perlt, Manager of the Minneapolis Convention Bureau, has forwarded the letter of November 30 from Mr. James Farmer to this office for consideration by the University of Minnesota.

On January 25, the University Conference Coordinating Committee will meet to approve 1965 conference applicants. If your group is still interested in holding your 1965 meeting on our campus, we will require the following information for the committee:

1. The exact dates your group would consider.

2. Number of people expected to attend.
   a. Number expected to live on campus
   b. Number of children expected

3. A brief description of the program. If you have copies of a previous Congress, please include.

4. A listing of the number of meeting spaces you will need and the capacity of each.

5. Banquets and other special program facilities you will require. If a large auditorium is required, please give the day or days this will be needed.

Your earliest reply will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Don L. Finlayson
Director of University Housing

DLF:vb

THE
STATLER
HILTON
CLEVELAND

FEB 1 1965

EUCLID AVENUE at EAST 12th STREET • CLEVELAND, OHIO 44101 • TEL. Area Code 216 771-6800

ELMORE C. BACON
SALES MANAGER

January 28, 1965

Mrs. N. Nutarelli
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Nutarelli:

We have been asked by Mr. Al Ainsley, of our Statler Hilton Hotel in New York, to communicate with you regarding possibility of your holding a meeting at the Statler Hilton Hotel, July 1-5, 1965.

It is our understanding you will require a meeting room each day, which will accommodate approximately 500 persons; another meeting room each day to accommodate 50 persons and nine smaller rooms accommodating from 10 to 30 persons. No food functions will be required.

It is also our understanding you will require accommodations for approximately 750 persons and would require approximately 375 to 400 rooms.

This period is available and I would appreciate hearing from you as to your definite requirements outside of those mentioned above.

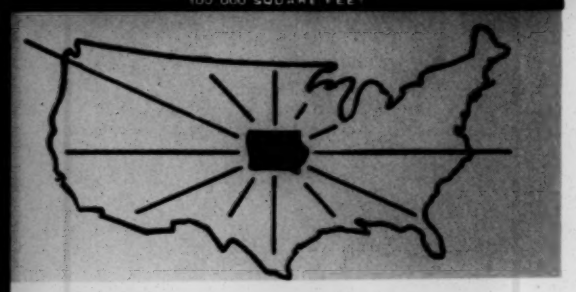
Anticipating the privilege of hearing further from you, we are

Most cordially yours,

Elmore C. Bacon

Elmore C. Bacon, Jr.
Sales Manager
STATLER HILTON HOTEL

ECB:bz



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FEB 15 1965

DES MOINES

Convention Bureau

800 HIGH STREET DES MOINES, IOWA 50307 AREA CODE 515 283-1777

February 11, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for your inquiry relative to the possibility of holding your 1965 annual convention in our area.

Enclosed is our regular convention facility brochure. If you were to utilize an accommodation of our hotels and motor inns along with our Veterans Memorial Auditorium, we could house your convention very comfortably.

You did mention the desirability of a college campus or camp site and on this basis, I have delayed answering your letter until I had more definite information. There are times when we can secure the use of the Drake University campus in Des Moines and it happens that I have been in the process of trying to obtain rooms for another group there this year.

Unfortunately, they are constructing several new dormitories and a cafeteria addition, which necessarily involves the present dormitory facilities and makes them unavailable this year. Another year, as far as the campus facility, might be a real possibility.

However, if you can utilize hotels and motor inns and our Veterans Memorial Auditorium, we would be happy to schedule your meeting on July 1-5, 1965.

I am enclosing a list of hotels and motels, which I think will indicate that we have reasonably priced facilities, and your people would find some of the best food at reasonable prices as anywhere you could meet in the country.

I would be happy to hear from you if we can be of further service.

Cordially yours,

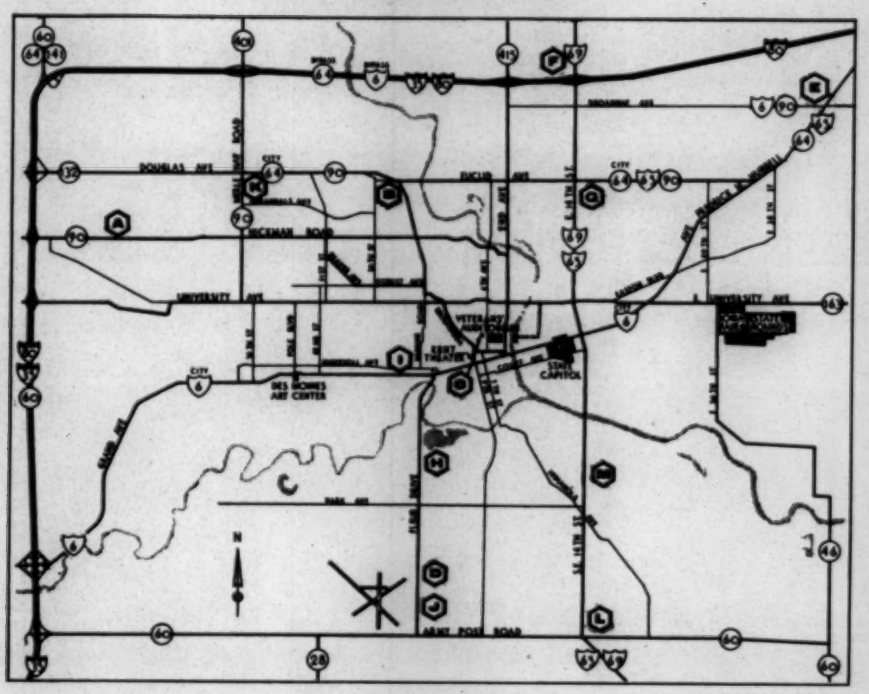
John Besanceney

John W. Besanceney
Executive Secretary

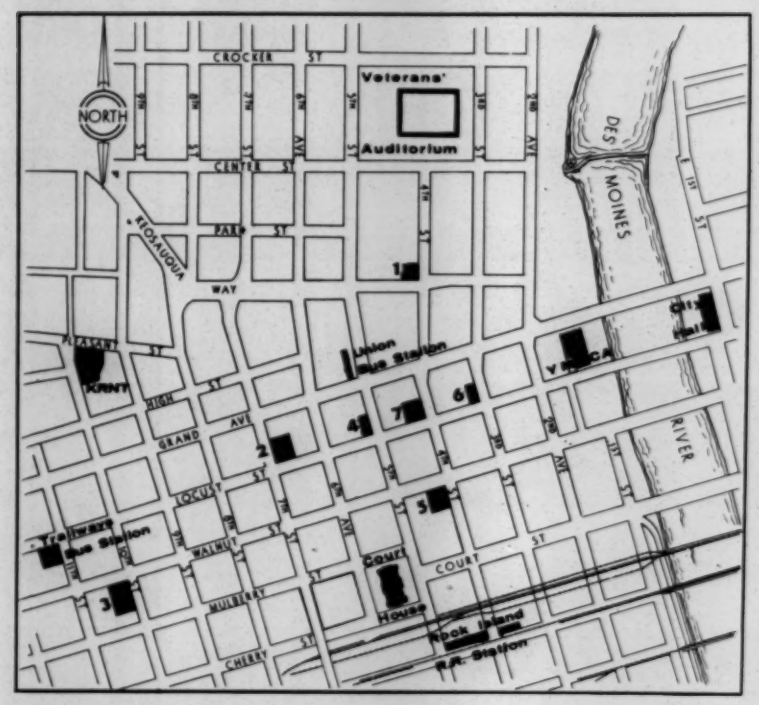
JWB/jcr

encl.

GREATER DES MOINES



DOWNTOWN DES MOINES



HOTEL ROOM RATES (Locate by number on Downtown Des Moines Map)

	SINGLES	DOUBLES	TWINS	SUITES
(1) BROWN (250 rms) 4th & Keo	$ 6.00–$ 8.00	$ 8.00–$10.00	$10.00–$12.00	$10.00–$20.00
(2) CHAMBERLAIN (125 rms) 403 7th	$ 4.50–$ 7.50	$ 5.50–$ 7.50	$ 7.50–$ 8.50	
(3) FORT DES MOINES (400 rms) 10th & Walnut	$ 7.50–$14.00	$11.00–$16.00	$13.50–$16.00	$25.00–$50.00
(4) FRANKLIN (135 rms) 5th & Locust	$ 4.50–$ 6.00	$ 6.00–$ 8.00	$ 8.00–$10.00	
(5) KIRKWOOD (300 rms) 4th & Walnut	$ 6.50–$ 9.75	$ 9.50–$13.50	$12.00–$16.00	$20.00–$27.50
(6) MARTIN (60 rms) 3rd & Locust	$ 4.00–$ 5.00	$ 6.00–$ 7.00	$ 8.00	
(7) SAVERY (425 rms) 4th & Locust	$ 6.50–$13.00	$ 9.00–$15.00	$11.00–$16.00	$24.50–$42.00

MOTEL ROOM RATES (Locate by letter on Greater Des Moines Map)

	1 Pers.	2 Pers. 1 Bed	2 Pers. 2 Beds	3 Pers. 2 Beds	4 Pers. 2 Beds	6 Pers. 3 Beds	Roll-Away	Studio or Suite
(A) THE CLAYTON HOUSE (64 rms) 7625 Hickman Rd 276-5401	$ 8.00	$10.00	$12.00	$14.00	$16.00		$ 2.00	
(B) DOUGLAS INN MOTEL (21 rms) 3120 Douglas 274-3461	$ 6.00	$ 8.00 $10.00	$12.00 $14.00	$12.00 $14.00	$14.00 $16.00		$ 2.00	
(C) DOWNTOWNER MOTOR INN (64 rms) 928-6th 283-2176	$ 8.75	$10.75	$12.75	$14.75	$16.75		$ 2.00	
(D) FLEUR DE LIS MOTOR HOTEL (31 rms) 6141 Fleur Dr. 285-5751	$ 8.75	$10.75	$12.75 $14.75	$13.75	$14.75		$ 2.00	
(E) GILBERT-BEST WESTERN (35 rms) 5100 Hubbell 262-5659	$ 8.00 $10.00	$10.00 $12.00	$12.00 $14.00	$14.00	$16.00		$ 2.00	
(F) GOODE-BEST WESTERN MOTOR LODGE (28 rms) 5020 E. 14th 265-0361	$ 8.00	$10.00	$14.00	$15.00	$16.00	$18.00	$ 2.00	
(G) HOLIDAY INN NORTH (147 rms) 3501 E. 14th 265-2541	$ 8.75	$11.75	$13.75	$15.75	$17.75	$27.50	$ 2.00	$27.50
(H) HOLIDAY INN SOUTH (202 rms) 2101 Fleur Dr. 283-1711	$ 8.75	$11.75	$13.75	$15.75	$17.75	$25.50	$ 2.00	$23.50
(I) HOWARD JOHNSON'S MOTOR LODGE (80 rms) 2525 Grand 283-2251	$ 9.00	$12.00	$14.00	$17.00	$20.00		$ 3.00	$14.00
(J) JOHNNY & KAY'S MOTOR HOTEL (92 rms) 6215 Fleur Dr. 285-4310	$ 8.75 $10.75	$11.75 $14.75	$13.75 $14.75	$13.75 $15.75	$16.75		$ 3.00	
(K) McNEAL HI-WAY HOTEL MOTELS (120 rms) 5703 Urbandale Ave. 276-3411	$ 6.00 $ 7.00	$ 8.00 $ 9.00	$10.00	$11.00 $14.00	$14.00	$21.00		$11.00 $14.00
(L) MIR-A-MAR MOTEL (23 rms) 6233 S.E. 14th 285-1180	$ 5.00 $ 6.00	$ 7.00 $ 8.00	$ 8.00 $10.00	$ 8.00 $10.00	$10.00 $12.00		$ 1.00	
(M) RAMBLER MOTEL (32 rms) 2701 S.E. 14th 243-8691	$ 7.50 $ 9.50	$ 9.50	$11.50	$12.50	$13.50		$ 2.00	

RATE SUBJECT TO CHANGE

2M REV. 8/64

February 15, 1965

Mr. William M. Lawicki
Associate Manager-Promotion
Detroit Convention Bureau
626 Book Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Dear Mr. Lawicki:

We are sorry that we have not been in touch with you before this, but we are still undecided about the location for our 1965 convention. However, it seems that the possibilities would be Cleveland, Ohio or Durham, North Carolina.

We will, however, consider Detroit for our 1966 convention. Thank you very much for your help and interest in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM:cf

DETROIT CONVENTION BUREAU

626 BOOK BUILDING, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226

February 11, 1965

962-9100
Area Code 313

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Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York - 10038

FEB 15 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We wrote you last December regarding availability of Detroit convention facilities in June and/or July 1965. We were most hopeful that, although our major central convention facilities were already committed to other organizations during your preferred meeting time, other facilities such as Masonic Temple and the State Fairgrounds might be acceptable to you for your 1965 convention here.

We would like to see a meeting of CORE held here on the occasion of its first open meeting year. If it will be possible for you to drop us a line and bring us up to date on where your '65 meeting will be held, and whether Detroit can again be considered for your 1966 meeting, we will appreciate hearing from you. Also, if you would like us to check out available dates in 1966 or another year, please let us know and we will be happy to do so.

We look forward to hearing from you and hope to have the opportunity of working with you and the local membership on a future CORE convention in Detroit.

Cordially,

William M. Lawicki

William M. Lawicki
Associate Manager-Promotion

WML:bd

MEMBER INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION CONVENTION BUREAUS

504 721-3471

Hilton Inn

OPPOSITE MOISANT INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT · NEW ORLEANS
P. O. BOX 338 • KENNER, LOUISIANA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

FEB 2 6 1965

February 22, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress On Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Re: 1965 Meeting

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We learned recently from our Sales Office in Chicago, that you are considering New Orleans for your summer of 1965 meeting. After reviewing the requirements for your program, I am prompted to offer our facilities for your consideration.

You will find enclosed, literature on the New Orleans Hilton Inn at International Airport. If, after you have had an opportunity to review this material, you do feel we could possibly be of assistance to you, please let me hear from you, with the dates and requirements projected for this program.

With the hope that I can be of service to you this summer, I remain,

Sincerely,

THE HILTON INN

Donald C. Barrett

Donald C. Barrett
Sales Manager

Encl.
DCB/mm

THE STATLER HILTON CLEVELAND

FEB 2 5 1965

EUCLID AVENUE at EAST 12th STREET • CLEVELAND, OHIO 44101 • TEL. Area Code 216 771-6800

ELMORE C. BACON
SALES MANAGER

February 24, 1965

Mrs. Nancy Mutarelli
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Mutarelli:

It is our understanding that your 1965 National Meeting will be held in Durham, North Carolina. We are, therefore, cancelling the tentative reservation which we have been holding for your group here at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Cleveland.

We shall look forward to serving your organization at a later date.

Most cordially yours,

Elmore C Bacon Jr

Elmore C. Bacon, Jr.
Sales Manager
STATLER HILTON HOTEL

ECB:bz

Chattanooga Convention & Visitors Bureau

MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM CHATTANOOGA, TENN. 37402

PHONE 266-5716 AREA 615

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ALL AMERICA CITY

MAR 3 1965

March 1, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

My apologies for not having answered your letter of December 22, 1964, concerning a site for your 1965 annual convention. We have had a change over in personnel in our office, and your letter not being answered was an oversight.

It doesn't look as if we have the facilities at the present time to handle your organization. The largest facility we have is the University of Chattanooga. I have checked with them about this and they have room to house about 100, their dining room holds about 250, and the largest meeting room holds about 300.

If we can be of further service please let us know.

Cordially,

Charlie Dover

Charles D. Dover
Convention Manager

CDD/sa

Green Lake, Wisconsin
Baptist Conference
Carl

Lawson, Mag. 870-2140

Elmhurst College
na Chicago

Earlham.
Quaker - Indiana
Conv. Bureau - NY -

Convention Bur of State
State Chamber of Com

Memo from . . . LANE

MARVIN RICH

Nancy:
get data on
N. C.
Ohio
} specific data
for convention site

Wash Univ - St Louis
Chancellor Tom Elliott

Louisville Ky
U. of Chicago
Purdue Lafayette Ind
Nashville Tenn
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Iowa

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file - Traing - Commun. Organiz

Future of Paid Movement Organizing in the South

The present direction of the movement in the South indicates an overnight change in its workings. Federal pressure under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and under the proposed voting act of 1965 combined with a nationwide sympathy for the Black Belt provide a basis for real freedom in the local area. But if local people can do more and if there are more tools available, then simple protests developed and led by a few people provide no meaningful program on which to develop a lasting change.

Typical questions the movement tried to answer last year were:

How do we stop the pressure of the local sheriff?
How do we get the vote?
When does the next bomb explode?

Typical questions the movement is trying to start to answer this year are:

When I get my vote, how do I use it?
What kind of government gives my children the best education they can get?
How can my farm be improved to give me a real working wage?
If both white and Negro schools are so bad, why doesn't the government improve them?

To deal with the increased complexity of the questions facing the movement the following proposals are made:

(1) All existing task forces be phased out of existence as soon as there is a local movement in all Black Belt counties open to OCRE.

(2) CORE change its policy to hiring as field staff only highly trained community organizers.

(3) CORE put money into local hands in local areas by having the organizers hire whatever assistance he needs in the local area itself.

The training of the organizers should include:

(1) Extensive political background

(2) Economic background in at least one area of the following:

a. Farms
b. Unions or labor organizing
c. Community services
d. Education

(3) 3 to 6 months in field situations similar to ones where his work will ultimately be carried out.

The organizer will work in depth in one area, developing a program around the issue of his competency. Part of the organizer's job is to share his competency and to develop local ability both to take over the program and to share it with other areas. Increased communication with other local movements (see memo on The New Movement in Mississippi) combined with the newly trained local people will ideally spread successful projects fairly rapidly.

In line with this suggestion the present Mississippi Task Force should be entirely phased out of the 4th Congressional District in Mississippi by January 1, 1966. By that time the task force is to be replaced by 5 organizers (say 2 farm, 1 union, 1 school, and 1 community services.)

Richard Jewett
Mississippi Field Staff
March 31, 1965

CORE OPERATING LOANS PAYABLE & PAYMENT AMOUNTS AS OF 9-10-65

PREPARED BY GEORGE WILEY & ED DAY

	SELF	#3581 * Bank of N.Y. $27,000.00	3582 * Chemical Bank $65,000.00	Loan #2 * Chemical Bank $15,000.00	#3583 Chase Manhattan $20,000.00
TOTAL INTEREST--		1,025.83	2,717.65	378.35	
TOTAL LOAN & INTERST--		28,025.83	67,717.65	15,378.35	
9-15-65	2,000.00	810.00	1,950.00	1,568.75	2,000.00
10-8-65					
10-15-65	25,562.50	1,890.00	4,550.00	1,561.88	2,000.00
11-8-65					
11-15-65		1,890.00	4,550.00	1,555.01	2,000.00
12-15-65		2,160.00	5,200.00	1,548.14	2,000.00
12-17-65					
1-15-66		810.00	1,950.00	1,541.27	
2-15-66		2,160.00	5,200.00	1,534.40	
3-15-66		2,160.00	5,200.00	1,527.53	
4-15-66		2,160.00	5,200.00	1,520.66	
5-15-66		2,160.00	5,200.00	1,513.79	
6-15-66		2,700.00	6,500.00	1,506.92	
7-15-66		2,375.83	5,967.65	1,506.92	
	27,562.50	21,275.83 6,750.00	51,467.65 16,250.00	15,378.35	8,000.00 12,000.00
	27,562.50	28,025.83	67,717.65	15,378.35	20,000.00
Interest Rates ———		5%	5½ %	5½%	

Note: Interest is on a single basis as per above percentages

* Interest Bearing Loans

CONTINUE ---CORE OPERATING LOANS PAYABLE & PAYMENT AMOUNTS
AS OF 9-10-65

PREPARED BY
GEORGE WILEY & ED DAY

	#3591 Mrs. D $6,000.00	Mrs. H $10,00.00	Anonymous Bankers Trust $4,500.00	Mis Loans $18,020.00	Total Monthly
9-15-65	180.00		150.00		8,658.75
10-8-65				720.00	7,200.00
10-15-65	420.00		350.00		36,334.38
11-8-65				7,300.00	7,300.00
11-15-65	420.00		350.00		10,765.01
12-15-65	480.00		400.00		11,788.14
12-17-65				10,000.00	10,000.00
1-15-66	180.00	10,000.00	150.00		14,631.27
2-15-66	480.00		400.00		9,774.40
3-15-66	480.00		400.00		9,767.53
4-15-66	480.00		400.00		9,760.66
5-15-66	480.00		400.00		9,753.79
6-15-66	600.00		150.00		11,456.92
7-15-66	300.00				8,643.48
8-15-66					
9-15-66			150.00		150.00
10-15-66			350.00		350.00
11-15-66			350.00		350.00
12-15-66			400.00		400.00
1-15-67			100.00		100.00
	4,500.00	10,000.00	4,500.00	18,020.00	160,704.33 (total balance payable as of 9-10-65)
	1,500.00				36,500.00 (total paid to date)
	6,000.00	10,000.00	4,500.00	18,020.00	197,204.33 (total original

NAC Meeting

N.A.C MEETING - DECEMBER 31, 1965 - JAN. 2, 1966
NATIONAL CORE OFFICE & BELMONT PLAZA HOTEL

Members present

Mckissick	Curvin	Williams (Phoenix)
Ussery	Rosenfeld	Moore
Lynch	Brown (Cecil)	Robinson
Bradley	Don Smith	Leeds
Turner	Doretha Smith	Williams (Phila.)
Farmer	Oree Dyes	Montiero
Wilson	Hall	

National Chairman, Floyd B. McKissick opened the meeting at 10:00 a.m. For the benefit of the newer members of the N.A.C. it was agreed by common consent that there should be a review of the history of CORE a discussion of the functions of a N.A.C. member, some discussion of where we are in the movement at this time, and a report on the status of the organization before getting into the question for which the meeting was called primarily, i.e. the selection of a new director.

CORE History - a Review

James Farmer began the review with some brief comments about the leak concerning his resignation. The original intent was to do it differenetly ---- in a press conference with the N.A.C. fully aware and involved. The leak probably came from Washington, and once the news was out there was no alternative but to go ahead with the announcement.

Background of CORE - James Farmer

The organization was started in 1942 during the WWII. It was a time in the history of the civil rights movement when the NAACP was filing suits to equalize teachers' salaries in Negro and white schools. Most people involved in the beginning organization of CORE were pacifists. Farmer was on the staff of F.O.R. (race relations secretary) and was one of several who felt the need for an interracial non-violent direct action organization who could enable people to involve themselves in their own struggle and who were committed to non-cooperation with evil. There was no intention to supplant existing organizations, but it was felt that a new element had to be added. The F.O.R. authorized Farmer to spend time organizing such a group but took no responsibility for it and its actions.

An organization was set up and it then decided what it should do. Its first project was accidentally discovered - discrimination in a Chicago restaurnat. Shridharani War Without Violence was considered the "Bible" of the new organization. Very few Negroes were involved in the early stages of CORE - most of the members were white intellectuals, all rootless. There was disdain for publicity in the early days; as a result the community was not involved in CORE's projects. The goal of the early organization was to change the hearts of those who discriminated; if the group succeded in changing practices and not the hearts, they had something less than success.

There were only six units of the org., then known as the Committee of Racial Equality in 1942. In summer of 1943 there was formed the National Federal of Committees of Racial Equality. An early activity was a Freedom Ride in 1946-7 called the Journey of Reconciliation through the Upper South. The number of units did not grow substantially in the early years, The objective of the organization was to "Erase the Color Line" (the title of a pamphlet written by Jim Peck)

and the dream was the establishment of a raceless sub-culture which would eventually become the culture of the nation. There was no staff for the organization and the organization out of principle did not raise money nor develop publicity about itself.

In the mid-50's with the Montgomery Bus Boycott the technique of direct action became popularized. CORE talked about invading the Deep South and organizing CORE chapters but that idea was rejected at that time. There was a feeling that CORE would not last. However the organization became alive with the sit-in movement. The "sit-ins" were not started by CORE, but the students involved had read Peck's pamphlet and had been directed to CORE by a white businessman in No. Carolina. It was at this point that the organization began to grow.

CORE has changed drastically since the early days. It is not color-blind but recognized that it must be color-conscious to eliminate color. It no longer conceives of itself (or cannot) as a small cadre of people outside of the ghetto working for it. The involvement of CORE in community org. and political action makes that clear. In a sense, CORE does not deserve the power it has. Non-violent direct action techniques have been a power substitute but no longer will serve.

Mr. Farmer informed the group that August Meier is now doing a history of CORE. Because of the lack of concern for publicity many records were not kept, but it is hoped that there will be eventually a fairly reliable history of the org.

The Function of the NAC

After explaining that N.A.C. members have to know who we are and what our responsibilties are if we are to be effective, McKissick called on 1st Vice Chairman Wil Ussery to explain the functions of the N.A.C.

1. The National Convention is the top policy making body of the organization. Between conventions the N.A.C., composed of the national officers, regional vice chairman and regional representatives is authorized to make policy for the organization. The N.A.C. in turn has delegated its steering Committee of national officers and regional vice chairman to meet regularly than the whole N.A.C. to make policy. The N.A.C. is also sub-divided into sub-committees appointed by the chairman.

2. The regional Action Councils were devised to exploit the leadership of chapters to provide servicing and involve chapter leadership in resolving the problems of the organization.

3. The strength of the N.A.C. - policy making directorate to deal with the problems of the organization, which is responsive to the feeling of chapter and the ghetto and whose job it is to represent that will on a national level.

4. The weaknesses of the N.A.C.
   a. Has been too uninformed; there is a huge gap between the staff and the N.A.C. in terms of information available to it with which to make decisions.

b. It has not solved the problem of how it shall move and discharge its responsibilities. Too loose internal structure (later remedied -
c. Meetings (as the result of the financial crisis of the organization) are infrequent. Therefore the NAC cannot stay informed.

5. What the NAC wants to be - "existence will of the body"
   a. Be informed - key to being able to function and make intelligent decisions.
   b. Stay attuned to chapter feeling and consensus.
   c. Be structurally integrated with the RAC structure (reason for increasing the number of representative, providing NAC with regional basis for internal sub-committe structure).

James Farmer made these additional comments. The NAC has evolved, up to 1961 was composed of staff people and co-opted persons. In 1961 the Convention began making the body more representative and has expanded on that principle at conventions since.

Where is CORE and Where is the Movement?

Ruth Turner, national secretary gave a personal assessment of the movement. She noted that the shift has been made from desegregation to integration or from pure civil rights issues to complex socio-economic political issues. Past action against racism has become action to eliminate the effects of racism - the trapping of the Negro in the ghetto with all exits barred by continued exploitation and discrimination as well as the effects of past mistreatment. Thus the movement is called upon to deal with the job problem, (not only discrimination but unemployment), inferior substandard housing, displacement or urban renewal, poor schools, low motivation, etc.

CORE in many communities has developed a reputation for exposing civil rights problems but not solving them. We have been disinterested until recently in some of the more complex issues facing the community and ill equipped to deal with them. Yet community after community wants answers now, not ?'s. They want to know what CORE is going to do about jobs, housing, etc. besides picket.

For a number of reasons CORE chapters are unable to pick up the challenge and answer the community.

1. There is an emotional hang-up of chapter members with "Freedom Now". Expecting instant freedom, they are unable to plan, think, study laws and develop longrange proposals. Expecting instant results they are often unable to spend time in communities developing the leadership there.

2. There is also the concept of "elitism" which holds us back. People who do not share our view of the struggle, exhibit our commitment, etc. simply cannot be on the " in crowd." Thus we leave out most of the community and CORE chapters ore often unrepresentative of the people they claim to represent. Therefore chapters have often not involved people with the resources to help us solve organizational problem.

3. There is a need for full-time staff in chapters. The demands are such that we can no longer depend on volunteer work alone.

4. We are at the point (if we are not past it) of having our power "bluff" called. Since we have not developed realy community support and therefore power, we cannot produce and the power structure is beginning to know it. And yet more than ever we must have power to unlock the national resources which our required to solve our community's problems.

Other NAC members added their comments:

C. Brown - Not having any money is a serious problem. We have also been the victim of inflexibility and too good a press. Our image needs changing - we must recognize the fact that there are other things to be done other than direct action. We must recruit members and could use some publicity experts.

Rosenfeld - as the result of the War on Poverty we must evaluate where we stand vis a vis federal programs. We must also ask ourselves whether community organization means the same now as it did when we first talked about it. A Warning - that we not put more energy into "image-building" than what we are about.

Montiero - Not as pessimistic as Turner. We are experiencing growing pains, and are in a reconstruction period. There is the problem though of not wanting to deal with complex problems, not being prepared to do basic research, not want- to make long-range plans.

Bradley - Usually an organization fighting a society like ours burrows underground and develops a base and exposes its strength only occasionally. CORE happened in the reverse. It is a matter of historical circumstance that when we reach the point of legal equality racism increases, not decreases. Just as we have rubbed the sore of expectations in the Negro comminity, we have rubbed the sore of racism.. There are three ways societies deal with minorities through assimilation, annihilation and exclusion. The Negro, facing racism (the most powerful force in history), is in the position of being wiped out. The question that must face us is how to get the essential protective coating of power. The essence of politics is economic. Our community's problem is survival.

A revolution fails when it does not involve planners, people who can sit in a room and think. These must be combined with the street corner hustlers. Our most difficult problem however is that psychologically we are still on the plantation. The Negro has no conception of himself. That vacuum must be motivated and filled.

Lynch - Refers to the problem of the self-concept of the Negro as the result of psychological genocide. The Negro is being excluded and it is happening with his consent. In one sense that is not so bad because it removed the false goddess of integration from view. We must not spend too much time on the past; we need the determination to develop an organization able to strike the impossible task of eliminating racism. The commitment to do that is not in the NAC.

Wiley - We do need programs dealing with hard realities. Racism thrives in a new way. CORE is the only civil rights organization addressing themselves to the question of power. We are now in the position to start on an upbeat thrust, although we are still faced with these problems:

1. No effective communication system. If we knew of our successes, we might not be so demoralized.
2. We need additional resources at the national level - to cut through the complexities.
3. Chapters must develop roots in the community for we can stimulate the thrust.

Lee's - Cannot go overboard with the experts and professionals. Do you let the experts in and make chapter people feel uncomfortable? Do you get rid of chapters of the bad aspects of chapters? Take the War on Poverty. Chapters need to establish a line on the W.O.P. and it should be the chapter's duty to demonstrate around the issue. We should not throw out demonstrations; we are experts at it. But we do need to concentrate on key areas to help promote positions. We need c.r. organization and will need them as long as we live, given the system we must face.

Don Smith - Need to change the kinds of direct action. Direction should come from the National Office. So if we push for the involvement of the poor, there is a 2 dimension push.

James Williams - Phoenix, Ariz. - CORE is in trouble. Most people it attracts are idealistic and emotional rather than pragmatic. We need to accomplish something. CORE people also inflexible; it is illogical not to use the resouces of the community for you own purposes. More discipline is needed, national needs to play a more firm and positive role.

McKissick - optimistic. Don't lament too much about our predicament. "Bluff" can and has been effective. In a sense, if we had not developed backwards (Bradley's comment), we might not have developed at all.

The State of CORE - Internal Organization

George Wiley, Associate National Director, reported on the financial situation.

The organization fell off the financial ledge after the summer of 1964. Marvin Rich left the organization (head of fund-faising), we had overspent and the crisis stayed with us through the summer of 1965. Spending has been kept down ($46.000) monthly. We must still deal with the debt, especially the supplier's debt but some new arrangements have been made. Our debts have been refinanced and reduced to notes of $10,000-$12,000 monthly over an 18 month period. The supplier's debts have thus been cut substantially and there has been no "run on the bank" with the announcement of Farmer's leaving as might have been expected. In addition, because spending has been kept down ($60,000 monthly through the fall) and more money was raised than was spent (average $72,000 monthly), the debt has been reduced.

The spring projection is that in five months $570.000 will be raised. However in this same period $204,000 fund-rasing front cost will be required. The balance $366.000 allows for an average monthly income projection of $73,000 which could provide for $15,000 a month for program expansion.

New Staff

Greg Harris who once worked for Newsweek has been hired as Director of Public Affairs. Norman Hall is staff associate in charge of special events and Germaine Smith is working Harlem fund-raising. Ben Brown also in fund-raising is working in Bedford Stuyvesant. Ben Peterson is in direct mail (this was our best year in Holiday cards), and Doris Castle is a field fund-raiser in New Orleans. Marie Simmons and Jimmy McDonald are back-stop coordinators in the national office.

Questions and comments on the financial review of the organization:

Rosenfeld - ratio of debt to assets is still extremely high. Need to reduce the debt more before projecting more program expense? Wiley - CORE is seen as relatively stable and safe by banks. Not overdrawn and pay notes religiously. Reduction of the suppliers debt thus far has taken us off the defensive and saves much money in salary time.

Ussery - need to possibly invest some of the money coming in, plan for 4 years not just a few months.

Leeds - need to borrow other organizations' methods:
1. use of annuities, 2. question of emphasis - much of ours still on direct mail (projected $145,00 of projected $570.000) and therefore time, 3. idea of mutual funding 4. invest money in black bank. Use our money as political influence - eg. influence desegregation in a bank.

Farmer - SEDF has been doing competitive fund-raising - 61,000 pieces out the day after we were told there was no direct mail fund-raising to be done by SEDF. We now have a firm commitment from the Board that it will not happen again. The Fund could be supplementary to CORE and not competitive.

Brown - As an accountant, would say that % of debt is not too bad, but it was true that operating debt was much too high.

Center for Community Action Education - James Farmer reporting.

See minutes of last NAC meeting for details. The plan is to reach one-million functional illiterates over a three year period. Besides remedial education, there will be a focus on arithmetic comprehension, oral and written communication skills, and the need of Negro adults to have a sense of being (therefore Negro history, African history).

Farmer described the political setting in which the program was evaluated. There are still some details to be worked out but signing of the program is imminent.

Eighteen centers are provided for in the first proposal. Non-professionals are to be used as teachers. Several methods are being tried, including the Woolman, Lauback and System for Sucess. Following the "each one, teach one" philosophy, it is hoped that young people (preferably drop-outs themselves) would be instructed in the method as teachers.. Job training for non "dead-end jobs."
Eventually the Center hopes to go into education in consumer cooperatives, credit unions, etc. (with private funds). Funds from OEO are to be used for remedial education only.

The Center cannot compete with existing programs in local areas (this does not include programs associated with public schools.) Training will take place in local areas where possible. If there are local programs, the Center's will have to go through the local umbrella organization.(local council of Economic Opportunity structure).

Positions to be filled at the Center include: Assoc. Director of Community Action, Assoc. Director of Research, Asst. Director of Management, Chief Community Organizer and two other c.o., Research assistant, statistician,

three training specialists (one chief), three secretaries, typist, bookkeeper-account CPA. If a CORE chapter wants a literacy program, they should write Farmer at the center and ask. If they do not sponsor it, they can still lend technical assistance. However a chapter cannot sub-contract. Whether there is a local literacy program or not, chapters should accelerate the fight for quality integrateded education. The Center should not be seen as a permannet institution.

CORE Program

It was felt by all in attendance that some discussion of program needed to take place before the NAC make a decision about a director. George Wiley outlined some of his proposals for a new thrust:

1. Plan and announce within the next month a major program thrust into the North: 1966 summer projects aimed at community organization in at least three urban centers, each project organizing from a different point of view to test the strength and weaknesses of different approaches. Possibilities:

a. A large-scale political organization aimed at a specific goal (electing a mayor, etc.).
b. A bootstrap (social services) operation which attempts to turn the corner into protest political activity.
c. An alinsky-style organization from felt need.
d. A community-owned center (Columbus model).

2. Organize a "flying squad" within the national office which can be dispatched for periods of one to three weeks to support and train local chapters engaged in major demonstrations.

Herb Calender, Field general
National Director and Associate, on call
Elton Cox, fund-raising and rallies
Greg Harris, press relations
Legal Staff
Other available personnel from the national office.

3.
3. Develop guidelines for organizational growth and expansion.

a. Staff the organization department with an Assistant Director immediately, and a second person as soon as possible.
b. Establish regional offices housing both field staff and a fund-raising, public-relations person, sharing, in some cases, local chapter facilities. Priorities to West Coast (Los Angeles and San Francisco) and the Midwest.
c. Establish program office in Washington to deal with legislative lobbying and implementation of federal laws and programs.
d. Establish a research department in the national office.
e. Develop Friends of CORE groups (community and campus) as special purpose chapters, basically for fund-raising, tied in with the regional office development.

4. Develop an effective national communication network.

a. Re-create the CORE-lator.
b. Develop an internal house organ
c. Establish a national WATS line to take in and diseminate information to chapters.

5. Develop a CORE anti-poverty commission to formulate a national policy, develop guidelines, directions, and expertise for local chapter use in exploiting the anti-poverty program to the advantage of the Movement.

6. Continue Southern program with emphasis on community and political organization and organization of cooperatives to develop economic independence for rural people.

7. Develop a national legislative program (specifically around job creation and a living wage).

It was agreed to consider these proposals when the sub-committees recommendations on program were discussed.
Motion - hear report of the committee appointed to make recommendation on the national directorship. (Rosenfeld) Motion passed.

Motion - go into closed session. (Turner, Bradley). Motion Passed.

OPEN SESSION 1-1-66

Recommendation on statement - War on Poverty or War in Vietnam

(See Page 7B)

Discussion

Statement and implementation are clearly associated; we need other directives to chapters about what to do not just what to say. Question posed by chairman (Ussery) "Do we want such a statement at all?"

Motion - consider issuing such a statement as an internal organ (Brown, Lynch)

Discussion

Wiley the statement is too academic, misses the ghetto. It is either aimed at ourselves or the Federal government. Gartner - the question of priorities is an important framework for a programmatic thrust. However it might be unwise to include this statement in an announcement about a National Director and also unwise to throw this in before the budget is in ("get into a public box") Trickle it out --wait until there is a clear idea of the probability of success. Williams(Phoenix) - the prime consideration is to get this to chapters and try to revitalize them.? The question of priorities should not be excluded from any public statement . the National Director might make; it is an important point. Motion passed.

Wiley's proposals for action (PLEASE SEE PAGE SIX ABOVE)

Motion - receive summary for discussion. (Smith, Brown). Motion passed.

Discussion

Wiley - need to talk about something that will happen. Take it by point. On Point 1 Turner - we need a committee to evaluate and recommend possibilities for programs, should not commit ourselves without proper study. Wiley - need to move in January in planning for the summer. In view of possible financial expansion, some level of project is possible. Leeds - the desirability of Northern projects can be defined by the board today. Bradley - what are the possibilities for commitment. Can we do the So. program, Northern proposals and point 2 - "flying squa d". We do not just have to respond to a memo; there may be some things we need that are not here. NAC members have a responsibility to come up with their own reports. Gartner - the problem of the time lag. We could commit ourselves to a project and then work out the details. Bradley - we cannot afford to endorse things in principle anymore. How effective have our summer programs been in fact? Motion - Leeds - adopt in principle the idea of endorsing one or more No. projects and set up the necessary committees to bring in proposals as to what staff is feasible, financing and other ramifications. Discussion

Adoption in principle means nothing, need to examine all programs and establish priorities. (Lynch) Leeds - wants some action taken. Curvin - passing this motion does not preclude possibility of evaluating. Motion failed. 6 in favor (Riley, Curvin, Rosenfeld, Williams, Leeds, Robinson), 11 against. 2 abstentions.

Motion - committee be appointed of at least 5 persons on a regional basis to examine with the associate director these proposals and their relationship to existing programs now in operation, be instructed to meet and bring to the next NAC meeting its recommendations. (Lynch, Turner).

Brown - taking "cart before horse". First need to establish subcommittee structure.

Dyes - lay the basic foundation and table motion. Motion to table failed. Main motion passed

Motion - create five standing committees (program - 5 members, finance 5 members, organization and chapter development - 5 members, and Regional Action Councils 4 members.

The continuation of page 7 section 7B

1) CORE's major concern now is to resolve and eliminate the afflictions of the ghetto and the handicaps resulting from blackness, racism and poverty.
2) There has been recognized in principle on the national level the need to solve the problems of the poor to deal with the attendant economic problems and the need to involve the poor in the fight to eliminate poverty.
3) These principles are in jeopardy because of a range of activities in which our country is involved which draw on the national resources in particular the war in Vietnam.
4) There is an awareness of the fact that we as a nation are faced with a choice of priorities. Essentially, shall it be "guns or butter?" Powell's statement - would rather lose the war for democracy in Vietnam if it means winning the war against poverty in the U.S.
5) The decision on priorities is being made now. The President is preparing his budget (clearly out of date now).
6) The history of the black man in the ghetto is that he has never enjoyed the fruits of his labor. The victim of 400 years of injustice, he is now being asked to postpone his aspirations that much longer to underwrite war in Vietnam.
7) The question is- can we better afford the war in Vietnam than the cost of countless revolutions like Watts at home?
8) Our position is that the War on Poverty must be expanded, provided it lives up to its own credo ("involvement of the poor at all levels") and it must become more innovative. However we are not only concerned about the War on Poverty; we need more money for education, housing,etc. None of these programs should be put on the "back burners" for Vietnam.
9) There-fore our instructions to CCRE chapters-

   a) Involve selves in the issue of the involvement of the poor in all programs at all levels.
   b) Press local, state and federal for increased domestic expenditure, certainly no cut-backs.
   c) Investigate how wisely the money is spent in local communities and what is really being accomplished at the "grass roots" level.

Motion made by Brown, [illegible]

Discussion

Rosenfeld - the final actions of the motion [illegible] it will change the nature [illegible] functioning of the whole NAC, will develop [illegible] more meaningful relationships with staff. Leeds - it must be understood [illegible] this structure is [illegible] not workable that it should be reconsidered. Wiley - some committees already in existence Answer - should become sub-committees of the standing committees. Motion passed.

Wiley - need discussion of programmatic thrust to give new director. Bradley new director can relate himself to old programs in a new way. Best way to show people that CORE is not dying is to renew support of old programs.

Recommendation of committee - fund-raising around Farmer's leaving

Gartner - number of fund-raising events are being planned. Labor event could be turned into something bigger. Big giver's program at $1000 gift level (scu[illegible]gebeing prepared). Farewell dinners - closed circuit TV, telephone line, movie. Could this be successful - mixed reaction from NAC. Motion - direct fund-raising staff to develop plans around Farmer's leaving and the new National Direcotr's appointment. (Brown- Lynch). Motion passed McKissick hope we are talking about fund-raising not in traditional ways. Farmer's leaving could be channeled into fund-raising in the Negro community.

Recommendation of committe - moving the National office to Harlem

Reaction - desirable but details must be worked out. Possiblitlity of investment, ownership, cooperative SEDF arrangements. Motion - refer matter to committee on finance. (Brown, Turner). Motion passed.

Compostion of Committees

Motion - committees made up of one member from each region. (Turner, Rosenfeld) Passed

Program
- Lynch (chairman)
- Cecil Brown
- Don Smith

Finance
- Julia Lewis (chairman)
- Montiero
- Turner
- David Riley
- Bradley

Org. and Chapter Dev.
- A.D. Moore (chairman)
- Jim Williams
- Jim Williams
- L. Hall
- Gaines

Special Projects
- Leeds (chairman)
- Wilson
- Robinson
- Dyes
- Doretha Smith

Regional Development and RAC
- Curtin (chairman
- Rosenfeld
- Hal Brown
- D. Smith
- (Ussery)

Closed Session

Committe reports

Program

1. Recommendation 1 - adopt at least two political type projects from possible sites of Los Angeles, Newark, Gleveland, Detroit, N.Y. and Chicago in the North. (Motion to adopt - Bradley, Dyes) Motion passed.

2. Recommendation 2 - the NAC study the idea of freedom commends (see "flying squad" suggested by Wiley) where requested by staff, chapters, CORE oriented groups (to be referred to the Special Project Committe). Motion to adopt. Motion passed.

Special Project Committee

Reported that work has been assigned as the result of the morning meeting. Committe shall study chapter feeling, project definition, cost, feasibility and location of projects before recommending them. Work assignments are:
Two political action proposals - to all
Tenant union - Leeds
Bootstrap program - Lou Smith
Community owned center - M. Wilson
Home Rule - Robinson

Finance

That the previous category of task force workers be sub-divided into three new sub-division:

	Starting	Six Month	One Year	1½ yr.	2 yrs.
Task Force	$25	$30			
Community Worker	$35	$40	$45	$50	$60
Community organizer	$60	union scale			

Recommendation

Senior field staff supervising task force workers using this outline evaluate the present task force staff and reslot present personnel in new job classification. Motion passed.

Recommendation on task force insurance - want report on progress or reasons why there is no progress at next MAC meeting. Motion to adopt passed.

Recommendation - take no action on salary scale of union CORE workers until the union presents their proposals and react to them. Motion to adopt passed.

Recommendation - National director evaluate present salaries of professional staff in light of NAC decisions about Director and Assoc. Director and bring evaluation to finance committe with any recommendation at next NAC meeting, but at present take no steps to change situation. Motion to adopt passed.

Recommendation - on moving the National office - refer to staff to work out details. Motion to adopt passed.

Motion - Farmer resignation and Mckissick resignation

Resignation of James Farmer be reluctantly accepted by the NAC with expression of gratitude for a job extremely well done for the organization. (Brown - Leeds), Motion passed unanimously.

Resignation of national chairman be accepted (Smith-Hall. Motion passed unanimousl-

The Question of Succession

According to Cecil Brown Article X, Sec. 7 give the NAC the power to fill vacancies. Article V, Section 2B states that the 1st Vice Chairman shall preside in the asbsnce of the chairman. It is Mr. Brown's interpretation that resignation is absence and the 1st Vice Chairman would become Chairman automatically. The election of the 2nd Vice chairman should take place at the next meeting of the NAC. Motion to accept interpretation (Turner-Smith). Motion passed Unanimously.

Statement of New National Director

Mr. McKissick anticipates working will all. Feels that there is a need for an optimistic spirit in CORE. Expressed regrets that Wiley chooses to leave, respect him and his opinions highly.

Two Remaining Committe Reports

In response to the need for guidelines on RAC structure, the RAC committe developed the following:

1. The Regional Vice Chairman in the executive officer of the region and has the responsibility for the functioning of the RAC.
2. A region may elect such auxiliary officers as it deems necessary providing that all NAC members from the region be considered members of the executive committe of the region which would include such officers and would be chaired by the Regional Vice Chairman.

Both guidelines were adopted unanimously.

Subcommitte on Organization and Chapter Development, recommendations
1. Recommendation that James McCain be called Special Assistant to the Firector in charge of Political Action.
2. See A.D. Moore for other recommendations.
   Motion - accept report of the committee. Motion passed.

Statement by George Wiley

Associate Director Wiley announced that his decision was that he would not be continuing as Assoc. Direcotr after Feb. 1st.

Other Business

McKissick announced that he would no longer serve as General Counsel to the Center. Ed Day offered his resignation and express disillusionment with CORE. Motion --accept regignation of Day effective immediately. Motion carried.

Public Relations Director, Greg Harris explained the arrangements concerning the press conference. He suggested that no questions about the center be answered, nothing be said about the Assoc. Director's leaving, local NAC members make no comments, and we be prepared to deal with the questions raised in the N.Y. Times about the movements direction. He further recommended that Floyd indicate that he no longer serves with the Center if asked. He announced his resignation effective Feb 1st for professional considerations.

Next NAC Metting - third week in Feb. Steering Committe Jan 23.

Respectively submitted

Ruth Turner, National Sec.

NAC MEETING - MARCH 18, 19, AND 20 - HARLEM YMCA

The following NAC members were present: McKissick, Dyes, Williams (Phila). A.D. Moore, Lynch, Hall, Bradley, Wilson Lewis, Curvin, Turner, Montiero, and Ussery.

The following agenda submitted by National Chairman, Wil Ussery, was approved by the body:

1. Discussion of meeting arrangements
2. Director's report
3. Financial report
4. Dept. of organization report
5. Lunch - committee meetings
6. General session (include the NE region recommendations)
7. Joint staff - NAC social gathering
8. Reports from special committees and recommendations - Sunday

Corrections to the minutes

Marlene Wilson submitted the following corrections to the NAC meeting minutes from Dec. 31 - Jan. 2:

1. Page 7 (Open Session). Motion - Leeds, adopt in principle the idea of endorsing one or more Northern projects and set up the necessary committees to bring in proposals as to what staff is feasible, financing and other ramifications .....motion failed, 6 in favor (Riley, Curvin, Rosenfeld, Williams, Leeds, Robinson), 11 against, 2 abstentions. Correction - Wilson also voted in favor, making the total 7 in favor.

2. Page 8 (Open Session). Ollie Leeds is shown as chairman of the Special Projects Committee. In fact Marlene Wilson is chairman.

3. Page 15 (Semi-Closed Session). Motion- "adopt recommendation of committee about Assoc. Director's increased salary to $12,500 (Brown, Montiero). Motion passed, 14 in favor, 6 abstentions (Dodie Smith, Curvin, Leeds, Dyes, Rosenfeld). Correction - Wilson also abstained but not named here.

Meeting arrangements

Julia Lewis raised the question that the notice of this meeting indicated that it was a Steering Committee and not a full NAC meeting. When calls were made to the office, NAC members were told by a secretary that only certain people were to receive expenses to come to the meeting, when in fact all NAC members receive expense money for NAC meetings. McKissick replied that arrangements were made to provide all NAC members with expenses. The only exceptions had to do with field staff. Ussery - also explained that there was a discussion with national staff and he told them that this was a full NAC meeting. The suggestion was made to check on NAC members not present to see why they were not present. Also since Lewis was not being notified of meetings nor receiving minutes, her address should be checked on all mailing lists to see if she has been sent her mail.

National Director's Report - McKissick

McKissick reported on a meeting at the White House March 13 with Johnson and leaders of civil rights organizations. Present were King, Wilkins, Young, A Phillip Randolph, John Lewis, Clarence Mitchell, and himself in attendance. Pres. Johnson presented the following issues to the group for consideration:

1. It was an election year and therefore there would be a problem in steering

the legislative matters through Congress on civil rights. There was a general feeling that his administration had accomplished enough in the area of civil rights. There was general agreement among those present that the bills should be presented in a package. The housing bill will probably get the most opposition.

2. The move of the mediation service (Collins' office) to the commerce dept. or the Dept. of Justice. Most felt that the Dept. of Justice was a much better location.

3. Center for Community Action Education (Farmer's program). There is great opposition mounting against OEO; Johnson expressed the fear that the program could be killed if Farmer got the money. HEW also has a plan for literacy training more comprehensive than Farmer's Powell wanted to wait until after the appropriation committee hearings to pass on the CCAE. Randolph, speaking for the group, took a strong stand and insisted that the President take action immediately. Pres. Johnson said he would see what he could do.

4. March 19 there was a meeting of the White House Planning Conference; Don Smith was CORE's representative. Purpose of the meeting - to come forth with positions for the White House Conference. Rev. Founteroy is the coordinator.

McKissick then pointed out the weakness of CORE in not having a Washington representative because of the heavy reliance of all the civil rights groups on Clarence Mitchell's know-how and expertise. There is also a need for a CORE position paper to present to the Pres. Conference in the spring with special emphasis on the War on Poverty and its obvious shortcomings. McKissick pointed out that he made it a point to emphasize that CORE would not be committed to any political party since he sensed that was a main reason for the President's calling them all there.

Report continued - National Office

The fund-raising department is the major weakness of the organization. Methods of raising funds must be carefully analyzed. Salaries and front costs are depleting our budget. We lost money on the Farmer Salute. (In fact we have not made money on any major project.) We entered into a number of contracts with entertainers, etc. and lost money. The Department did focus on this project over a period of the last 4 days and did manage to salvage something. One problem was the failure to advertise sufficiently. It is obvious that we must have new ways to develop funds.

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a. Ed Hollander is supposedly the public relations officer but is presently serving as a book-keeper in the so. office and should be transferred to the Mid-West.

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Callendar explained that he had sent these recommendations to Haley and the So. staff. They are still in discussion and the response of the staff is forthcoming. The informal response gotten so far is that Haley, Hollander and Dennis are not willing to make such changes. And yet the southern staff is not getting serviced by the so. office at present. In the recent blow-up in Bogalusa, no word could be gotten from the so. office about what was going on because no one went to the scene. By common consent it was decided that no action could be taken until discussion with Southern staff had been held.

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Pending discussion with Jim McCain and his recommendation, it was the director's opinion that Wechsler either be fired or placed in another area.

The need for an issue

Herb recommended that a strategy be developed for all CORE chapters and field staff persons to organize poor people for a minimum income program. One of the immediate steps that could be taken would be to call a meeting of all CORE field staff and at least one representative from each chapter. Then all civil rights groups could be called together and third,we could begin to set up the legal apparatus needed to deal with the legal problems of the project.

2. Another issue is the organization of Negro contractors similar to the assoc. of United Contractors of America, an organization that insisted on 15% of the rehabilitation contracts in New York (because Negroes represent 15% of the population) and finally got 28%.

3. Another prospect is the Maryland Freedom Union, the organization of low paid workers in Baltimore which has recently been joined by some locals in Baltimore who left their own unions.

By common consent these ideas were referred to committee for further action.

Callender also explained the Mt. Vernon incident involving the anti-Semitic statement of Clifford Brown. It took place at a board meeting (of Education) was convened to discussion why integration plans had not been submitted. Another organization besides CORE was present, Parents and Taxpayers, some of whose members were vocal and insulting. Obscene remarks and an actual attack was attempted on Mrs. Isabel Hawkins, chairman who was attempting to testify. The chairman of the PAT was Jewish and Brown's statement was aimed at him. He said, "Hitler didn't kill enough of you." As a result of that statement, Wil Maslow resigned and the advisory committee was called together. The statement had apparently also impaired plans on a benefit planned by the Seafarer's Union. Brown was not chairman of CORE, but chairman of the education committee and he has since resigned. The statement has been condemned by Farmer and the surrounding circumstances have been presented.

Callender then called on Tony Perot to give a report on the Chicago situation. Tony Perot, field secretary of the North Central region submitted his report on Chicago,(local federation of civil rights groups) site of a joint SCLC and CCCO campaign. After discussing what is going on in Chicago and the resources committed to the city by various organizations, he recommended that "Chicago be designated as a special project, funded by national CORE and by monies raised locally." Tony explained that the need for such a project was obvious. "That CORE is the only national organization committed to community development in Northern urban centers of which Chicago is the prototype. The increased awareness being generated by the charisma of Dr. King and the impetus of the Chicago Freedom Movement provide the best vehicle to build a solid community base in selected geographical areas and/or the entire ghetto of Chicago. The project also can be used as a training ground te develp CORE leadership and organizational skills for the long struggle ahead because of the presence of the Urban Training Center, a program headed by C.T. Vivian who is willing to lend CORE assistance. He recommended specifically that a special team of technicians drawn from among the most skilled people in national CORE be used in the Chicago area and elsewhere as the need arises and that a task force of at least 10 community workers be drawn from the Chicago area.

NE REGIONAL PROPOSALS

Bob Curvin presented some concerns of the region relating to National office and local chapter relationships. In light of a development in Syracuse when national staff was involved in a local project, the following recommendation was made: On Local Projects.

"That National CORE adopt the policy that there be consultation with the chapter in the particular area in which persons from National staff plan to operate. If a chapter asks for help it should retain authority over the project. National staff must keep in mind the CORE Rules for Action and consult with local chapter." Motion passed, (Hall opposed).

"That the NAC Support the activities of the Mt.Vernon CORE chapter in its efforts to gain better education, housing, and welfare services for the minorities in that community" (Curvin, Lynch). It was explained that there have been several breaches of basic rights in Mt.Vernon in view of Brown's statement; for example, City Hall has been declared 'Off Limits' to CORE chapter members. Therefore it was added to the motion "that the NAC condemns the actions of Mayor Joseph Vaccarella (of Mt.Vernon) in restricting the rights of CORE members to appear and speak at public meetings, etc. "Motion, passed unanimously.

"National must consult with the local chapter when planning fund-raising in a local area." (Curvin, Lewis). Motion passed, 7 in favor, Bradley, Lynch, Hall abstained.

Roy Innis, Chairman of New York CORE, asked to be heard on the proposed move to Harlem. At present he stated the relations between his chapter and the National office are good, because McKissick is making an effort to keep them that way. Innis wanted to know whether persons below McKissick would continue to work in harmony. If not, he wished to put the NAC on notice that the chapter wanted a right to present a bill of particulars to the organization. Turner noted that as we get larger, individual chapter chairman cannot expect to get the attention from National staff they got in the past since staff will have an even greater job to do. Callender remarked that other National staff besides McKissick had tried and were presently trying to relate to New York CORE (police brutality case and training conference).

Fund-Raising Department Report - Norman Hall

Norman outlined present, summer and long-range proposals for fund-raising. Our present plans include a Labor Salute to Jim Farmer at the Americana Hotel ballroom schedules for April 9th. Admission is $50 per plate. The hall holds 2000 people. Plans were snagged because of the Mt.Vernon incident because a number of Jewish Labor leaders were involved but they are on the way to being solved. If the event is successful, CORE could get substantial money.

Other events in the near future include: a CORE Day in Harlem which has some fund-raising aspects (luncheon, cocktail party, ball): Schaefer fashion show given in conjunction with Queens CORE; an Art Sale conducted by the Chelsea Friends of CORE; CORE nights in a series of nightclubs. Long range plans include a Blues Convention, a clambake and boatride up the Hudson to Bear Mountain and the establishment of co-op stores in the ghettos as well as benefit concerts.

Norman reported that these events, although smaller in scope than some in the past, required little in the way of initial investments, thus sparing the organization the fund-raising front cost that have been so costly. He also felt that they were in keeping with the mandate of the National Convention, to establish ties with the ghetto in a meaningful way. He did not feel that he was in position to judge the work of the fund-raising dept since he had only been director three weeks.

General discussion

The need for a focussing project was discussed at length. McKissick-CORE is its own greatest enemy. We're on the peripheria when we do not have to be. Our problems are interrelated. Curvin- need to focus on Washington. Hall - our staff is not trained to go into Washington right now. Chicago is one of the few places where training can be secured. Lewis - need to question some of our past decisions in view of our great financial needs. Dyes - Chicago is all right but Los Angeles needs to be considered. Lynch - Washington is the most

important city in the country, but we need to lay the groundwork if we want to focus there. Rachlin - CORE has to earn the right to earn money in the community. Callendar - there are civil rights aristocracies in each community not community movements. We need issues that chapters and staff can rally around. Turner - we are greatly handicapped because the committees did not do theie homework; there is no proposal for Washington. If King is in Chicago, does it make sense to be somewhere else. When King was in Selma and we were in Washington, we were eclipsed totally. Do we have the resources to develp something on our own at this point? And have the kind of summer success that will draw national attention else where? Perot - King can concentrate; he analyzes first what he is doing and what he has to work with. We must analyze our resources first/ Leeds - everyone recognizes that the black community is a base. Money will come as the result of what you're doing. Who says King will be successful, wasn't in the past. Need to pick somewhere (leans toward Washington) and concentrate. Also need to continue to encourage chapters who are engaged in community action. Coleman - the problem is that things have gone too far and too long already. We must have $25,000 next week. Ussery - if we decide we must have a project to move us, we must either cut back or plan to focus for a major effort. Chicago will not get money results Washington comes closer. Retrenchment is not the answer. A major project is the only answer. McKissick - retrenchment is possible in some instances; could reduce the staff by four people, can cut down in overhead office expenses, can reorganize the so. office (total budget is $15,000 monthly) and approach certain foundations.

Motion - recess and reconvene at 8:00 a.m. for meeting of two committees - program and finance . Motion passed.

Continuation of NAC meeting - Sunday March 20, 1:00 p.m.

Finance committee report - Bill Bradley chairman

The background of most of the committee's discussion was the immediate need for $25,000 and the present debt of some $266,000. In view of this crisis, the following recommendations were made:

1. Negotiate long term loans well in excess of $25,000.
2. NAC give the committee the names of any persons who might loan CORE money ($500 - $2000).
3. Carry out Herb's recommendations about the southern office - in terms of adopting the policy of transferral where possible.
4. Cut backs in the National office - left to administrative decision.
5. Foundations be approached for support of some of CORE 's programs (Apparently foundations have been reluctant because of CORE's state of disorganization, the problem of frequent policy changes and the amount of autonomy of local chapters).
6. Membership drive a) to be carried out within 30 days through the efforts of the fund-raising dept. b) Major metropolitan areas be targeted (Cleveland, Baltimore, Miami, New York). Discussion was on this point - CORE chapters should be ready to give national its share; at least the $100 chapter assessment could be paid.

Motion to adopt finance committee report - Bradly, Montiero, Passed unanimously.

Motion - that the category of membership for those who pay $500 be considered life membership category for individual and small groups with the appropriate award, but large organizations be asked to pay $1,000. Definition of groups eligible be left to administrative decision. (Turner, Leeds) Motion passed 13-0, 1 abstention.

By common consent - the director be instructed to bring in policy for handling relations with chapters on associate membership drives.

Program committee report

Marlene Wilson reported for the committee. She reported that the committee, after considerable discussion, recommended CORE participation in Chicago in a joint effort with SCLC and CCCO. Motion - that Floyd and other CORE representatives negotiate with Al Raby of CCCO and Dr. Martin Luther King and be prepared to commit a national team to concentrate on the North Side of Chicago, assuring also from time to time the National Director's presence in Chicago. Motion failed - 4-7-2. Because the motion failed to pass, it was ruled by "Ussery that the other parts of the committee's recommendation were no longer relevant. The other recommendation of the committee was a response to Callendar's recommendation: that a workshop on the issue of minimum income be planned for May involving field staff and chapter leadership. Field staff is to come a few days earlier to discuss organization problems. Funded if possible by foundation sources. (Turner, Hall)Motion passed.

Motion - (Leeds,Lynch) open an office in Washington, D.C.; the first job of the personnel there would be to investigate the possibility of home rule as an organizing issue in that city. Motion passed - 8-5. Motion - (Leeds,McKissick) that Baltimore be made a target city for a special project. Motion passed, 11-1-1 (abstention).

Motion - that CORE participate in the Chicago project. This participation depending upon an agreement that can be made with King on the basis of our limited finances. We will give our public endorsement to that project (McKissick, Leeds). Motion passed , 12 to 1.

Motion - that CORE develp and promote a sound public relations program around Operation Bootstrap (Los Angeles, Cal.) and the So. Carolina voter registration project and any other ongoing projects. (Dyes, Turner). Passed unanimously.

Motion - that the chairman of the Program Committee (Wilson) send letter of ackowledgement to all chapters, who sent in proposals that their proposals were received, studied, but because of our financial condition we could not accept all of them. Communicate further that the national office stands ready to assist chapters with their projects, inform of the present training programs, (Turner, Leeds). Motion passed, 13-1 (abstention).

Other recommendations were: that King and CCCO issue a joint invitation to National CORE to come into Chicago in a press conference; that CORE request of King immediate funds to ease CORE's financial straits ($15,000) and the local chapter be consulted, by the national chairman and other national staff.

Motion - (Lewis, Dyes), that the NAC go on record giving the same support to Operation Bootstrap as is being given to the Chicago situation Motion passed 12 in favor Curvin opposed, 3 abstentions - Montiero Leeds Turner

1966 Convention

Ussery reported that a meeting of the Convention Committee had been held in St. Louis March 17, and there was a meeting March 27 to work out the details of the convention agenda, make decisions as to site and plan for details.

Date of Convention - July 1,2,3, and 4.

Place: a. Hotel near center of town (Statler, Jefferson, Lennox)
b. Concordia Seminary
c. Washington, University

Staff needs - full or part-time convention aide who will work with the planning committee Guidance needed: a) approximate no. of guests, b) capacity of auditorium, c) national entertainment, d) theme: "Political Strength of the Ghetto" e) preliminary cash needs, f) local housing sub-committee, g) suggested key noters (Julian Bond, Al Raby).

By common consent the chairman was empowered to make decisions regarding the convention.

Memo from OEO - written by Theodore Berry - Dated March 3, 1966

Ussery explained that the San Francisco DEO Executive Committee went on record against the memo because it perverts the intent of the poverty act.

Motion

1. The NAC condemns the memo 23-24 by Theodore Berry, head of the CAP section, applying the Hatch Act in an unconstitutional way.
2. Our motion of condemnation be taken to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and also be used as part of a position paper to be presented to the President Inference "To Fulfill These Rights."
3. The NAC support the action of the San Francisco executive committee of the local OEO in opposing the memo.

(Ussery, McKissick). Motion passed unanimously.

Next NAC Meeting

Held jointly with staff two days prior to the National Convention. (Lewis) Motion passed unanimously.

Motion - the NAC endorse an increase in minimum wage for the state of N.Y. Motion passed.

CLOSED SESSION

McKissick offered a motion regarding personnel as follows: to endorse Lincoln Lynch as Associate Director and as soon as funds are available hire Bill Bradley in the area of program (McKissick, Leeds).

Discussion

Curvin raised the question that because of the lateness of the time, it was not possible to discuss the matter as thoroughly as need be. Someone else commented that the need for additional staff is undisputed, but we need better idea of how decisions are arrived at. What are our criteria and how do the candidates fit them. This is very necessary if we are going to be able to deal with questions raised at the convention,.

Lynch gave a brief description of himself. He was born in Jamaica of poor background. He joined the RAF after school (not college graduate) and was there 10 years. He considers himself dedicated, radical all his life and has been a CORE member the last 7 years. He hopes to help Floyd to do the job he wants to do, but will continue to be the same kind of person. If he disagrees, he will tell you.

When asked why he picked the two, Floyd responded that they would both be an asset to the kind of team he was trying to build in the national office, each bringing besides thinking ability his own special talents. There was a great deal of discussion about Bradley's attitude toward white people and some feeling expressed that he was overly nationalistic and therefore not objective. The motion was separated. Lynch - 11-0--1(Lynch) ; Bradley as program director 8-3 (Curvin, Lewis, Wilson) .

NAC MEETING - MARCH 18,19, AND 20 - HARLEM YMCA

~~Corrections to the~~

McKissick,

The following NAC members were present: Dyes, Williams (Phila.), A.D. Moore, Lynch, Hall, Bradley, Wilson, Lewis, Curvin, Turner, Montiero, and Ussery.

The following agenda submitted by National Chairman, Wil Ussery, was approved by the body:

1. Discussion of meeting arrangements
2. Director's report
3. Financial report
4. Dept. of organization report
5. Lunch - committee meetings
6. General session (include the NE region recommendations)
7. Joint staff-NAC social gathering
8. Reports from special committees and recommendations - Sunday

Corrections to the minutes

Marlene Wilson submitted the following corrections to the NAC meeing minutes from Dec. 31 - Jan.2;

1. Page 7 (Open Session). Motion - Leeds, adopt in principle the idea of endorsing one or more Northern projects and set up the necessary committees to bring in proposals as to what staff is feasible, financing and other ramifications .....motion failed, 6 in favor (Riley, Curvin, Rosenfeld, Williams, Leeds, Robinson), 11 against, 2 abstentions. Correction - Wilson also voted in favor, making the total 7 in favor.

2. Page 8 (Open Session). Ollie Leeds is shown as chairman of the Special Projects Committee. In fact Marlene Wilson is chairman.

3. Page 15 (Semi-Closed Session). Motion - "adopt recommendation of committee about Assoc. Director's increased salary to $12,500 (Brown, Montiero). Motion passed, 14 in favor, 6 abstentions (Dodie Smith, Curvin, Leeds, Dyes, Rosenfeld). Correction - Wilson also abstained but not named here.

Meeting arrangements

Julia Lewis raised the question that the notice of this meeting indicated that it was a Steering Committee and not a full NAC meeting. When calls were made to the office, NAC members were told by a secretary that only certain people were to receive expenses to come to the meeting, when in fact all NAC members receive expense money for NAC meetings. McKissick replied that arrangements were made to provide all NAC members with expenses. The only exceptions had to do with field staff. Ussery - also explained that there was a discussion with national staff and he told them that this was a full NAC mmeting. The suggesion was made to check on NAC members not present to see why they were not present. Also since Lewis was not getting notified of meetings nor receiving minutes, her address should be checked on all mailing lists to see if she has been sent her mail.

National Director's Report - McKissick

McKissick reported on a mmeting at the White House March 18 with Johnson and leaders of civil rights organizations. Present were King, Wilkins, Young, A.

Phillip Randolph, John Lewis, Clarence Mitchell, and himself in attendance. Pres. Johnson presented the following issues to the group for consideration:

1. It was an election year and therefore there would be a problem in steering the legislative matters through Congress on civil rights. There was a general feeling that his administration had accomplished enough in the area of civil rights. There was general aggreement among those present that the bills should be presented in a package. The housing bill will probably get the most opposition.

2. The move of the mediation service (Collins' office) to the commerce dept. or the Dept. of Justice. Most felt that the Dept. of Justice was a much better location.

3. Center for Community Action Education (Farmer's program). Ther is great opposition mounting against OEO; Johnson expressed the fear that the program could be killed if Farmer got the money. HEW also has a plan for literacy training more comprehensive than Farmer's. Powell wanted to wait until after the appropriation committee hearings to pass on the CCAE. Randolph, speaking for the group, took a strong stand and insisted that the President take action immediately. Pres. Johnson said he would see what he could do.

4. March 19 there was a meeting of the White House Planning Conference; Don Smith was CORE's representative. Purpose of the meeting - to come forth with positions for the White House Conference. Rev. Rounteroy is the coordinator.

MCKissick then pointed out the weakness of CORE in not having a Washington representative because of the heavy reliance of all the civil rights groups on Clarence Mitchell's know-how and expertise. There is also a need for a CORE position paper to present to the Pres. Conference in the spring with special emphasis on the War on Poverty and its obvious shortcomings. McKissick pointed out that he made it a point to emphasize that CORE would not be committed to any political party since he sensed that that was a main reason for the President's calling them all there.

Report continued - National Office

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Herb recommended that a ~~proposed~~ strategy be developed for all CORE chapters and field staff persons to organizie poor people for a minimum income program.

One of the immediate steps that could be taken would be to call a meeting of all CORE field staff and at least one representative from each chapter. Then all civil rights groups could be called together and third, we should begin to set up the legal apparatus needed to deal with the legal problems of the project. STOPPED

2. Anotherissue is the organization of Negro contractors similar to the assoc. of United Contractors o America, an organization that insisted on 15% of the rehabilitation contracts in New York (because Negroes represent 15% of the population) and finally got 28%.

3. Another prospect is the Maryland Freedom Union, the org. of low paid workers in Baltimore which has recently been joined by some locals in Balt. who left their own unions.

By common consent these ideas were referred to committee for further action.

Callender also explained the Mt. Vernon incident involving the anti-Semitic statement of Clifford Brown. It took place at a Bd. meeting (of Education) was was convened to discussion why integration plans had not been submitted. Another org. besides CORE was present, Parents and Taxpayers, some of whose members were vocal and insulting. Obseene remarks and an actual attack was attempted on Mrs. Isabel Hawkins, chairman who was attempting to testify. The chairman of the PAT was Jewish and Brown's statement was aimed at him. He said, "Hitler didn't kill enough of you." As a resutl of that statement, Wil Maslow resigned and the advisory committee was called together. The statement had apparently also impaired plans on a-benefit planned by the Seafarer's Union. Brown was not chairman of CORE, but chairman of the education committee and he has since resigned. The statement has been condemned by Farmer and the surrounding circumstances have beeen presented.

Callender then called on Tony Perot to give a report on the Chicago situation - Insert next page

NE Regional Proposals

Bob Curvin presented some concerns of the region relating to National office and local chapter relationships. In light of a development in Syracuse when national staff was involved in a local project, the following recommendation was made:

on local projects

"That National CORE adopt the policy that there be consultation with the chapter in the particular area in which persons from National staff plan to operate, If a chapter askes for help it should retain authority over the project. National staff must keep in mind the CORE Rules for Action and consult with local chapter." Motion passed, (Hall opposed).

"That the NAC support the activities of the Mt. Vernon CORE chapter in its efforts to gain better education, housing, and welfare services for the minorities in that community" (Curvin, Lynch). It was explained that there have been several breaches of basic rights in Mt. Vernon in view of Brown's statement; for ex., City Hall has been declared 'Off limits' to CORE chapter members. Therefore it was added to the motion "that the NAC condemns the actions of Mayor Joseph Lacarella (of Mt. Vernon) in restricting the rights of CORE members to appear and speak at public meetings, Etc." Motion, passed unanimously.

"National must consult with the local chapter when planning fund raising in a local area." (Curvin, Lewis). Motion passed, 7 in favor, Bradley, Lynch, Hall and Turner abstained.

Joseph Lacarella.
VACCARELLA

Roy Innis, Chairman of New York CORE, asked to be heard on the proposed move to Harlem. At present he stated the relations between his chapter and the national office are good, because McKissick is making an effort to keep them that way. Innis wanted to know whether persons below McKissick would continue to work in harmony. If, not he wished to put the NAC on notice that the chapter wanted a right to present a bill of particulars to the organization. Turner noted that as we get larger, individual chapter chairman cannot expect to get the attention from national staff they got in the past since staff will have an even greater job to do. Callender remarked that other national staff besides McKissick had tried and were presently trying to relate to N.Y.CORE (police brutality case and training conference).

Fund-Raising Dept. Report - Norman Hall

Norman outlined present, summer and long-range proposals for fund-raising. Our present plans include a Labor Salute to Jim Farmer at the Americana Hotel ballroom schedules for April 9. Admission is $50 per plate. The hall holds 2000 people. Plans were snagged because of the Mt. Vernon incident because a number of Jewish labor leaders were involved but they are on the way to being solved. If the event is successful, CORE could get substantial money.

Other events in the near future include: a CORE Day in Harlem which has some fund-raising aspects (luncheon, cocktail party, ball); Schaefer fashion show given in conjunction with Queens CORE; an Art Sale conducted by the Chelsea Friends of CORE; CORE nights in a series of nightclubs. Long range plans include a Blues Convention, a clambake and boatride up the Hudson to Bear Mountain and the establishment of coop stores in the ghettos as well as benefit concerts.

Norman reported that these events, although smaller in scope than some in the past, required little in the way of initial investments, thus sparing the organization the fund-raising front cast that have been so costly. He also felt that they were in keeping with the mandate of the National Convention, to establish ties with the ghetto in a meaningful way. He did not feel that he was in position to judge the

work of the fund-raising dept since he had only been director three weeks.

General discussion

The need for a focussing project was discussed at length. McKissick - CORE is its own greatest enemy. We're on the peripheria when we do not haveto be. Our problems are interrelated. Curvin - need to focus on Washington. Hall - our staff is not trained to go into Washington right now. Chicago is one of the few places where training can be secured. Lewis - need to question some of our past decisions in view of our great financial needs. Dyes - Chicago is all right but Los Angeles needs to be considered. Lynch - Washington is the most important city in the country, but we need to lay the groundwork if we want to focus there. Rachlin- CORE has to earn the right to earn money in the community. Callendar - there are civil rights aristocracies in each community not community movements. We need issues that chapters and staff can rally around. Turner - we are greatly handicapped because the committees did not do their homework;there is no proposal for Washington. If King is in Chicago, does it make sense to be somewhere else. When King was in Selma and we were in Washington, we were eclipsed totally. Do we have the resources to develop somthing on our own at this point? And have the kind of summer success that will draw national attention elsewhere? Perot - King can concentrate; he analyzes first what he is doing and what he has to work with. We must analyze our resources first/ Leeds - everyone recognizes that the black community is a base. Money will come as the result of what you're doing. Who says King will be successful, wasn't in the past. Need to pick somewhere (leans toward Wash.) and concentrate. Also need to continue to encourage chapters who are engaged in community action. Coleman - the problem is that things have gone too far and too long already. We must have $25,000 next week. Ussery - if we decide ~~on a project~~ we must have a project to move us, we must either cut back or plan to focus for a major effort. Chicago will not get money results Wash. comescloser. Retrenchement is not the answer. A major project is the only answer. McKissick - retrenchment is possible in some instances; could reduce the staff by four people, can cut down in overhead office expenses, can reorganize the So. office (total budget is $15,000 monthly) and approach certain foundations.

Motion - recess and reconvene at 8:00 a.m. for meeting of two committess - program and finance. Motion passed.

Continuation of NAC meeting - Sunday March 20, 1:00 p.m.

Finance committee report - Bill Bradley chairman

The background of ~~this discussion~~ most of the committee's discussion was the immediate need for $25,000 and the present debt of some $266,000. In view of this crisis, the following recommendations were made:

1. Negotiate long term loans well in excess of $25,000.
2. NAC give the committee the names of any persons who might loan CORE money ($500-$2000).
3. Carry out Herb's recommendations about the southern office - in terms of adopting the policy of transferral where possible.
4. Cut backs in the national office - left to administrative decision.
5. Foundations be approached for support of some of CORE's programs (Apparently foundations have been reluctant because of CORE's state of disorganization, the problem of frequent policy changes and the amount of autonomy of local chapters).
6. Membership drive a) to be carried out within 30 days through the efforts of the fund-raising dept. b) Major metropolitan areas be targeted (Cleve., Balt., Miami,N.Y.) Discussion on this point - CORE chapters should be ready to give national it s share; at least the $100 chapter assessment could be paid.

Motion to adopt finance committee report - Bradly, Montiero, Passed unanimously.

Motion - that the category of membership for those who pay $500 be considered life membership category for individual and small groups with the appropriate award, but large organizations be asked to pay $1000. Definition of groups eligible be left to administrative decision. (Turner, Leeds) Motion passed 13-0, 1 abstention.

~~Motion~~ By common consent - the director be instructed to bring in policy for handling relations with chapters on associate membership drives.

Add Insert

of the committee was a response to Callendar's recommendation: that a workshop on the issue of minimum income ~~to~~ be ~~held~~ planned for May involving field staff and chapter leadership. Field staff is to come a few days earlier to discuss organization problems. Funded if possible by foundation sources.

(Turner, Hall) Motion passed.

Program committee report

Marlene Wilson reported for the committee. She reported that the committee, after considerable discussion, recommended CORE participation in Chicago in a joint effort with SCLC and CCCO. Motion - that Floyd and other CORE representatives negotiate with Al Raby of CCCO and Dr. Martin Luther King and be prepared to commit a national team to concentrate on the North Side of Chicago, assuring also from time to time the National Director's presence in Chicago. Motion failed - 4-7-2. Because the motion failed to pass, it was ruled by Ussery that the other parts of the committee's recommendation* were no longer relevant. The other recommendation-

(Leeds, Lynch)
Motion - open an office in Washington,D.C.; the first job of the personnel there would be to investigate the possibility of home rule as an organizing issue in that city. Motion passed - 8-5 . Motion - that Baltimore be made a target city for a special project. Motion passed, 11-1-1 (abstention).

Add Insert next page

for CORE

(Leeds, McKissick)

Motion - that CORE participate in the Chicago project. This participation depending upon an agreement that can be made with King on the basis of our limited finances. We will give our public endorsement to that project (McKissick, Leeds). Motion passed, 12 to 1.

Motion - that CORE develop and promote a sound public relations program around Operation Boostrap (Los Angeles, Cal) and the So. Carolina voter registration project and any other ongoing projects. (Dyes, Turner). Passed unanimously.

Motion - that the chairman of the Program Committee (Wilson) send a letter of acknowledgement to all chapters, that their proposals were received, studied, but because of our financial condition we could not accept all of them. Communicate further that the national office stands ready to assist chapters with their projects, inform of the present training programs, Ø (Turner, Leeds). Motion passed, 13-1(abstention)

who sent in proposals

* Other recommendations were: that King and CCCO issue a joint invitation to National CORE to come into Chicago in a press conference; that CORE request of King immediate funds to ease CORE's financial straits ($15,000) and the local chapter be consulted, by the national chairman and other national staff.

Motion - (Lewis, Dyes), that the NAC go on record giving the same support to Operation Bootstrap as is being given to the Chicago situation. 12 in favor, Curvin opposed, 3 abstentions - Montiero, Leeds, Turner. Motion passed.

1966 Convention

Ussery reported that a meeting of the Convention Committee had been held in St. Louis March 17, and there was a meeting March 27 to work out the details of the convention agenda, make decisions as to site and plan for details.

Date of Convention - July 1,2,3, and 4.

Place: a. Hotel near center of town (Statler, Jefferson, Lennox)

b. Concordia Seminary

c. Washington, University

Staff needs - full or part-time convention aide who will work with the planning committee

Guidance needed: a) approximate no. of guests, b) capacity of auditoriam, c) national entertainment, d) theme: "Political Strength of the Ghetto" e)preliminary cash needs, f) local housing sub-committee, g) suggested key noters (Julian Bond, Al Raby).

By common consent the chairman was empowered to make decisions regarding the convention.

Memo from OEO - written by Theodore Berry - Dated March 3, 1966

Ussery explained that the San Francisco OEO Executive Committee went on record against the memo because it perverts the intent of the poverty act.

Motion

1. The NAC condemns the memo 23-24 by Theodore Berry, head of the CAP section, applying the Hatch Act in an unconstitutional way.

2. Our motion of condemnation be taken to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and also be used as part of a position paper to be presented to the Pres. Clnference "To Fulfill These Rights."

3. The NAC support the action of the San Francisco executive committee of the local OEO in opposing the memo.

(Ussery, McKissick). Motion passed unanimously.

Next NAC Meeting

Held jointly with staff two days prior to the National Convention. (Lewis). Motion passed unanimously.

Motion - the NAC endorse an increase in minimum wage for the state of New York. ?CLOSED?SESSION Motion passed.

CLOSED SESSION

McKissick offered a motion regarding personnel as follows: to endorse Lincoln Lynch as Associate Director and as soon as funds are available hire Bill Bradley in the area of program (McKissick, Leeds).

Discussion

Curvin raised the question that because of the lateness of the time, it was not possible to discuss the matter as thouroughly as need be. Someone else commented that the need for additional staff is undisputed, but we need better idea of how decisions are arrived at. What are out criteria and how do the candidates fit them. This is very necessary if we are going to be able to deal with questions raised at the convention.

Lynch gave a brief description of himself. He was born in Jamaica of poor background. He joined the RAF after school (not college graduate) and was there 10 yrs. He considers himself dedicated, radical all his life and has been a CORE member the last 7 years. He hopes to help Floyd to do the job he wants to do, but will continue to be the same kind of person. If he disagrees, he will tell you.

When asked why he picked the two, Floyd responded that they would both be an asset to the kind of team he was trying to build in the national office, each bringing besides thinking ability his own special talents. There was a great deal of discussion about Bradley's attitude toward white people and some feeling expressed that he was overly nationalistic and therefore not objective. The motion was separated. Lynch - 11-0-1(Lynch) ; Bradley as program director 8-3 (Curvin, Lewis, Wilson)

Tony Perot, field secretary of the North Central region submitted his report (local federation of civil rights groups)
on Chicago, site of a joint SCLC and CCCO campaign. After discussing what is going on in Chicago and the resources committed to the city by various organizations, he recommended that "Chicago be designated as a special project, funded by national CORE and by monies raised locally." The reason he gave Tony explained that the need for such a project was obvious, "That CORE is the onlynational organization committed to community development in Northern urban centers of which Chicago is the prototype. The increased awareness being generated by the charisma of Dr. King and the impetus of the Chicago Freedom Movement provide the best vehicle to build a solid community base in selected geographical areas and/or the entire ghetto of Chicago. The project also can be used as a training ground to develop and organizational skills for the long struggle ahead
CORE leadership because of the presence of the Urban Training Center, a program headed by C.T. Vivian who is willing to lend CORE assistance. He recommended specifically that a special team of technicians be drawn from among the most skilled people in national CORE be used in the Chicago area and elsewhere as the need arises and that a task force of at least 10 community workers be drawn from the Chicago area.

Insert

Committee Mtg

1. Before getting into business of hand
   a) Discussion of CORE history - Farmer
   b) Functions of the NAC - Ditcosich ~~Ussery~~
   c) State of the nation - Ruth
      new Direction of the movement
      - Staff assessment

2) What is the Center - purpose, relevance to CORE? Farmer

3) Financial report - Wiley

4) Introduction of staff, new members recently employed + introduced - Farmer, Wiley.

5) 4:00 p.m.
   Committee report - 1 hr. + discussion for clarification of content 1 hr.
   (Not ~~resolution~~ discussion) of recommendation per se),

Reserve lunch hour for presentations of cand. + persons speaking a behalf of cand.

Dear Lincoln,

JUN 8 1965

Please check with Jean or Floyd about the convention plans as suggested. (I didn't have enough copies for everyone).

I have enclosed the minutes from the NAC meeting June 4. Also can you check on what happened to the minutes from the last NAC meeting at which you and Bill were hired? They have not been sent out to my knowledge. And in view of the contents they will have to be sent out.

Have just heard the word about James Meredith! Who says the fight is over?

Ruth.

N.A.C. STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING - JUNE 4 ** 1966

TIME AND PLACE OF THE CONVENTION

Discussion

McKissick outlined some of the massive financial problems that face the organization. We owe creditors $3,000 payable immediately and the banks will not loan us money at this bpoint. $94,000 is themonthly income of CORE [illegible] which is according to our needs, $10,000 to $15,000 deficient since December. Hence we have little money to put on a convention of the scope of theone in Durham last year.

Wilson commented on the fisk of postponing the convention, a public indication of the fact that the organization is in serious trouble. Another NAC ember indicated that waiting will not necessarily improve the financial picture. Callendar argued that we do not need the "hotel scene" but a working convention.

Motion- retain the present convention dates. Motion passed unanimously.

Motion - the site of the convention be Baltimore. (Turner, Bradley).

There followed an extensive discussion of the fact that we had already committed ourselves to St. Louis and there had been some preparations made for our coming. At the same time it was argued that Baltimore, our national target city, would provide the delegates with an opportunity to see the New Direction in action. Motion passed - (Bradley, Williams - Phila., Wilson, Hall and Turner). Lewis and McKissick opposed. In the light of the passage of the above motion,it was suggested that the National Chairman and the National Director go to St. Louis if necessary to explain the reasons for the change.

It was agreed unanimously that the convention be planned around the themes of: self-image, political action, economic development, community organization and development, the continuing financial crisis, and the various iters under the general heading of organizational structure (chapter, NAC and national). [illegible] Motion to that affect made by Bradley, seconded by Wilson. Passed unanimously. Staff from North and South and NAC members will be called upon to take leadership roles in the convention. Wil Ussery and Floyd McKissick are ultimately responsible for the planning of the convention. Southern staff should be involved as resource leaders if they are willing and can afford the time.

BALTIMORE PROJECT

Walter Brooks, Project Director, reported that the movement is really taking hold in Baltimore. The city has a million inhabitants, almost 50% are Negro. 35% earn less than $3,000 yearly. The Maryland Freedom Union recently won a very significant agreement with a laundry as an example of the manner in which the movement in Balt. is addressing itself to the question of the economic base in the Negro community.

**NAC members in attendance were: Bradley, Turner, McKissick, Wilson, Hall, J. Williams (NE), Lewis and Ussery.

The staff in Baltimore includes Walter Brooks, Howard Quander, Tony Perot, Danny Cant, Stu Wechsler, Richardo Turner, and other local people. They first divided the Baltimore community into areas but are now operating in checkerboard fashion, area by area. The plan is eventually to unite the areas to develop the political muscle for a political assault on Baltimore. Groups are coming to the CORE staff who want to work on their problems as well as broader ones. The staff is handicapped from servicing these groups however because of their limited numbers.

Staff is now working the East Side. They have set up a nerve center for the whole operation at 832 Gay Street. Areas are assigned to staff pepple to pull together. Regulare staff meetings are held each night. Opposition from the power structure has been in the form of injunctions which are aimed at any situation that are creating movement in the Negro community.

Other staff present (Callendar, Perot and Quander) supplementd Brooks" report. The response in the Negro community to CORE thus far has been great and there is great financial protential but staff is badly needed. Furthermore chapters need to be made aware of what is going on. Immediate staff needs are committed full-time public relations staff and full-time fund-raising staff.

There followed a discussion of the kind of fund-raising staff needed. Someone with professional skills is needed particularly for benefits and promotion of same. But we also need people who can become part of the staff team and therefore willing to submit to the discipline and commitment required. Someone with mass mobilisation skills in the fund-raising area is needed. McKissick suggested that a committee structure might be what is required including one professional, one local Baltimore minister (Rev. Swann), someone with contacts with the professionals at John Hopkins and elsewhere, and the local chapter chairmn (Griffin). A conctact with the Jewish community might be helpful. Rev. B. Elton Cox has offered his services and is a good possibility to get things moving. There is no question that the Baltimore cannot only support itself but help to get additional money for the national organization.

Baltimore staff suggested that NAC members might go in to the city at the conclusion of the meeting to take part in activities. Motion - that as soon as we finish order of business, those parties who are able go to Baltimore and partipate in the breaking of the injunction placed on the project. (Lewis, Bradley). Motion passed - Lewis, Bradley, Williams and Hall. Abstentions - McKissick, Wilson, Turner.

Motion - of commendation to the Baltimore staff and a vote of confidence for a job well done. (Turner, Bradley). Motion passed unanimously.

FUND RAISING

McKissick discussed some of the problems of financing the national organization. We have made some breakthroughs: an attorney

has agreed to assure the costs of mailings to go out and one is being prepared (the first since February). Bill Russell of the Celtics has agreed to put on a benefit game for CORE and will permit a mailing to go out under his name. The Harlem Globetrotters have also agreed tentatively to the same arragement. Moms Mabley who attended the White House Confemence has also indicated that she will be gald to do something for CORE.

The membership drive has gotten off the groud slowly and there is at the moment no status report. Some of the chapters have not gotten their materials. All requests on these materials should be forwarded to Ben Peterson who is in charge of mailings.

CHICAGO CORE

In reference to the Chicago CORE unit system which has not been effective and in fact has perpetuated conflict within the chapter and problems with one individual in Chicago CORE who is playing a very disruptive role, ~~it~~ the NAC took the following action on recommendations by Director of Organization Herb Callendar: in the case of the individual it is recommended that the local chapter deal with the situtation as is provided in the constitution. As for the unit~~s~~ system, the following ~~xxx~~ motion was made: Motion - that the NAC support the directive of the Director of Organization to abolish the unit structure in Chicago. (Tumner, Hall). Discussion - the problem of responding in this manner to chapter problems when they are not adequately serviced by staff was noted by Lewis. Motion passed - Williams, McKissick, Bradley, Turner, Hall and Wilson. Lewis opposed.

MOUNT VERNON

After being brought up on the Mt. Vernon situation and the case of Clifford Brown by Callendar and McKissick, the following motion was made: that the chapter be placed on probation without the right to use the name of CORE for the duration of the probation period. (Turner, Hall). Motion passed - Turner, Bradley, Hall, Wilson, Lewis, Williams. Abstention - McKissick.

ST. LOUIS CORE POSITION ON THE CONVENTION

Ray Howard appeard to give the views of St. Louis CORE to the NAC and express serious reservations about the legality of such a decision to change the convention site. He noted that the change of ~~xxx~~ decision would be harmful to the chapter and the efforts they had made to involve the broader community in ~~xxxx~~ this venture. He also requested that a representatave of the national office appear in St. Louis in the very near future to explain the NAC's vote.

WASHINGTON OFFICE

Motion by McKissick and seconded by Hall that Rugh Turner be employed by the National office as CORE representative in Washington,D.C.

Discussion

McKissick stated that the office would be self-sustaining eventually and that persons had been contacted who had agreed to put up some of the necessary money. Objections raised by Lewis to the point that there was a need to project the Negro male and that Washington was a place where a male was needed. Motion passed - Bradley, Hall, McKissick and Williams. Lewis - opposed and Wilson abstained.

Julia Lewis requested that the following statement be entered in the minutes: that all business carried on, which effect policy changes, namely the decision on the convention and the hiring of new staff, that would affect the budget of the organization should be declared null and void. She explained her position by stating that there were not enough Steering Committee members present to make up a quorum.

Ussery ruled that this had been an official Steering Committee, noting that there were two vacant positions on that body and that there had been an official quorum. He ruled further that the NAC members not present shall be polled on the two decisions involved, the convention and the hiring of staff for the Wash. office. Bob Curvin would be asked to see whether any NAC members did not get the information about the meeting. Loretta Hall and Marlene Wilson were asked to poll the NAC members on the two decisions made.

WASHINGTON CORE

Mrs. Roena Rand, chairman of Wash. CORE asked for a clarification of issues about national and local responsibility in Washington in light of the setting up of the Washington office. She also outlined some of the problems of Wash. CORE and asked for assistance.

Meeting adjourned - 7:30 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY. HELD FOLLOWING ELECTION OF NEW OFFICERS AND MEMBERS AT THE BALTIMORE, MARYLAND KNOX COMMUNITY CENTER, JULY 1-4 1966.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL WAS HELD FOLLOWING THE ELECTION OF NEW OFFICERS AND MEMBERS IN THE LOUNGE OF THE MOUNT ROYAL HOTEL IN BALTIMORE AT 8:00 P.M.

THE MAIN ITEMS DISCUSSED WERE: A) FUND RAISING B) LOSS OF AND NEED FOR MORE FIELD PERSONNEL C) REORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT AND D) THE PROPOSED MOVE TO HARLEM.

MR. LYNCH, THE ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR DISCUSSED SHORT AND LONG RANGE PLANS AS FOLLOWS:

A. THE CONSIDERATION OF A LOAN IN THE AMOUNT OF APPROXIMATELY A HALF A MILLION DOLLARS. (TO CORE)

B. THE CONSIDERATION OF CONSORTING TO LABOR UNIONS FOR A FAVORABLE RESPONSE WITH NO STRINGS ATTACHED.

C. WEALTHY PERSONS WHO WOULD BE INTERESTED IN CONTRIBUTING SIZEABLE AMOUNTS TO CORE.

MR. LYNCH'S LONG RANGE PROPOSALS INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

A. CENTERING MORE FUNDRAISING IN GHETTO AREAS.

B. DEVELOPE GOOD FUNDRAISING USING STARS WHO ARE NOT ALREADY COMMITTED.

C. REORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC RELATIONS TO PROJECT IMAGE REGARDING NEW IMAGE OF CORE.

D. TO GENERATE A NEW PROGRAM TO CLEAR UP THE DEBT OR BRING PRESENT DEBT TO MANAGEABLE PROPORTIONS.

HE STATED THAT THE SUPPLIERS DEBT WAS APPROXIMATELY $129,000 AND CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN SINCE IT WOULD JEOPARDIZE OUR CREDIT.

OTHER IDEAS GENERATING FROM THIS DISCUSSION WAS THE NEED FOR CORE TO SEE A FUNDRAISER ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS.

WITH REGARD TO REORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT IT WAS SUGGESTED BY LOU SMITH THAT MESSRS. McKISSICK, LYNCH AND CALLENDER SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITY.

IT WAS AGREED THAT DECISIONS REGARDING ALL ACTIVITIES BE COMMUNICATED. THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF FIELD PERSONNEL EXPENSES, THE EXPLOITATION OF FUNDS COMING IN TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE AND THE WAY THESE FUNDS ARE DISTRIBUTED WERE ALSO DISCUSSED.

MR.CALLENDER REQUESTED THAT MR.BROOKS OUTLINE UP A PLAN REGARDING PROPOSED IDEAS FOR FUNDRAISING IN THE TARGET CITY.
MR.BROOKS OUTLINED THEM AS FOLLOWS:

PHASE 1 A. COORDINATING CHURCHES AND BARS, SINCE THEY HAVE AGREED TO HAVE COLLECTIONS MADE IN THEIR CHURCHES FOR THE SPECIFIED TIME.

THE GOAL IS APPROXIMATELY $160,000 OR $170,000 AND WILL BE DISTRIBUTED AS FOLLOWS: THIRTY PERCENT TO PROJECT, FIFTY PERCENT TO NATIONAL OFFICE, TWENTY PERCENT TO LOCAL PROJECT AND TEN PERCENT TO THE MARYLAND FREEDOM UNION.

PHASE 2 A. A PACKAGE OF ENTERTAINMENT-SHOWS SEEN EACH WEEKEND IN CIVIC AUDITORIUMS. THE FIRSTTWO SHOWS WILL PROVIDE SEED MONEY. NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS PACKAGE PROGRAM TO BEGIN ON JULY 5TH.

PHASE 3 A. DIRECT APPEAL-MONEY RAISED ON JOB BY AN EMPLOYEE WAS THE EXAMPLE GIVEN.

PHASE 4 A. REQUIRES MORE DEVELOPMENT CENTERED AROUND CHILDREN AND MOTHERS.

SOMEONE IS NEEDED TO ORGANIZE BLACK AREA AND COORDINATE THIS EFFORT AND TO FOLLOW THROUGH. IDEAS INCLUDE DOOR-TO-DOOR SOLICITING BY CHILDREN, A REWARD OF A CORE T-SHIRT WILL BE OFFERED. NOTHING ELSE WILL BE INVOLVED OTHER THAN FUNDRAISING.

A YEARBOOK WAS ALSO RECOMMENDED FOR THE PURPOSE OF SELLING PAGES FOR 4 OR 5 DOLLARS. CONTACT RECOMMENDED TO BE MADE ON HIGH LEVEL FOR EXAMPLE BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS. SOMEONE IS NEEDED TO COORDINATE THIS PROGRAM.

THE CHURCHES ARE THE ITEMS OF PRIORITY WITH REGARD TO THE FUNDRAISING PROGRAM FOR BALTIMORE. SOMEONE IS PRESENTLY BEING CONTACTED BY TONY FEROT JULY 5TH.

MR.BROOKS STATED THAT PERSONS ARE NEEDED FOR 30 DAYS OR MORE.
CECIL BROWN VOLUNTEERED AFTER THE 15TH OF JULY. HE STATED THAT HE COULD PROBABLY SPEND 45 OR 60 DAYS.
MRS.RUTH TURNER VOLUNTEERED TO STAY ON TOP OF THE OSSIE DAVIS PROGRAM.
OTHERS VOLUNTEERED TO SPEND WEEKENDS IN ORDER TO HELP WITH THE BALTIMORE PROJECT.

SUMMARY

1. AGREED UPON DECISION MAKING.
2. PUBLIC RELATION CHANCES.
3. OSSIE DAVIS' PROGRAM ENDORSED.
4. AGREED THAT MUSSERY WOULD PLAN PROGRAM.
5. AGREED THAT JAMES BROWN OR OTHERS BE CONTACTED TO MAKE A RECORD REGARDING "BLACK POWER".
6. AGREED THAT A STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER IS NEEDED. MR.CARL X AGREED TO DO THIS.
7. CONSTITUTION WILL BE PRINTED IN POCKET SIZE WITH NAMES OF MAC MEMBERS AND DISTRIBUTED TO MAC MEMBERS.
8. CANNISTER DRIVES, SALEABLE ITEMS SUCH AS BUTTONS AND PINS, GETTING PEOPLE TO RAISE MONEY, LOANS WERE DISCUSSED.

9. THE NEED FOR COMMUNICATION BETWEEN STAFF AND CHAPTERS WAS DISCUSSED; NEWSLETTER SUGGESTED.

10. THE NEED OF FIELD REPRESENTATIVES FOR CAMERAS IN THE SOUTH. SUE RICE WAS REQUESTED TO CHECK WITH KODAK REGARDING A CONTRIBUTION OF AT LEAST 44 CAMERAS AND FILM. THIS WILL ENABLE FIELD REPS TO KEEP ALL INFORMED OF ACTIVITIES THROUGH CLIPPINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

11. WORK WITH COLLEGE CAMPUSES WAS ALSO SUGGESTED.

12. REPORT OF $2,313.62 RECEIVED AT BALTIMORE TO BE DEPOSITED 7/5/66

13. THANKS TO CONVENTION COMMITTEE.

14. DISCUSSION OF PAYING EXPENSES FOR FIELD REPRESENTATIVES. ALL WERE ASKED TO REMAIN AND OUTLINE EXPENSES WHICH WERE TO BE RE-IMBURSED.

15. TREASURERS REPORT WAS $658.00

16. A HELPER FOR LOU SMITH (WEST COAST) AS LONG AS HE UNDERSTANDS CORE'S CIRCUMSTANCES.

CUTTING BACK SOUTHERN OFFICE AND THE OPENING OF OFFICE IN WASHINGTON WAS DISCUSSED. MR. McKISSICK STATED THAT AN OFFICE WAS BEING OPENED BECAUSE THE MONEY WOULD BE GIVEN ON THAT BASIS; THEREFORE THE MONEY COULD NOT BE USED FOR SOMETHING ELSE.

THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED AT 11:00 P.M.

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED,

DONNIE L. DARROW
SECRETARY
NATIONAL CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

L. Lynch

[redacted] OF THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY [redacted] HELD JUNE 1-4, 1965 AT THE [redacted]

The first meeting of the National Action Council was held following the election of new officers and members in the lounge of the Mount Royal Hotel in Baltimore at 8:00 P.M.

The main items discussed were: a) fund raising b) loss of and need for more field personnel c) reorganization of the public relations department and the d) proposed move to Harlem.

Mr. Lynch, the Assoc. National Director discussed short and long range plans as follows:

a. the consideration of a loan in the amount of approximately a half a million dollars.(to CORE)

b. the consideration of consenting to labor unions for a favorable response with no strings attached.

c. wealthy persons who would be interested in contributing sizeable amounts to CORE.

Mr. Lynch's long range proposals included the following:

a. centering more fund raising in ghetto areas.

b. develops good fund raising using stars who are not already committed.

c. reorganization of public relations to project image regarding new image of CORE.

d. to generate a new program to clear up the debt- or bring present debt to manageable proportions.

Following the election:

Minutes of the NAC meeting held July 4, 1965 in Baltimore, Maryland

He stated that the suppliers debt was approximately $129,000 and cannot be allowed to remain since it would jeopardize our credit.

Other ideas generating from this discussion was the need for CORE to see a fund raiser on a contingency basis.

With regard to reorganization of the public relations department it was suggested by Lou Smith that Eleanor McKinnie, Lynch and Calender share the responsibility.

It was agreed that decisions regarding must be communicated. The financial difficulties of field personnel expenses, the exploitation of funds coming in to the National office and the way these funds are distributed were also discussed.

Mr. McKinnie announced that Sonia Davis offered a package of entertainers for a proposed CORE concept of entertainment which would take in about 20 cities without cost to CORE. Following much discussion it was agreed that we accept Mr. Davis's offer.

Comprehensive planning was discussed with regard to:

a. skill to adapt CORE to special program

b. realities must be considered with regard to fund raising.

Mr. Vanery was requested to take over the fund raising dept. and to develope and support the program offered to CORE. Mr. Vanery did not accept that responsibility; however he did state that he would assist with the comprehensive planning necessary.

following election:

Minutes of the MAC meeting held July 4, 1966 in Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. Calender requested that Mr. Brooks outline up a plan regarding proposed ideas for fund raising in the target city.

Mr. Brooks outlined them as follows:

Item 1 a. coordinating churches and bars, since they have agreed to have collections made in their churches for the specified time

The goal is approximately $160,000 or $170,000 and will distributed as follows: thirty percent to Project, fifty percent to the National office, twenty percent to local project and ten percent to the Maryland Freedom Union.

Item 2 a. a package of entertainment - shows seen each week end in civic auditoriums. The first two shows will provide seed money. Negotiation on this package program to begin on July 5th.

Item 3 a. direct appeal - money raised on job by an employee was the example given.

Item 4 a. requires more development centered around children and mothers.

Someone is needed to organize black area and coordinate this effort and to follow through. Ideas include door-to-door solicitation by children, a reward of a CORE T-shirt will be offered. Nothing else will be involved other than fund raising.

A year book was also recommended for the purpose of selling pages for 4 or 5 dollars. Contest recommended to be made on high

following elections:

for example businessmen associations. Someone is needed to coordinate this program.

The churches are the items of priority with regard to the fund raising program for Baltimore. Someone is presently being contacted by Tony Peret July 5th.

Mr. Brooks stated that persons are needed for 30 days or more. Cecil Brown volunteered after the 15th of July. He stated that he could probably spend 45 or 60 days.

Mrs. Ruth Turner volunteered to stay on top of the Ossie Davis program.

Others volunterred to spend weekends in order to help with the Baltimore Project.

SUMMARY

1. Agreed upon decision making
2. Public Relation changes
3. Ossie Davis's program endorsed
4. Agreed that W. Ussery would plan program
5. Agreed that James Brown or others be contacted to make a record regarding "Black Power"
6. Agreed that a staff photographer is needed. Mr. Carl X agreed to do this.
7. Constitution will be printed in pocket size with names of NAC members and distributed to NAC members.

Following election:

Minutes of the NAC meeting held July 5, 1966 in Baltimore, Maryland

8. committee drives, saleable items such as buttons and pins, getting people to raise money, loans were discussed.

9. The need for communication between staff and chapters was discussed; newsletter suggested.

10. The need of field representatives for cameras in the South. Sue Rice was requested to check with Kodak regarding a contribution of at least 44 cameras and film. This will enable field reps to keep all informed of activities through clippings and photographs.

11. Work with college campuses was also suggested.

12. Report of $2,313.62 received at Baltimore to be deposited 7/5/66.

13. Thanks to convention committee

14. Discussion of paying expenses for field representatives. All were asked to remain and outline expenses which were to be reimbursed.

15. Treasurer's report was $658.00.

16. A helper for Lou Smith (West Coast) as long as he understands CORE's circumstances)

Cutting back Southern office and the opening of office in Washington was discussed. Mr. McKissick stated that an office was being opened because the money would be given on that basis; therefore the money could not be used for something else.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:00 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Bernice Barrow

Bernice M. Barrow
Secretary
National Congress of Racial Equali

AGENDA FOR STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
HELD AUGUST 13, 1966

Role Call

Reading of agenda

Additions to agenda

1. Cambodia
2. Communications:
   a. NAC and National Office (including staff)
   b. NAC and National Director, Assoc. National Dir.
   c. National Director and staff
   d. National Director and National Officers
3. Press Relations
4. Chapter Affiliation Requirements and Maintenance
5. Viability of National Office - Is it Needed?
6. Constitution referred to NAC
7. Hiring Policy and Job Description of Personnel
8. NAC - clear cut definition of Black Power and Non-Violence.
9. Role of NAC - NAC appears to be losing its position
10. NAC's Assistance to Target City Project
11. Grievance Committee
12. Recption Committee
13. FUND RAISING!!!!!!!
14. Temporary move to Store Front in Harlem
15. Standing Committees
16. Report on Status of Organization (Dir of Organiz)

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY 38 PARK ROW NEW YORK

August 16, 1966

Minutes of Steering Committee Meeting Held
August 13, at 38 Park Row, N.Y.

Arthur Evans chaired the meeting. Roll call was taken-the following people were present:

Don Bean-Regional Rep., Sol Herbert-2nd Vice Chairman, Olly Leeds-Regional Rep., James O. Williams-Regional Vice Chairman, Roy Innis-Regional Rep., Arthur Evans-1st Vice Chairman, F. McKissick-National Director of CORE, and Bonnie Barrow, National Secretary.

The agenda was read. Additions to the agenda were requested. Mr. Oliver Leeds requested that the meeting be closed. It was agreed that other staff member would be invited to discuss items on the agenda that pertained to them.

Mr. McKissick stated that he had, not been aware of the meeting. The secretary informed him that his address was not made available to her even though she made several attempts to get it.

It was decided that the meeting would continue as scheduled in order to accomplish as much as possible.

Mr. McKissick gave an interesting summary of his trip to Cambodia. He said that the former NAC had been informed and had agreed that he go. Some staff members had raised objections. Mr. McKissick was accompanied by K. Boyle, Rabbi Dressner, Russ Johnson, Mark Stone, Norman Eisner, D. Dunkin. The sponsoring organization was the "Women's Strike for Peace". Mr. McKissick continued that this trip was a victory for CORE to be included in the international scene. He also stated that more trips of this nature may be offered to CORE in the future and that he would like to have members of the NAC participate in order to establish an international front.

He also stated that CORE should have representation at the World Conferences.

It was established that all Steering Committee members had been notified about the meeting. Cecil Brown called during the meeting to say that he was unable to attend.

Mr. McKissick informed the group that the instructions which he left with staff in some instances had not been carried out.

A motion was made by Ollie Leeds that "any decision reached by the director acting on the basis of CORE policy and agreed to by the NAC must be carried out." It was carried unanimously.

Mr. Leeds also stated that there appeared to be a lack of competency in the National office. He referred to the handling of the Associate Membership Drive which had been handled very poorly.

Mr. McKissick then stated that he had been entertaining the idea of dividing the Organization Department into two sections. Mr. Leeds stated that he felt it best to leave the present set up as it was; however just to get it operating more efficiently.

The need for fund raising was discussed. The secretary asked Mr. McKissick about the Ossie Davis package. He stated that it was still available. B. Barrow reminded the group that Ruth Turner volunteered to see it through, during the NAC meeting held at the convention in Baltimore.

Mr. McKissick stated that Lionel Hampton also volunteered to help CORE at any time.

A motion was made to invite the Association National Director to the Meeting until such time that he was not needed-Ollie Leeds-It was accepted unanimously

More discussion on the financial situation followed. Mr. Lynch outlined his attempts, to borrow from the following unions-no strings attached. J. Harding, Executive V.P. of Teamsters; J. Hoffavia letter; Bundy; I.U.D.; Labor Garment Worker's Union. Mr. Lynch then stated that National is receiving approximately $300 a day, many times less. We were also informed that National was approximately

1,800 overdrawn at the present time.

Mr. Lynch also discussed the viability of the National Office. He stated that the office internal revenue was about to pad lock the door and that staff people were in arrears regarding receipt of salary-$100 had been as bail money in an emergency-$400 needed for insurance and that $4,000 is necessary to satisfy the phone company.

Presiding chairman, Arthur Evans stated that he would approach the National Economic and Industrial Union, Messrs. W. Beach, McNeil and J. Brown for financial assistance for National.

It was agreed that we must all work to get rid of the pressing debts.

Following more discussion, O. Leeds recommended that three items be considered for National fund raising:

a. A national raffle for all chapters
b. A type of National Bazaar (using seconds-contact Jewish groups)
c. Associate membership drive be tied in with all the chapters.

Mr. Innis recommended that we work through the region.

Mr. Leeds then moved that the Steering Committee ask each regional vice chairman to release at least 1 person to form a committee to come to grips with three questions:

a. raffle
b. Associate Membership Drive
c. Bazaar

and that a report be presented to the NAC to follow up.

An amendment that "NAC" request regional vice chairmen in their area to contact chairmen of that region for money, affiliation fee, partial or total-and their 10% on monies they have raised.

This was accepted unanimously.

(Correspondence SNCC)
Discussion then followed concerning non-draft activities. It was decided that CORE is not ready at this time to take this leadership; but that it could play a supporting role.

It was suggested by Mr. Sol Herbert that

guidelines be drawn up for chapters to follow so that the NAC would be informed about chapter's participation and value if any, to National. In addition he said that more specific affiliation requirements as well as maintenance, be drawn up. Following discussion, O. Leeds moved that "National Director have prepared, a report regarding numbers of chapters funtioning and non-functioning, chapter affiliation recommendations for affiliated and disaffiliated, number of chapters lost, created; and financial and new criteria in liew of Black Power for initial and continued affiliation and have copies distributed before next NAC meeting to NAC members."

Herb Callender and Walter Brooks were then invited to this part of the meeting. Mr. Brooks described the needs and present status of the Baltimore Project. He stated that "funding should be available to staff or specific projects and that the crucial stage would be during the next 30 days". He said that the Baltimore Project had shown how negative forces could be used for position gains.

Mr. Brooks stated that a meeting would be held on Tuesday August 16th for funds.

Mr. Callender then explained the need for financial aide. He told the group that if something was not done a staff would not exist in Baltimore. He told us that J. McCain had resigned and that there was no staff in Florida, and that the Louisiana staff as well as Mississippi staff was dribbling away.

Mr. Innis suggested that members in Baltimore collect money in cannisters.

Mr . Callender reminded the Steering Committee that they were being asked for help not recommendations for specific projects, and he recommended immediate relief through policy and procedure which would establish some priority.

The Steering Committee was also reminded that it was the reponsibility of the NAC to support the target city since Nationalhad set it up.

B. Barrow suggested that meeting be adjourned for lunch so that members could consider all that had been said and then establish priority.

The meeting adjourned at 4:15 P.M. for 1 hour.

Meeting reconvened at 5:15. Mr. McKissick described the financial condition of National Office prior to his office. He stated that the debt at that time was approximately $345,000 and that it has gone down considerably. It was agreed that many problems existed both personality and other wise; however that in order to move ahead, the past should be left behind.

Following a brief discussion, motion that "under no circumstances should the chairman tolerate insults to anyone during meetings and that furthermore should this occur the individual or individuals be asked to leave the room."

It was agreed that the source for the majority of the problems related back to "lack of money" thus, it was decided to secure necessary finances so that we may execute and develope ideas and concern ourselves with special work as it regards staff and problems for example, Walter Brooks and others and Baltimore.

The steering committee then agreed upon the following ways to earn money for the target city, pending consultation with Walter Brooks should be carried out under the responsibility of J. Williams, N.E. regional vice chairman:

a) request each region to initiate program of pledges per week or month by individual members.

b) Send money from Steering Committee members. (this was collected-a total of $23.00 will be forwarded to Walter Brooks.)

c) Arrange speaking engagements for Walter Brooks and Herb Callender,--Particularly in the college campuses:

1. New York University-B. Barrow
2. Brooklyn College
3. Syracuse

d) Volunteer CORE'S efforts to go into community to act as"riot stompers"-(Sol Alinsky-example)

e) Evaluate Baltimore Project fully in order to determine an extension of program and length of time project will continue.

A committee was appointed to evaluate this project:

O. Leeds, Chairman
J. Williams
S. Herbert
B. Barrow
A. Evans

The report must be ready before the next NAC meeting.

The next item of business centered around Black Power,. It was decided that the original resolution be written in pamphlet form and forewarded to all chapters immediately.

The Secretary informed the group that minutes of the National Convention and all resolutions had been completed a week following and sent to the National Office. Due to lack of money they are still in this office and the chapters have not seen them yet.

A committee of three (O. Leeds, Roy Innis, B. Barrow) was then appointed to assist the National Director with this task to include describe CORE's position regarding black power and the six points of implementation in booklet forms which will be available to all,

1. economic
2. political
3. improvement of self-image
4. development of leadership
5. enforcement fo federal laws to abolish police brutality
6. Black consumer Block

A motion was made by O. Leeds that "with the sending out of statements that chapter be requested to submit in writing how they see implementing Black Power in their area." This motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. McKissick defined "implementation" in specific sense of chapter and organization of CORE to mean that Black Power can be done by organizing in specific forms in order that members be committed to an ideological program.

In other words, in a program of credit unions, being a member of Core would mean being a member of a credit union.

It was further clarified when Mr. McKissick outlined CORE's perspective plan of the implementation of Black Power.

Twenty families would pay approximately $20.00 a year. This $20.00 would be broken down similar to the following...

...$1.00 credit union membership
...$2.00 CORE membership
...$2.00 common trust fund (for the purpose of establishing black businesses-or purchase of a seat on Wall Street)
etc.-including a certain amount of the $20.00 for legal advise and assistance at all times.

It was agreed that the above idea was extremely good and that each would work toward developing a climate in their area and inform chapters in their areas as well.

The responsibility of further implementation regarding Black Power was given to O. Leeds, R. Innis, and B. Barrow.

The meeting was then adjourned.
The meeting will continue at 9:30 A.M. tomorrow, August 14th at Mr. McKissick's home.

Meeting of Steering Committee - August 14, 1966 at 414 W. 149th Street.

The subject of communication arose. B. Barrow, stated that it was the responsibility of the secretary to inform the steering committee and NAC members of what is going on.

Mr. Sol Herbert moved that Mrs. Barrow be informed at all times and be given the responsibility of handling NAC meetings and communications concerning the steering committee members and NAC. It was unanimously agreed.

Mrs. Barrow requested the National Director to keep her informed of his schedule and activities concerning National.

He agreed and stated that he would see to it that she be given a copy of his schedule and/or itinerary.

Discussion followed regarding the Viet Nam Resolution-B. Barrow stated that this resolution was referred to the NAC by unanimous vote of the delgates attending the National Vonvention.

It was moved that the "Vietnam" statement be the responsibility of the National Director, subject to NAC approval.

The Steering Committee agreed to refer the Viet Nam resolution to the NAC committee working on "Black Power" resolution.

The secretary suggested that the responsibility of the constitution be given to the NAC. Since it is ready for printing with the exception of two sections which were to be under consideration by the constitution committee. B. Barrow stated that this will mean a considerable delay since the constitution committee members live in different states and that as a result it would be difficult for Mr. Brown to call a meeting. It was decided to present this recommendation to the NAC at the next meeting.

Following discussion-it was decided that the National Office would move to 200 W. 135 th Street in Harlem, Monday,August 15th.

Discussion followed regarding chapters using CORE's name, chapters that were not accomplishing anything, and chapters that need help.

It was agreed that James Williams be appointed to evaluate chapters in Northeast region, with regard to the above in liew of Black Power and non-violence implementations in these chapters.

Handling of press statements by L. Lynch and F. McKissick - The feeling was expressed that the recent statements made were much too broad and left room for misinterpretation.

Mr. McKissick stated that this was best, otherwise being specific can be more harmful than helpful. All agreed.

Regarding further discussion on communication- O. Leeds made a motion that the National Director always inform the National Chairman and Vice Chairman of his where abouts. Unanimously approved.

The National Director requested that the minutes be ready in 48 hours. It was agreed.

The secretary reminded the regional Vice Chairman present to get the correct addresses from the chapters in their area and forward them to her so that she can complete the new mailing list.

The first week in October was announced as the tentative time for the NAC meeting.

A motion was made to adjourn the meeting. The meeting adjourned at 1:45.

Respectfully submitted,

Bonnie Barrow

Bonnie Barrow
National Secretary

BB:cg

NATHAN H. SCHWERNER
PELHAM, NEW YORK 10803

AUG 19 1966

August 18, 1966

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Att: Mr. Lincoln O. Lynch

Dear Mr. Lynch:

In response to yours of August 17, I will be very pleased and honored to serve as a member of CORE's Advisory Committee.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours

NATHAN H. SCHWERNER

NHS:HM

EXCERPT FROM MINUTES, NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP MEETING
September 10-11, 1966 at the YMCA, 180 W. 135th St., New York, N.Y.

It was agreed that a week be allowed for foundation money to come through. And that if money was not received by that time, then the following recommendation made by our National Director in three parts be followed:

1) That staff be empowered to prepare proposals to be submitted to foundations and that seed money necessary for preparing proposals be sought from the foundations. If the seed money is not available from foundations, then the National office will supply the seed money at the same time recognizing the need to maintain financial basis of $2,500/ day.
2) That the National Director be authorized to proceed immediately with creating a tax exempt trust fund or tax exempt corporation, whichever in his opinion deemed necessary in order that funds may be received from foundations, as well as other sources for that part of CORE's operations which are exempt by operation of law,
3) That the National Director secure such attorneys as he deems best qualified in this area, and that progress reports be made to the NAC at each of their regular meetings in the future."

The motion was carried unanimously.

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP MEETING SEPTEMBER 10 - 11, 1966
at the YMCA 180 West 135th Street, New York, New York

Roll call was taken. See attached sheet for membership attendance. Mr. Will Ussery, the National Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:45AM. Mr. McKissick called for a reading of the minutes from the National Convention. The chairman recommended that this reading be disposed with since there was much business to be attended to. O. Leeds so moved. It was unanimously carried.

B.Barrow requested that due to the nature of the matters to be discussed, that this meeting be closed to those in attendance who were not authorized by the NAC to attend. The motion carried. R. Innis apposed. The minutes of the preceding NAC meeting were read and approved. The chairman then prepared the agenda with the members of the NAC. It was the consensus of opinion that the follow-up items of the previous NAC meeting minutes would be lised as part of the agenda, having the individuals responsible for specific items bring the members up to date.

The Ossie Davis package of entertainment was now the responsibility of Lionel Hampton, who was now stymied as a result of the thinking of his agent that there would be a loss of money. O. Leeds stated that his committee was unable to evaluate the Baltimore's Target City Project prior to this meeting, since the NAC meeting had been called sooner than tentatively planned and the first visit attempt found everyone on the Baltimore staff aways during the Labor Day weekend.

O. Leeds moved that this committee undertake to evaluate Baltimore Project as soon as possible. It was carried unanimously. O. Leeds was also asked to give an account of the Committee to set up suggestions regarding the implementation of Black Power. It was suggested that this report be read later during the meeting.

The National Director was then asked to present his organizational report, which became the focal point of the following discussion:

Current income from mailing is approximately $2,500/day. We learned that the present mailing list was composed of members from the white community and that a li list was presently being compiled of members from our Black communities. The cost of the sugject mailing is estimated to be approximately $6,000. And it is felt that CORE should have at least 4 mailings per year. Our Director also stated that he was concentrating on appeals to the churches, and that he had been reserving Sundays for this purpose. He stated that we have received $2,000 in grants and $3,00 for taxes. He recommended that we accept the offer from William Worthy, who was representing Peace Groups for afull page advertisement available to us without charge, regarding CORE's position on Viet Nam. The offer was accepted following discussion. Mr. Ussery suggested that the same advertisement be used to make even more money in other states, if it became availabe for reprinting. The idea of running the ad internationally was entertained and accepted. It was suggested that this advertisement be presanted to the NAC for approval prior to release. It was decided that the Director's approval along with available NAC members be sufficient.

Our Director stated that he would remain in the office as much as possible in order to straighten out the internal problems. He then briefed the group on the three thins which could be done to carry CORE throught 1967: 1) File bandruptcy 2) forbearance on credit and 3) pay creditors. He then stated that accountants will assist us and that we have presently reduced our operating expenses and overhead with our new move to 200 West 135th Street, He suggested that CORE drop car rental systems and think of purchasing a car, sinee it would be much cheaper, according to SNCC.

From there he discussed the Christmas cardmailing. He told us that it would bring in some money and also help pay our old debt. It was then agreed that we do this as a business transaction and proceed with Sowers endorsing the note for us. If we cannot get Sowers then we should attempt to borrow money. At any rate our debt would be paid and it would also keep the card project in CORE. Mr. McKissick then moved that the revenue from the sale of Xmas cards be earmarked to pay back salaries of those presently on staff, and that chapters will be notified that all revenue from sale of Xmas cards will therefore be given to staff and no percentage paid to chapters.

This motion was unanimously carried. It was then suggested that we do our own work and watch the Sowers Xmas Card List, thus preventing any other organization from capitalizing on it.

Following a brief discussion regarding the use of the union label, O. Leeds moved that no mail of CORE's be printed without a union label and that if this is not possible, an explanation must be made. This was carried unanimously.

Discussion followed regarding SEDF pro and con. Many recommendations were made. Roy Innis moved tht we demand real control (majority control) of the board of SEDF and that we take direct action and cut ourselves loose from this group at the time this negotiation seems futile and that we form a committee with NAC members to negotiate this confrontation. The vote was 6 opposed, 5 in favor.

Bill Bradley prior made the following motion and following much discussion and much indecision withdrew it:

"That we appoint a negotiating committee to deal with all questions relating to relationships between CORE and SEDF and that said committee come back to this body at the next meeting of NAC to present this report for action to this body. It was agreed that our National Director contact or communicate with SEDF and that if a meeting was forthcoming, a committee composed of available NAC members should meet with them.

The amendment to Bill Bradley's motion was also withdrawn. It stated that this negotiating team be empowered to sever this connection (of SEDF) if negotiation fails. Ben Swan to made this th motion.

Bill Bradley then gave a report of the West Coast Conference held Sept. 3rd. He then referred to telegrams sent to the National Office requesting that Herb Callender be reinstated. He said that the West Coast region recommended that Herb be reinstated on the basis that if CORE is to be saved we must maintain experienced staff who have been in the movement a long time. The report (see the attached) from the Southern Region was then read and discussed item by item.

A motion was made that we accept recommendations of this report for consideration at this meeting. Item 1 was not supported. The motionwas withdrawn. It was agreed that a week be allowed for foundation money to come through. And that if money not received by that time, then the following recommendation made by our National Director in three parts be followed: "That staff be empowered to prepare proposals to be submitted t foundations and that seed money necessary for preparing proposals be sought from the foundations. If the seed money is not available from foundations, then the National office will supply the seed money at the same time recognizing the need to maintain financial basis of $2,500/day. Second, that the National Director be authorized to proceed immedately with creating a tax exempt trust fund or tax exempt corporation, whichever in his opinion deemed necessary in order that funds may be received from foundations, as well as other sourcesfor that part of CORE's operations which are exempt by operation of law, and third, and that the National Director secure such attorneys as he deems best qualified in this area, and that progress reports be made to the NAC at each of their regular meetings in the future." The motion was carried unanimously.

Item 2 of the Southern Region staff report was directed at the National office and the NAC wherein promises were made and not lived up to.

Sol Herbert moved that members present, commit themselves. The motion was carried unanimously. Ollie Leeds pledged $10 per month for the next four months. Sol Herbert pledged support on the behalf of Bronx CORE and Bill Bradley for the West Coast.

With regard to Item 3, a motion was made that the National office agree to pay during the three months of proposal writing $3,510 to those persons named in the recommendations and too, that those persons whose names are not submitted will received a like amount of money when their needs are submitted to the National office:

1. If monies are available
2. National will canvass regional organization and chapters for pledges for three month period to defray staff salaries.

Our national director requested that these conditions be kept confidential.

It was felt that Item 3 of the subject report was not relevant. With reference to Item 4, the National Director felt that the situation will not permit us to make a commitment since he was not ready at this time to give specific recommendations. It was also agreed that it is the National Director's right to select people on his staff when hiring or replacing any employee. The role of the Director of Organization was then discussed. The questions centered around two approaches a) the director of organization's role in chapter problems and his role in staff problems.

A motion was made that the National Director agree to entertain suggestions and to advise with staff regarding the filling of said vacancy. It was carried unanimoulsy.

Ollie Leeds then read the report from the Black Powr Committee. The membership approved it unanimously. The approval included recommendations that the credit union proposal be given priority and that the Black Power

Committee set up rules of the articles of Incorporation and include in detail the operation and including membership and then:

1. Establish Credit Union. An example being that National employees would pay $5.00/month.

2. Open an account, then getting charter and

3. Membership (1967) agree to abide byour decisions, insurance, welfare, pledge, carry card and that membership books be kept at least by January, 19671 And that furthermore this general information should be given to Regional Chapters by January 1967.

A motion was made that the Committee on Black Power be empowered to establish a credit union. (Bill Bradley) The motion was carried unanimoulsy.

Ollie Leeds then moved that other aspects forthe implementation of Black Power be explored lby the committee and that specific recommendations be made to the NAC from time to time. The motion was carried unanimously.

We were then informed that Arthur Evans was requested to appear on the peace venture. A motion was made that Arthur Evans be permitted to appear on the peace venture and send a telegram.

Discussion then followed regarding the Guardians. A motionwas made to commend the Guardians for their support of the Civilian Review Board and the National office through its spokesman so advise them.

The North Eastern region report was then given by Jim Williams. He stated that guidelines are still needed for the chapters He also stated that this region would be holding their meeting that following weekend.

It was recommended that a series of district visits by Floyd McKissick be made whenever possible.

Discussion then followed on the North Central urban training. A motion was made that NAC empower Art and Gnee to continue negotiations in terms of follow=up for the urban training cener. This motion was carried unanimously.

Following more discussion, a motion was made that in each area of the U.S. in each region that the chairman be responsible in turning in to the National Chairman chapter information regarding number of members, operation and pertinent data using criteria list developed at the Durham North Carolina convention within one month. The motion was carried unanimously.

Discussion followed regarding the Constitution. It was brought to the attention of the group that only two items were delaying the printing. These were Article XI. Section 1 (e) and Section 4 (d). A motion was made by Ben Swan that the following be substituted for the present: That the senior field staff person serving on the NAC represent staff and serve on the Steering Committee. Itw was unanimously carried.

This was done as a result that it would be nearly impossible and most impractical for the Constitution Committee to meet. The time element was most important here.

Olllie Leeds then made a motion that the Constitituion as we think it is

be sent to Cecil Brown and that if he sees anything of substantive error tht he communicate same to the National Chairman. If the National Chairman agrees he will hold up printing, within a week. The motion was carried uananimously.

Following this discussion the point that regions respectively could hire personnel was verified, with particular reference to field representatives.

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Discussion then returned to the Peace Ad with regard to following up. Mr. McKissick moved that: 1) the Freedom National Bank be recipient from monies from the peace ad 2) That we seek other peace groups to run ad for us 3) In the event tha t the other peace groups do not run ad that we wun this ad ourselves within the United States. This motion was carried unanimously.

A report received from Herb Callender was read. A motion was made that we commend Herb Callender for his efforts. (Bill Bradley). The motion was carried.

The subject of Bob Lucas' activities came up. Following discussion it was decided to leave any move of commendation up to our National Director.

A motion was made and seconded for adjournment. The National Chairman adjourned the meeting on Spt. 11th at 5:45.

Respectfully submitted,

Bonnie Barrow,
National Secretary

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP MEETING SEPTEMBER 10 -11, 1966 at the YMCA 180 West 135th Street, New York, New York

Roll call was taken. See attached sheet for membership attendance. Mr. Will Ussery, the National Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:45 AM. Mr. McKissick called for a reading of the minutes from the National convention. The chairman recommended that this reading be [illegible] since there was much business to be attended to. O. Leeds so moved. It was unanimously carried.

B. Barrow requested that due to the nature of the matters to be discussed, that this meeting be closed to those in attendance who were not authorized by the NAC to attend. The motion carried. R. Innis opposed. The minutes of the preceding NAC meeting were read and approved. The chairman then prepared the agenda with the members of the NAC. It was the consensus of opinion that the follow-up items of the previous NAC meeting minutes would be listed as part of the agenda, having the individuals responsible for specific items bring the members up to date.

The Ossie Davis package of entertainment was now the responsibility of Lionel Hampton, who was now stymied as a result of the thinking of his agent that there would be a loss of money. O. Leeds stated that his committee was unable to evaluate the Baltimore's Target City Project prior to this meeting, since the NAC meeting had been called sooner than tentatively planned and the first visit attempt found everyone on the Baltimore Staff away during the Labor Day week end.

O. Leeds moved that this committee undertake to <u>evaluate Baltimore Project</u> as soon as possible. It was carried unanimously. O. Leeds was also asked to give an account of the Committee to set up suggestions regarding the implementation of Black Power. It was suggested that this report be read later during the meeting.

The National Director was then asked to present his organizational report, which became the focal point of the following discussion:

NAC Meeting Held Sept. 10-11 at the YMCA continued

Current income from mailing is approximately $2,500/day. We learned that the present mailing list was composed of members from the white community and that a list was presently being compiled of members from our Black c[illegible]ties. The cost of the subject mailing is estimated to be approximately $6,000. And it is felt that CORE should have at least 4 mailings per year. Our Director also stated that he was concentrating on appeals to the churches, and that he had been reserving Sundays for this purpose. He stated that we have received $2,000 in grants and $3,000 for taxes. He recommended that we accept the offer from William Worthy, who was representing Peace Groups for a full page advertisement, available to us without charge, regarding CORE's position on Viet Nam. The offer was accepted following discussion. Mr. Ussery suggested that the same advertisement be used to make even more money in other states, if it became available for reprinting. The idea of running the ad internationally was entertained and accepted. It was suggested that this advertisement be presented to the NAC for approval prior to release. It was decided that the Director's approval along with available NAC members be sufficient.

Our Director stated that he would remain in the office as much as possible in order to straighten out the internal problems. He then briefed the group on the three things which could be done to carry CORE through 1967: 1) File bankruptcy 2) forbearance on credit 3) pay creditors. He then stated that accountants will assist us and that we have presently reduced our operating expenses and overhead with our new move to 200 West 135th Street. He suggested that CORE drop car rental systems and think of purchasing a car, since it would be much cheaper, according to SNCC.

From there he discussed the Christmas card mailing. He told us that it would bring in some money and also help pay our old debt. It was then agreed that we do this as a business transaction and proceed with Sauer endorsing a note for us. If we cannot get Sauer then we should attempt to borrow money. At any rate our debt would be paid and it would also keep the card project in CORE.

follow-up ??

Mr. McKissick then moved that the revenue from the sale of Xmas cards be earmarked to pay back salaries of those presently on staff, and that chapters will be notified that all revenue from sale of Xmas cards will therefore be given to staff and no percentage paid to chapters.

This motion was unanimously carried. It was then suggested that we do our own work and watch Sauer Xmas Card List, thus preventing any other organization from capitalizing on it.

Following a brief discussion regarding the use of the union label O. Leeds moved that no mail of CORE's be printed without a union label and that if this is not possible, an explanation must be made. This was carried unanimously

?

Discussion followed regarding SEDF pro and con. Many recommendations were made. Roy Innis moved that we demand real control (majority control) of the board of SEDF and that we take direct action and cut ourselves loose from this group at the time this negotiation seems futile and that we form a committee with NAC members to negotiate this confrontation. The vote was 6 opposed 5 in favor.

Bill Bradley prior made the following motion and following much discussion and much indecision withdrew it:

follow-up

"That we appoint a negotiating committee to deal with all questions relating to relationships between CORE and SEDF and that said committee come back to this body at the next meeting of NAC to present this report for action to this body. It was agreed that our National Director contact or communicate with SEDF and that if a meeting was forthcoming, a committee composed of available NAC members should meet with them.

The amendment to Bill Bradley's motion was also withdrawn. It stated that this negotiating team be empowered to sever this connection(of SEDF) if negotiation fails. Ben Swan made this motion.

Bill Bradley then gave a report of the West Coast Conference held September 3rd. He then referred to telegrams sent to the National Office requesting that Herb Callender be reinstated. He said that the West Coast Region recommended that Herb be reinstated on the basis that if CORE is to be saved we must maintain experienced staff who have been in the movement a long time. The report (see the attached) from the Southern Region was then read and discussed item by item.

A motion was made that we accept recommendations of this report for consideration at this meeting. Item 1 was not supported. The motion was withdrawn. It was agreed that a week be allowed for doundation money to come through. And that if money not received by that time then the following recommendation made by our National Director be followed: "That staff be empowered to prepare proposal to be submitted to foundations and that seed money necessary for preparing proposals be sought from the foundation. If the seed money is not available from foundations, then the National office will supply the seed money at the same time recognizing the need to maintain a financial basis of $2,500/day. The motion was carried unanimously.

STOP

Item 2 of the Southern Region was directed at the National office and the NAC wherein promises were made and not lived up to.

Sol Herbert moved that members present, commit themselves. The motion was carried unanimously. Ollie Leeds pledged $10.00 per month for the next four months. Sol Herbert pledged support on the behalf of Bronx Core and Bill Bradley for the West Coast.

With regard to Item 3, a motion was made that the National office agree to pay during the three months of proposal writing $3,510 to those persons named in the recommendations and too. that those persons whose names are not submitted will receive a like amount of money when their needs are submitted to the national office:

1. If monies are available
2. National will canvass regional organization and chapters for pledges for 3 month [illegible] staff salaries.

Our national director requested that these conditions be kept confidential.

It was felt that Item 3 of the subject report was not relevant. With reference to Item 4, the National Director felt that the situation will not permit us to make a commitment since he was not ready at this time to give specific recommendations. It was also agreed that it is the National Director's right to select people on his staff when hiring or replacing any employee. The role of the Director of Organization was then discussed. The questions centered around two approaches a) the director of organization's role in chapter problems and his role in staff problems.

A motion was made that the National Director agree to entertain suggestions and to advise with staff regarding the filling of said vacancy. It was carried unanimously.

Ollie Leeds then read the report from the Black Power Committee. The membership approved it unanimously. The approval included recommendations that the credit union proposal be given priority and that the Black Power Committee set up rules of the articles of Incorporation and include in detail the operation and including membership and then:

1. Establish Credit Union. An example being that National Employees would pay $5.00/month

2. Open an account, then getting charter and

3. Membership (1967) agree to abide by our decisions, insurance, welfare, pledge, carry card and that membership books be kept at least by January 1967. And that furthermore this general information should be given to Regional Chapters by January 1967.

A motion was made that the Committee on Black Power be empowered to establish a credit union. (Bill Bradley) The motion was carried unanimously.

Ollie Leeds then moved that other aspects for the implementation of Black Power be explored by the committee and that specific recommendations be made to the NAC from time to time. The motion was carried unanimously.

We were then informed that Arthur Evans was requested to appear on the peace venture. A motion was made that Arthur Evans be permitted to appear on the peace venture and send a telegram.

Discussion then followed regarding the guardians. A motion was made to commend the guardians for their support of the Civilian Review Board and the National Office through its spokesman so advise them.

The North Eastern Region report was then given by Jim Williams. He stated that guidelines are still needed for the chapters. He also stated that this region would be holding their meeting that following week end.

It was recommended that a series of district visits by Floyd McKissick, whenever possible.

Discussion then followed on the North Central urban training center. A motion was made that NAC empower Art and Gene to continue negotiations in terms of follow-up for the urban training center. This motion was carried unanimously.

Following more discussion a motion was made that in each area of the U.S. in each region that the chairman be responsible in turning in to the National Chairman Chapter information regarding number of members, operation and pertinent data using criteria list developed at the Durham North Carolina convention within 1 month. The motion was carried unanimously.

Discussion followed regarding the Constitution. It was brought to the attention of the group that only 2 items were delaying the printing. These were Article XI. Section 1 (e) and Section 4 (d). A motion was made by Ben Swan that the following be substituted for the present: That the senior field staff person serving on the NAC represent staff and serve on the Steering committee. It was unanimously carried.

This was done as a result that it would be nearly impossible and most impractical for the Constitution Committee to meet. The time element was most important here.

Ollie Leeds then made a motion that the Constitution as we think it is be sent to Cecil Brown and that if he sees anything of substantive error that he communicate same to the National Chairman. If the National Chairman agrees he will hold up printing , within a week. The motion was carried unanimously.

Following this discussion the point that regions respectively, could hire personnel was varified, with particular reference to field representatives.

Discussion then returned to National Director's remaining items in his report. In reference to Items C and F, he told us about a discussion with Jim Farmer concerning the advisory board. It was suggested that the advisory board meet twice a year at their expense and make recommendations with J. Farmer's advice to be received and reviewed by NAC.

It was then suggested that a field representative be sent to Dayton where there are many problems, and the tension is high. It was felt that we do not have the manpower right now. Jim Williams moved that the North Central Region Action Council look into the possibility of forming a chapter and look into other steps that can resolve the problems.

Fund Raising was then discussed. Will Ussery made a poster asking that $1.00 be sent to the National Office. It was suggested that this poster be used also as a postage stamp and made available to youngsters. Mr. Ussery requested that he manage this progression and asked for control to work in accordance with the National Office.

A motion was made that Will Ussery be authorized to manage Black Power Poster Campaign for CORE in such a manner that it does not tap the regular income sources of the organization. Unanimously Carried.

Discussion then returned to the Peace Ad with regard to following up. Mr. McKissick moved that:1) The Freedom National Bank be recipient from monies from the peace ad 2) That we seek other peace groups to run ad for us 3) In the event that the other peace groups do not run ad that we run this ad ourselves within the United States. This motion was carried unanimously.

A report received from Herb Callender was read. A motion was made that we commend Herb Callender for his efforts. (Bill Bradley) The motion was carried.

The subject of Bob Lucas's activities came up. Following discussion it was decided to leave any move of commendation to our National Director.

A motion was made and seconded for adjournment. The National Chairman adjourned the meeting on September 11th at 5:45.

Respectfully submitted,

Bonnie Barrow

Bonnie Barrow,
National Secretary

ATTENDANCE AT THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEETING
HELD SEPT 10-11, AT THE YMCA, HARLEM

William Ussery
Floyd McKissick
Solomon Herbert
Arthur Evans
Bonnie Barrow
Bill Bradley

Roy Innis
Ollie Leeds
Jim William[illegible]
Clyde Cl[illegible]
Gene Tronour
Staff: Ruth Turner
Don Smith
Lincoln Lynch
Clora Coleman
Walter Brooks

file

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

200 W. 135 Street
New York, New York

November 30, 1966

Dear NAC Member:

A Steering Committee Meeting will be held which will include all National Action Council members who are able to attend.

The meeting is scheduled for December 16,17 and 18 and will be held at the YMCA 180 W. 135 Street beginning at 9:00 A.M. each day.

Any item which you wish to include on the agenda should be mailed to the undersigned no later than December 10th, forwarded to 40 Circle Road, Florham Park, N.J.

Please remember to bring with you a biographical sketch. Correspondence was sent to you during November requesting data about yourselves for the purpose of preparing a pamphlet for "Open House".

Rooms will again be available at the YMCA for $3 to $4 a night.

If you plan to attend, please fill in blanks below and return to me at the address given in Florham Park, New Jersey.

Look forward to seeing you then.

NAME_____

I (will) (will not) plan to attend.

Please reserve a room for me at the YMCA.

Date_____

Thank you,
Bonnie Barrow
Bonnie Barrow
National Secretary

xxxxx 200 W. 135th St.

December 16, 1966

American Airlines
Waldorf Astoria, 50th Street & Park Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

This note authorizes Stuart Wechsler to arrange transportation for Wilfred Ussery from San Francisco, California to New York City (Kennedy Airport) aboard American Airlines non-stop flight, leaving San Francisco for New York at midnight December 16, and arriving in New York at 7:00 a.m. December 17— leaving the return ticket open.

He is authorized to make these arrangements with a Carte Blanche credit card in the name of Floyd B. McKissick.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh

200

The meeting included NAC members + members of NAS

The NAC Meeting held December 17, 1966 included NAC members except as mentioned and members of National office staff/as follows:

Pauline Wayfield	- Target City	Wilfred Ussery
Ola Johnson	- Maryland Freedom Union	James O. Williams Solomon J. Herbert
Edmond Barton	- Target City	Roy Innis
NAC Alex Hawkins ?,	- Target City	Ben Swan
Ron Clark	- National Office	Bonnie Barrow
Ruth Turner	- National Office	Floyd McKissick
Don Smith	- National Office	
Clora Coleman	- National Office	
Danny Gantz	- Target City	
Tony Perrotta ?,	- Target City	
Toy Brown	-National Office	
Sidney Jones	-National Office	

Will Ussery, National Chairman, called the meeting to order at 1:00 P.M.

The agenda, prepared by the National Office Staff, was read.

Mr. Ussery stated that the agenda would remain flexible in order that other items be added.

Mr. McKissick then stated that he had invited a number of his staff to present individual reports, all of which were sub-items of the report which he presented at the Rubicoff hearing.

Clora Coleman then presented her financial report. She stated that there had been an approximate reduction of $70,000.00 of National's approximate $300,000.00 debt. She stated that approximately $30,000.00 per month was needed to operate the National Office whereas $45,000.00 per month was required previously. This operating cost of the office included the monthly bank loan payment, payroll, telephone, auto leases, postage, personnel, etc. Clora also stated that the Holiday cards had been a successful venture as in the past; however while money

had been made, the profit went for the balance previously owed for Christmas cards the previous years. Clora also stated that payment to the Internal Revenue is 5 percent above $10,000.00 and that if National's income is less, no payment is needed;however, this does not mean that the balance does not have to be paid. She also stated that money was definitely needed from other sources. Mr. McKissick then stated that the letters of appeal were bringing in good returns and that a brotherhood letter would be mailed in February to another mailing list consisting of National sharecroppers, War Resistors list and the American Indians list.

Ron Clark then described our National Office facilities as presently including 2 floors; the second floor, executive offices; the lower floor with three offices, conference room, office for secretarial pool and switchboard operator. All the work presently being done has been donated. No target date for completion has been set.

With regard to the Advertisement (Peace Ad), it is continuing smoothly; however, Mr. McKissick stated that CORE was advised to wait until after the Christmas holidays to place it.

Following that discussion suggestions were then given with regard to fund raising. Ron Clark suggested that perhaps Volvo, Saab, Fiat or other foreign car companies be contacted for a package deal. The group was pretty much in favor, keeping in mind not to alienate other car companies. Will Ussery then suggested that perhaps a cultural package such as a Barbados Exhibit under CORE sponsorship financed by the state department be considered for a possible tour of 10 to 12 cities. B. Barrow was asked to follow-up this possibility. Les Ballet African was also discussed as a possibility. It was decided that since this troupe had given many shows in the city, that perhaps Newark, New Jersey might be considered. Clora Coleman was requested to continue follow-up since other details regarding possibility of presentation were needed prior to a decision.

A question was raised regarding the sending of appeal letters by National to areas where local chapters depended upon this source for their needs. Mr. McKissick stated that National was able to obtain more money than a local chapter and that National would be willing to pool resources, share mailing lists and benefits. It was decided that this matter should be discussed and handled by the region. J. Williams (Philadelphia) was appointed to bring up the matter with the regional chapter (N.E.) and bring back a report. This was considered a good idea keeping

in mind that these lists not be turned over to other publishing houses.

Will Ussery then brought the group up to date on the Black Power poster. He stated that there was a lack of money, manpower and mechanics. He stated also that he had contacted John Rayon, Editor of San Francisco Sun and Virginia Burton with regard to possibilities of running it in the papers.

Mr. McKissick then mentioned that the Johnson Publishing list had been used for appeal letters and that this had given the poorest response. The discussion arose as to how to reach the "middle class". Mr. McKissick stated that Clora Coleman had been selected to head a Women's Division in CORE to contact women's clubs, sororities and to hold coctail parties, furnish speakers etc. This operation would be geared to raise approximately $1,000 monthly. It was then suggested that the best group to reach included the teachers, hairdressers, barbers and other professional people, since this group appeared to be the most receptive.

In the line of raising funds, Will Ussery suggested a "Jesus" contest which would involve research (re: the color of Jesus), committments by Black artists, theologians as judges and an art exhibit.

The possibilities of a planning grant proposal were also discussed, and also programs similar to the Columbia Univ as well as the continuation of the Columbia program with Social Service Students.

Don Smith then presented his public relations report. He stated that there were approximately 5 regions without staff at the present time and that in a plan which he had submitted, he recommended that a public relations person should be in each region. He also stated that people had been working on a voluntary basis toward the development of the Corelator. He said that he was presently investigating Newark, New Jersey as a prospective Target City No. 2. He stated that Newark was 50% Black, and that the Council was made up of 9 members, two of whom are Black. We also learned that SNCC, NAACP and other Church groups existed in this city. He planned to contact the chairman of the Newark chapter at which time more extensive work would begin. Don also stated that organizations will be approached for money in order that a strong financial base be established. The question arose regarding the meaning of a Target City concept, as well as the aims and purposes to be accomplished.

Tony Perot defined the concept to mean a concept in which people see themselves as catalytic agents in an attempt to move other people in the community. He stated that CORE was the only group working in this area in Baltimore and that perhaps this was the reason why there was little problem arising with regard to competition. He stated that the main problem facing the Target City was financial.

Tony also stated that he saw the Target City Project in Baltimore in two phases. 1) Immediate dramatic direct action and political activity and 2) Maryland Freedom Union which is a good example of the implementation of Black Power. He continued that the Target city would be unsudcessful without that. Tony included political activity and organized political action as an integral part of a target city operation. He said that questions arising around this concept would include....How do you effect Black consciousness?... How do you train local people?... What did we learn in our relationships with other groups?..He stated that CORE should think in terms of what effect the target city concept has had on the people. He said that a lot had been accomplished but that however a recent fund raising attempt had failed. He also stated that we should become aware of what the people want. For example he stated that we assumed that Black people wanted school integration...they didn't. He stated also that we should reevaluate the concept of Black Power and the reaction toward it.

Don Smith's definition of the target city concept was given simply to mean 1) community development with regard to the needs of the people 2) the action as a catalyst 3)community aspirations served with regard to developing many forces and many projects.

Floyd McKissick stated that we must include in the definition of the target city concept accomplishment, time, successes, and correction of mistakes. He also stated that there are no pat rules and that being a catalytic force means that you cannot identify with the community. Much more discussion followed and it was agreed by all that another target city should not be considered unless a good financial base had been established, and manpower available in order that existing projects not suffer any loss.

Lincoln Lynch presented his report on his visit and observations regarding his trip to the West Coast. He stated that if Watts were a White area it would have been an incorporated city. He said that consideration and thought should be given to areas such as this one being taken over by the people in the area.

More discussion followed. Alex Hawkins said that what if the only way to effect change was through institutional control. If bank is set up to control banks..how do we set up our own sanitation system, banks etc. He pointed out other questions which should go into the consideration of Lincoln's theory, as presented.

Will Ussery then asked, "How much time we had to play with our freedom?" Lincoln then stated that there was much interminable talk without any action or firm resolutions being made.

Sidney Jones then presented his report with regard to Harlem and the problems of education as faced by our Negro children and presented by the school system. This report had been prepared for Mr. McKissick and Valerie Jorrin.

A skull session followed with regard to awareness of preparation for the future, either with regard to activities or thought geared to welfare of Black people. (see attached sheet)

Roy Innis brought up the subject of chapter affiliation and necessary charter requirements. This was with regard to news describing a new Core chapter (East River CORE). It was decided that since this had been mentioned in the newspaper only and no request had been received by the National Office that there was no need to be concerned. The constitution was referred to discussing action taken with regard to the formation and chartership of new chapters. This information clarified the entire problem.

Roy Innis then moved "that both affiliation and disaffiliation in any area come through the regional apparatus for recommendation....

Following clarification made by the constitution, the motion was tabled.

Roy Innis then moved that "because of lack of functioning of at least two chapters in the Eastern Region that the East River CORE and Downtown CORE be disaffiliated.....

Mr. McKissick stated during discussion of the motion that it would be best to see if chapters can be revived rather than thrown away with a motion. He stated that people should be sent out to investigate chapters.

This motion was then tabled unanimously.

Will Ussery then informed the group about a Political Assessment Conference to be held in San Francisco January 26th 1967. He stated that the Conference was pulled together by people in the Bear area and that major topics would include the role of the civil rights movement with regard to housing, education etc.

He ~~moved~~ requested that CORE endorse the Political Assessment Conference to be held in San Francisco and commit to participation.

Mr. McKissick ~~amended~~ made this motion to include "as long as there is no financial responsibility. The motion was carried unanimously.

A motion was made for adjournment. The meeting was adjourned until Sunday at 10:00 A.M.

NAC meeting minutes of December 18, 1966 held at the YMCA New York

-10-

Will Ussery opened the meeting at 10:45. The following members were present:

Will Ussery	Solomon Herbert
Ben Swan	Alex Hawkins
Ruth Turner	Tony Perot
Jim Williams	Bonnie Barrow
Floyd McKissick	Roy Innis

The first item on the agenda for this morning's meeting was the adoption of the changes in the Constitution. This involved Article XI, Item 1(e) and 4 (d) which changed from the present to read "the senior field staff member " etc. in accordance with the motion made by Ben Swan at the NAC meeting held in September 1966. The adoption was unanimous.

B. Barrow brought up the fact that members of Camp Kilmer's Youth Corps had applied for the formation of a chapter. There was discussion pro and con on the subject. A feeling was expressed that contact should continue with Camp Kilmer, but that, however, it might perhaps be better if the group organized under another name, since CORE should not organize them at this time. It was then stated that the reason for the Youth Corps applying for ~~chartership~~ formation at this time was due to the fact that they felt that an outside group would be necessary, since all which they had tried had been suppressed at this time.

It was also stated (B. Barrow) that this situation was a rather tedious one and should not be placed in the hands of

anyone who was inexperienced. J. Williams then moved that B. Barrow and S. Jones keep "close contact with business men and other groups interested in the problems at Camp Kilmer. It was carried unanimously.

Discussion then began with regard to the Rhodesian Conflict (Embargo). It was felt that this provides our organization with an excellent opportunity to establish official and unofficial dialogue with regard to whether the government is backing the demands of the African states. It was then agreed that our organization establish a definite relationship with the African states and find out who to contact and how. It was suggested that there be a unit in the National office just set up to deal with this problem. This idea has been dropped due to the shortage of manpower.

Mr. McKissick's proposed trip to Israel was mentioned. R. Turner stated that this was cancelled.

~~The discussion resumed regarding CORE's target cities. Mr. McKissick moved that "1. we reduce to writing, our study of the target city concept including the evaluation as a pattern for carrying the concept to other communities where feasible and 2. that prior to moving to another city that we would seek financial committment in advance." The motion was carried unanimously. He also stated that this did not mean abandonment. (This motion was later withdrawn, please omit)~~

J. Williams then moved "that we continue to put resources and progress into Baltimore's Target City Project. " It was carried unanimously.

A meeting on the order of a skull session or training session was suggested based on the discussion the day before.

It was suggested that the Target City be placed on the agenda, again with relationship to yesterday's discussion and that we have a meeting within 30 days to 60 days. This meeting was suggested to be about one week long. This week would be an extensive week of study including chapter chairman, officers NAC members, field secretaries and other CORE people considered to be the "brains" of CORE. It was agreed that the first 2 days would be a staff and NAC meeting and that a priorities time table be set up. It was also agreed that funding be considered from SEDF or a suitable source for this proposed "skull session". Mr. McKissick was given this responsibility.

Ruth Turner then briefed the members about the members added to the Advisory Board and those who dropped out. It was felt that CORE had benefited from the new additions rather than lost anything. The additions were Nathan Schwerner, Charles F. Howard, David McCall, Sidney Portier, Jim Brown, and Dr. Payton. She also stated that James Farmer is the

Chairman of the Board. She announced a meeting of the Advisory Board members and the NAC to be held January 26, 1967.

The National Convention to be held July 4th in California was discussed. W. Ussery stated that difficulty had arisen with regard to the selection of a cite as a result of a political problem with the other chapters. He stated that a meeting has been called to pull together in mid-January at which time a site will be selected near a ghetto area, active young people, near airport which has access to travel and also consideration of the possibilities of making money.

A motion was made that the Western Region be urged to advise the National Office as soon as possible with regard to the above. Carried Unanimously.

The following are recommendations for exploration to be passed along to the Western Region for fund raising purposes:

concessions, tie clasps, fountain pens, flags, books banners, car stickers, and any other souvenirs.

The question was raised regarding the scheduling of NAC meetings to be held in the future. It was stated that the financial condition is such that we are unable to seriously recommend a schedule at this time; however it was agreed to hold the NAC meeting as a Mid February Conference and

J. Williams moved that a meeting be scheduled for Frbruary 6-10, based on financial assistance received and that a steering committee meeting be held on May 5,6,7.

Sol Herbert amended the motion to include that in the event that financial assistance is not forthcoming that a steering committee meeting then be scheduled for February 4-5. (Please omit the above, the motion and its amendment was withdrawn)

B. Barrow presented a brief summary of the Target City Evaluation Committee (Ollie Leeds, Sol Herbert, B. Barrow) A copy of which will be forwarded to all NAC members.

B. Barrow was also requested to submit the minutes of the NAC meetings to the National Office; The minutes would then be sent out from there.

A motion was made to adjourn the meeting. Will Ussery did so.

Respectfully submitted,

Bonnie Barrow

Bonnie Barrow,
National Secretary

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Minutes of National Advisory Committee meeting, Jan. 26, 1967

Attending: Belmont Plaza Hotel, New York City

Comm. members: Allen Knight Chambers, David Danzig, James Farmer, Sidney Hollander, George Houser, Charles P. Howard, John O. Killens, David Livingston, David McCall, A.J. Muste, Nathan Scherner

Staff: Lincoln Lynch, Don Smith, Clora Coleman, Ruth Turner, Marge Rogatz

National officers: Sol Herbert, Vice-chaiman, Bonnie Barrow, Secretary

James Farmer called the meeting to order at 10:30 am. He made apologies for Mr McKissick's absence, explaining that he had been hospitalized with a slipped disc. After introducing Lincoln Lynch, the Assoc. National Director who in turn introduced the staff members present, Mr Farmer then requested that the Advisory Comm. members introduce themselves.

Mr Farmer then read the agenda and asked for any revisions or additions. Mr Houser asked that international relations, with particular attention to Africa, be added as item e. Mr Livingston suggested that section B. The Role of the Advisory Committee be discussed first and all agreed.

Expressing concern about the actual role of the Committee members, Mr Livingston asked why so few members of the Committee were present and what this indicated, Mr Lynch pointed out that CORE had had many replies from people who would be out of the country, too busy to attend, or could not afford the transportation costs. In addition, he said, bad weather had detained several other members.* (insert footnote 1.) Mr Howard asked the exact functions of the National Action Council and the Advisory Bommittee as defined in the CORE constitution and these were explained by Mr Lynch. Mr Danzig questioned the real role of an Advisory Committee member and Mr Livingston specifically asked about fund-raising. Recognizing that the members present, he said, cannot raise much money, he questioned what purpose they really served. Mr Farmer replied that CORE is so absorbed with its work on the front lines and with the grass roots that advice and views are needed on the broader issues. The recommendations of the Advisory Comm. may not always be acted upon, he said, but the dialogue is important. CORE needs

* 1. Mr Hollander said that as a member of the Advisory Comm., he wanted to be involved in the discussion of issues and Mr Lynch replied that the organization desires such a role for members, particularly at this time. It was suggested that reports from the Comm. be sent to the National Convention.

geographical representation and different talents from different segments of the community. Mr Lynch added that perhaps we need smaller groups which meet more frequently as sub-commitees. Also the Advisory Comm. members should be able to interpret CORE to their constituencies and therefore they must be informed as to what is happening on a regular basis.

Mr Chalmers suggested that the elected 100-or-so member national board system of the ACLU might be considered as possible improvement. The Advisory Comm., Mr Danzig added, can serve the important function of communicating with the rest of the world. Mr Livingston felt that discussions with the Comm. should take place before large decisions are announced. If the members are expected to interpret CORE actions, he said, they should be told before the fact, not after. Mr Houser commented that what is involved is a slight shifting of gears and a certain amount of experimentation. He said that the Advisory Comm. does not exoect to set policy, that its job is really a public relatios task. Mr Danzig suggested that a sub-committee draw up a proposal of what the Advisory Committee's functions actually are and bring such a proposal to the next Comm. meeting.

Mr Schwerner pointed out that at the time of the Meredith March he contacted SNNC to find out what was needed. After discussions with his wife, they volunteered a letter for a mailing interpreting what Black Power meant to them. He said that if the Advisory Comm. is to be effective, two things are necessary: 1).setting up direct lines of communication with those who can move others, politically and financially and 2).commitment on the part of all members to do what is necessary to implement, financially and politically, the programs of the National Action Council. It was decided to table Mr Danzig's proposal until the end of the meeting when a sub-committee would be appointed to write up the functions of the Advisory Comm.

Mr Lynch then gave the National Director's report. He first explained CORE's definition of Black Power, discussing the "six points" and how they relate to the powerlessness of black people in this country. Explaining that CORE's programs are aimed at the 90% grass roots black people, he pointed to the economic aspect of powerlessness where black Americans' share of the national gross product-787 billion dollars- is only $29 billion, not nearly in proportion to their opoulation. He also pointed out that although black people comprise 11% of the population there are only 6 black Congressmen out of 435. Their share of power, he said, is obviously not commensurate with thier numbers. In the South there is no such thing as majority rule and Bedford-Stuyvesant, for example, does not have even one black Congressman. Accordingly, CORE has recently issued a Call to all black people to

unify in a black politcal alliance to otain and exercise political and economic power.

Mr Hollander said that he has been disturbed by the split in the movement that seems to have come about recently from SNNC's and CORE's tactics and programs. He felt the polarization within the movement is hurting its overall effectiveness and that coordination is necessary. Mr Lynch pointed out that since the Black Power controversy developed,all CORE staff have carefully avoided any public criticism of other rights groups or leaders. Mr Farmer added that the differences do indeed exist and more dialogue is necessary, particularly while we are in this transitional period. He also pointed out that the attitude of Negroes have changed about the practical possibility of achieving integration now and that there is really some truth in both the activist and moderate camps. He said there is no contradiction between demanding homes in the suburbs for a few Negroes and rebuilding city slums for the many, but that CORE must cintinue to address itself to the problems that affect the masses.

Mr Howard said organizational conflicts are inevitable but that it is his observation that other rights leaders are beginning to agree with CORE's thinking, not necessarily because they want to, but because they have to, and that the differences are diminishing and will continue to diminish. Mr Danzig felt that the conflicts represent real differences which must exist before there can be real unity and that they show the vigor of the whole movement and its development. Mr Chalmers added that there is a struggle for power going on now and that some leaders are caught in it. But he cautioned that is important not to dilute the underlying philosophical differences that do exist.

Mr Killens said that all the many black writers with whom he meets view Black Power not as racist, but as anti-racist; they believe black people must integrate from a position of strength, that a slave cannot integrate with his master.He said that integation has affected the lives of very few Negroes and has not even touched the masses. Black Power, he emphasized, is an idea whose time is here; it assumes a consciousness of the beauty of blackness, that self-respect must be established, that in order for one to love one's brother one must first love one's self.

Mr Livingston said that he hopes the divisions continue- not that the leaders attack eachother- but that they recognize the need for different pionts of view to be expressed and represented. Also he felt that we are just beginning to find out what Black Power really means, that neither CORE nor anyone else has yet found the way to stir the masses and to respond to the urgent questios they ask. He said that we do not yet have

rebellion or revolution and that he personally hopes that the division will permit CORE to search for what is really in people's minds. The ouster of Powell, he said, shows that the enemy knows quite clearly what Black Power is and cut down Powell because of it. Mr Danzig pointed out that no majority ever likes the organization of a minority and gave historical illustrations of this. Feeling that power is expressed largely in political terms, he applauded using organizational capacity to get political pressure and political rewards.

Mr Houser said that the Black Power term has created a problem partly because the white liberal no longer feels needed and cannot identify himself completely with Black Power because he is not black. However, Mr Houser said, that should not matter because white liberals can identify with the programmatic aspects of Black Power. Mr Lynch added that not only changes for minorities are necessary, but that the whole moral fiber of the country has to be changed and black people are the only bloc of people for change today. But, he continued, black people cannot do it by themselves- white people have to participate and help.

Mr McCall, who introduced himself as a relative newcomer, said he has been fascinated by the "sliding away" of the white liberal; he felt romance is going out of the U.S. and that conventioal liberals today do not like CORE and do not like facts- and facts are the heart of the Negro movement. He stated his own feeling that liberals would not be much help now anyway. Mr Danzig said that he thought that what had really caused the liberals to leave the movement is "that they just don't like Negroes". He said a trickle of acculturated Negroes, one at a time, was acceptable but a mass of Negroes demanding entry into white society all at once was not acceptable. White liberals, he continued, have to be more than "Negro fellow-travellers". He felt that they hvae not been able to accept the radical transformation now being demanded by black groups, but that by themselves liberals have no power, no self-interest, and that they can only function effectively by latching on to power groups. The movement, he said, is now terribly exposed because it needs a liberal power group to run interference. He suggested that a new coalition of liberals is necessary to press more agressively for change.

Mr Livingston said that he approves of Black Power because it is good for his union and because it does not threaten unions as white power does. Most white members of unions, he feels, are sharing the booty of the Vietnam war and he asked what can be done about this self-interest in an evil white power policy. There is no practical possibility of shattering this existing evil power, he said, unless there is an alliance with those who are

organizing for Black Power.

Bonnie Barrow, National Secretary of CORE, suggested that black people also have some problems identifying with blackness and that white and black both have to learn to believe that black is beautiful. Then, she said, we all start from the same place and we can all identify with blackness.

Mr Lynch then went on to the item on non-violence and self-defence, stating that CORE is still a non-violent organization according to the resolution formulated at the 1966 Convention. Describing the over-all violence in our society,he cited the cost of the Vietnamese war ($30 billion last year) as against the Dept. of Housing and Urban Development's budget of $777 million and the O.E.O.'s total budget of $1.7 billion. He said that CORE was unalterably opposed to the war in Vietnam. Black people,he said, have been fighting for this country since its inception and today they are still not able to enjoy their constitutional rights at home. They die for democracy in Vietnam, he added, and when their bodies are bruoght home, they cannot even be buried. Mr McCall said that he felt that CORE is taking positions on two seperate issues here: 1).equality of opportunity fo black people in the U.S. and 2).opposition to the war in Vietnam. It is possible, he felt, to be confused about the latter and be perfectly clear about the first. As a CORE supporter, he thinks it is not good for CORE to make Vietnam a public and continuing issue.

Mr Farmer said that he used to agree with Mr McCall's opinion but he no longer does; he now feels that in order to organize black communities, we must activate them politically and that includes taking international political positions. Mr Danzig added that, aside from other reasons, there is certainly discrimination in the Vietnam war situationand therefore, CORE must take a position against it. Mr Lynch described the history of the U.S. not intervening in Hungary and East Germany, for example, but continuously going into situations where people of color are involved, e.g.the Congo, Dominican Republic, etc. Mr Danzig pointed to the white prejudice demonstrated by the $38.00 per head figure settled upon as repayment to bombed Vietnam villages, but he felt that, primarily, protection of economic interests and the fact that the colonial powers are all in non-white, deprived countries have been determining factors in the role the U.S. has played.

Mr Houser suggested that the CORE Vietnam position is a political one and perhaps is a fringe question for CORE. Mr Killens disagreed stating that CORE's position on Vietnam is absolutely necessary because the movement here is a part of a world movement against white supremacy. The non-white people across the world are rebelling, he said, and black people in the U.S. feel

a part of this world-wide revolution and therefore they must speak out and try to influence U.S. policy. CORE is preparing America for a position in South Africa by taking a position in Vietnam. The U.S, has a birthright of revolution, he said, yet denies it all over the world. There is a deep sub-conscious acceptance of this war, he felt, because it is against colored people; America must realize that it cannot determine the fate and destiny of other people. The Vietnamese have a right to their own revolution, he said, and he called the Vietnamese war a colonial war and a racist war.

Sol Herbert, National Vice-chairman of CORE, pointed out that the CORE National Convention in July, 1966, took an anti-Vietnam war position and therefore CORE must stand behind it. Also, he said, the black masses are now very much involved because so many black youth are serving and dying in this war, and CORE has been able to organize the black coomnuity better because of its forthright position against the war.

Mr Schwerner added that the economic impact upon the Negro community must not be overlooked, that economic gains cannot be made in black ghattoes with the present war economy. Mr Hollander warned that we must be careful not to divert our limited resources to this one area at the expense of the thrust in the Negro communities, e.g. in Baltimore where so much constructive has been accomplished.

After a break for lunch, the meeting resumed with Mr Lynch discussing CORE's Cal l for a black political alliance, a conference of black people of all social and economic strata and with a wide spectrum of political persuasions. Because of Mr McKissick's illness, as well as the feeling that regional seminars and conferences should precede the national conference, the original plans for a February conference are being postponed and more in-depth planning is now under way. Mr Hollander commented that on the context of politcal power, he thought Powell, perhaps, should be a martyr but certainly not a hero; that others in Congress should have the same standards applied to them as had been applied ro Mr Powell. Mr Lynch responded that Powell was only the initiating situation for a black political alliance, not the issue around which the conference is being organized.

Mr Lynch stated CORE's conviction that black people must unify now, and describing the American mood today, he pointed out that the nation-wide black conference to be held in San Francisco the week-end of Jan. 27th, 28th and 29th will be devoted to the question of "The Survival of Black People in America". He said that there is a strong feeling among black people across the country that a unified politcal bloc is an absolute necessity now. The alliance, he said, would attempt to draw upon disparate groups and individuals from every part of the country. Mr Farmer indicated that although there has been some anti-reaction from a few NAACP and

Urban League officials, nonetheless individuals from these organizations already have said that they will participate in the planning and the alliance.

Mr Livngston, stating that hte 6,000 Negro members of his union have reacted more deeply to the treatment of Powell than to anything else in recent years, asked the Advisory Comm. to prepare and release a statement about Powell's ouster. He and his union members feel that Powell has been of extreme service on all the most important issues facing this country and that he should be re-instated. Powell's needed, he said, and needed badly. Mr Livingston, in describing CORE's support of Powell, said that the Administration is really striking a blow at the heart of Black Power through Powell. Mr Hollander said that he would support a statement that argued that the same standards that are being applied only to Congressman Powell must be applied to everyone else as well. Mr McCall stated that he would want a very, very strong endorsement, and Rev. Fauste, Mr Houser and Mr Killens agreed saying that Powell was black, miltant and anti-Vietnam war and that his positions on issues have been consistently correct and that is what really matters. Mr Livingston moved that the National Advisory Comm. go on record as wholeheartedly supporting CORE's position on Powell and issue the following statement:

> The National Advisory Committee goes on record as wholeheartedly supporting the leadership of CORE taken in the fight to re-instae Congressman Powell as Chairman of his committee and a member of Congress. Mr Powell's record is one of the best in the United Staes Congress: he has fought against racism, he has opposed the war in Vietnam and has represented the poor's interests and fought for their needs and has otherwise associated himself with issues on which we share deep convictions and concern.

Mr Killens seconded the motion and it was unanimously accepted. Mrs Barrow said that she felt that the fact that Powell's 7oo,000 constituents have been deprived of representation was also of such importance that it should be included in the statement.

Mr Houser, going on to item e. on the agenda and noting the support that CORE has always given the American Comm. on Africa, discussed the need for African issues to be included on CORE's future agandas. He described the link between international racist policies and U.S. policies, particularly in South Africa. He also urged that telegrams be ssnt to the President, Sec'y of State and Sec'y of Defense to protest the use of South African ports as stopping places for troop ships bringing GI's back from Vietnam. He pointed out that on Feb. 3-7th another troop ship is scheduled to stop at Cape Town.

Mrs Coleman then gave a financial report emphasizing that the over-head reductions per month since CORE moved its national office to Harlem have included: rent from $1200 to $250, telephone from $2500 to $500, and gross payroll over the last six months from $16,000 to $12,000. The present monthly income, from July-Nov., 1966, is $22,000. She said CORE now needs $27,619 monthly, ½ to pay off debts and ½ for operating expenses. The total debt today is $237,000 and we owe our incredibly dedicated staff, she said, $36,905 in back pay. The August appeal letter, she continued, was a 70,000 mailing from which CORE received $45,000. The Holiday card sale totaled $30,000, which enabled us to reduce the printer's debt from $38,000 to $10,000. The holiday appeal letter in Nov. netted $24,000 even though it followed the August appeal so closely. We know CORE has lost some supporters, but many are returning and we have added new people to our lists in the last five months.

Mrs Coleman also reported that she is presently organizing a women's division to help raise funds. The lack of funds has affected CORE's program most seriously because so many good people have had to leave the staff in order to support their families. All staff are now 6 weeks to 3 months behind in pay. Mrs Coleman commented that Mr McKissick's hospitalization was, she felt, directly related to his own efforts to alleviate the critical financial crisis and pressures. Mr Lynch added that CORE has reduced its debt by arrangements with creditors, has has reduced its over-head and is now developing plans to raise funds in the black community.

Mr Farmer described the meetings with creditors which he and the National Director have held and he also told the Advisory Comm. about a plan suggested by Irving Fain, a Comm. member from Providence who was detained by bad flying weather. Mr McKissick had talked with Mr Fain about the possibility of consolidating CORE's loans. Mr Fain said that he would serve as a guarantor for a $25,000 bank loan and suggested that other Advisory Comm. members make similar arrangements at their own banks to guarantee loans to CORE. Mr Farmer pointed out that if eight persons would guarantee $25,000 long-term loans each, it would enable the CORE staff to regularize payments, budget for them, and devote its full energies to CORE's programs, instead of to daily calls from creditors and constant book-keeping chores. Mr Lynch described his attempts to get such long-term loans from labor unions, pointing out that throughout CORE's history, with all its financial difficulties, CORE has never defaulted on a loan. He also said that CORE has only recently begun to approach foundations for funding of specific programs but that we have not met success as yet, partly because we do not at this point have a tax exempt arm, although this is being worked upon now.

Mr Livingston questioned the affect that the Mt. Vernon incident had had on our fund-raising efforts and recommended that Rabbi Lelyveld be requested to write to American Jewish Congress members explaining why he had recently joined CORE's Advisory Committee.

Mr Lynch emphasized the extreme heroic dedication of staff members who have continued to work without pay, under impossible conditions, because of their commitment to CORE.

Mr Farmer strongly urged the Advsory Comm. members to each submit a list of personal friends who might be willing to lend, or give, money to CORE. Mr Livingston said that he felt that the National Director cannot be the chief fund-raiser, in addition to all his other duties. Mr Killens suggested that a National Artists Committee should be formed to aticulate CORE's position and to raise funds.Mr McCall suggested that, in addition, the mailing lists must be expanded and he volunteered to help do this. Mr Livingston moved that if the National Director would designate one or two top staff people to develop a comprehensive fund-raising program, the Advisory Comm. should appoint a sub-committee to work with them. The motion was seconded by Mr Killens and was unanimously adopted.

Mr Lynch then went on to discuss the programmatic thrusts of CORE this past year. Ruth Turner outlined the Baltimore Target City approac, citing the three-step procedure: 1).identification of and demonstrations at visible targets of discrimination in the ghetto- e.g.segregated public accommodations. 2).identification of community leadership and organization of small self-interest groups- e.g.the formation of the Maryland Freedom Union. 3). beginning the institutionalization and development of long-term large interest areas- e.g.the funding by the U.S. Dept. of Labor to be run by CORE as part of a training program for fifty high-school drop-outs. In the past election, Miss Turner pointed out, the development of community awareness and political power was demonstrated by the selective voting of black people in Baltimore which was the decisive factor in Gov. Agnew's victory. CORE believs that the Target City concept should be applied to other cities, she added, and we are now looking for funds for such a project to be instituted as soon as possible in Cleveland, Ohio. Mr Livingston commented that in his opinion the certification of the Maryland Freedom Union by the National Labor Board may be the most historic, long-term result of the Baltimore project.

Mr Farmer suggested that before the meeting adjourned a statement from the Advisory Comm. supporting and congratulating CORE on its 25th anniversary would be very helpful. He read a suggested staement and asked for comments. Rev Muste

said he approved but that, considering the financial crisis, it should include a plea for funds. After some discussion and a few revisions, the following statement was unanimously adopted:

> We, the members of the Advisory Committee of the Congress of Racial Equality take this opportunity to salute CORE on its 25th anniversary. For the past quarter century CORE has been in the vanguard of the great struggle for human equality in this country. CORE workers and the CORE leadership have startled the conscience of this nation with their continuing sacrifices and dedication in the fight to end racial discrimination. We unanimously support CORE's programs and policies and, in particular, wish to lend our voice in support of CORE's current direction, working deep in the Negro ghettoes of the nation, organizing the black communities into a potent social, economic and political force. We also plead that all man and women of good will support CORE in its very immediate need for funds. Again we congratulate CORE on 25 years of courageous service to our nation.

Mr Chalmers suggested that the statement be circulated among <u>all</u> Advisory Comm. members and be released after as many signatures as possible are obtained. Mr Livingston added that a letter accompanying the statement should be sent to the absent menbers of the Comm. from those presnet asking all members to sign it, The letter, he said, to all Advisory Comm. members should state that those who are here today have reviewed the policies and programs of CORE and would like to circulate the enclosed statement for your attention. He also suggested that Rabbi Lelyveld should be called and asked to join the original list of signers.

The Comm. then appointed a Sub-committee on Fund-raising consisting of Mr Killens, McCall, Livingston and Chalmers and also a Sub-committee on the Role of the Advisory Committee made up of Mr Danzig, Schwerner and Houser. A staff member will be assigned to assist these gentlemen.

Mr Houser suggested that the Comm. send its greetings and good wihes to the National Director and everyone wholeheatedly concurred.

The time and place of the next meeting was discussed and it was decide that alternate dates in May or June will be chosen by the national office. Members felt that there should be no less than three meetings a year. Mr McCall offered the conference room in his office for the next meeting which was gratefully accepted.

Mr Houser moved that James Farmer be formally elected as Chairman of the Advisory Comm. The motion was seconded by Mr Killens and unanimously passed. Mr Killens then suggested that a CORE membership drive be discussed at the next meeting,

noting that college campuses and the black community are ripe for such a drive. Mr Schwerner added that many whites who have felt alienated recently, ex-participants in the movement and members of the academic community, would want to become part of CORE if CORE would indicate a desire for white support. We should make a serious effort, he said, to broaden CORE's membership base to include such people. Mr Lynch stressed the role that white people are still playing in CORE citing the examples of John Zippert, a young white New Yorker who has established a sweet potato cooperative in Louisiana, and Operation Bootstraps in Watts where black and white people are working together to implement Black Power.

After several members of the Comm. expressed their feling that the day had served a most useful and constructive prupose, Mr Farmer adjourned the meeting at 4:00pm.

Respctfully submitted,

Marge Rogatz

Lincoln

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Department Heads

FROM: Lincoln Ol Lynch, Associate National Director

SUBJECT: Items to be followed up immediately re the National Advisory Committee meeting.

DATE: January 27, 1967

1. Subcommittee on "Role of the Advisory Committee (Danzig, Schwerner, Houser) - Margg contact Jim.

2. Subcommittee on fund raising (McCall, Killens, Livingston, Chalmers) To work with staff person designated by the National Director to develop fund-raising program and operation (Ruth and Don)

3. Submit fund-raising suggestions for program to the above mentioned committee (Everybody)

4. Letter to all Advisory Committee members not present from those present, to obtain as many signatures as possible for 25th Anniversary statement to be released (Call Lelyveld, Danzig and Howard) - Marge and Don.

5. Contact Killens re Co-chairing an artist's committee - Ruth

6. Telegram and release regarding troop ship stopping at Capetown, South Africa (Don)

7. Contact McCall regarding expanding mailin g through use of new list (Margg and Ruth)

8. Follow up on extending membership (ex-SNCC people, etc.) - Call Schwerner - Lincoln.

L. Lynch office copy

National Congress of Racial Equality
200 W. 135th St.
New York, N.Y.

April 17, 1967

To:Mr. Floyd McKissick
From:National Action Council
Re:Steering Committee Meeting(3/8-3/9)

Dear Floyd:

A steering committee meeting was held on April 8th and 9th in Baltimore Maryland, for the expressed purpose of the NAC to begin functioning as the policy making, and governing body of C.O.R.E., as provided for in our constitution. The meeting was chaired by 1st vice chairman Arthur Evans, in the absense of Wilfred Ussery, chairman.

At this meeting, NAC members unanimously decided on certain priorities for our organization. These priorities are explained in detail in this letter, and in the enclosed official copy of the minutes of the steering committee meeting. The motions in which these priorities were passed include specific references to the dates when these mandates must be fully implemented. We respectfully submit these priorities, outlined below, for your immediate action.

The items of priority following are those for which a deadline was given. There are other priority items which are the responsibility of the National Director which are listed and outlined in the minutes:

1.Communication between NAC members and National Director. (immediately)

2.Skull session planned by National Director to be held in the latter part of May.
Lexington, Kentucky recommended as a possible site.

3. An inventory with regard to evaluation and development of chapters. (April 22nd NAC meeting)

Yours for freedom,

Bonnie Barrow for

Arthur Evans
1st Vice Chairman

BB:br
cc: NAC members

The minutes for the NAC Steering Committee meeting held April 8--9,1967-Baltimore,Maryland.

A steering committee meeting was held on April 8 and 9, 1967 in Baltimore, Maryland at the Target City Project Office. The following were in attendance:

Arthur Evans, 1st V. Chairman
Solomon Herbert, 2nd V. Chairman
Bonnie Barrow, Secretary
Oliver Leeds
Roy Innis
Clyde Cleveland
Ben Swan
Tony Perot
Walter Brooks
Jim Williams (Phila.)

Art Evans opened the meeting at 1:10 P.M. Discussion followed regarding the classification of this meeting. A motion was made that this meeting be considered a steering committee meeting since the National Director and the National Chairman were invited. It was stressed, however, that the minutes of the meeting be forwarded to the National Chairman for review and consideration. It was seconded- The vote was unanimous.

B.Barrow mentioned that Will Ussery, The National Chairman, recommended that the forth coming NAC meeting scheduled for April 22nd be postponed until a week later.

It was established that the majority of the members would be unavailable to attend the weekend of the 20th because of prior committments.

It was also stated that this meeting had been called to include all National Action Council members, and that the date was good for the majority, contacted.

The letter to Mr. Floyd McKissick, dated March 28, 1967 was accepted as part of the agenda for today's meeting.

To the knowledge of the NAC it appeared that no organizational priorties existed at the National office. The National Director's intent was questioned and it was determined that priorities in the organization be established.

It was suggested that we have an honest discussion regarding the problems of the organization, including the role of the National Director, the National Action Council and staff.

The question was raised as to why the National Director wasn't making an attempt at carrying resolutions adopted at the National Conventions in Durham N.C. and Baltimore, Maryland. instead of so much concern in Bimini.

It was discussed as to whether the present Director was capable of carrying out directions of NAC or Convention with regard to the organization direction, or whether the organizations direction could be carried out under the present structure or with any kind of program. The question regarding the kind of leadership needed was also brought up.

There was further discussion about the present problem existing as a result of the NAC not accepting their responsibility. It was stated that it is [illegible] responsibility to make sure that these resolutions are carried out. It was stated that attempts have been made to do this with no avail. It was further stated that NAC members had offered services which were turned down.

It was also stated that there appeared to be a one man pyramid, which indicates lack of a delegation of authority. It was stated that the NAC was more guilty than any group, even under Farmer with Marvin Rich.

It was stated that the NAC cannot continue to let the National Ditector run the NAC. It was also said that the people vote for a National Chairman, who is the senior person, and therefore over the National Chairman. This is not considered actuality under the present situation.

Furthermore, it was established that the staff does not take the NAC seriously. Assuming guilt as NAC members it was felt that the thrust necessary to demand responsibility from the National Office had been lacking.

However, since it is apparent to the NAC that a bureaucracy can develop, if their responsibility is not assumed, they are assuming their responsibility as of this April 8th meeting.

And as a result it was agreed that the NAC maintain its role as the policy making board and as the body that determines priorities. Further it was agreed that "staff members" implement these priorities. If this procedure is not followed, then it should be dealt with in the framework of the constitution.

Thus the present articles in the constitution must be enforced. It was also agreed that respect and responsibility be given from staff to NAC members. It was stated that the constitution is the guide from which governing bodies function.

There was total agreement that there had been a complete breakdown in communicatioons.

The following motion was made:
"That all NAC members be informed of all information effecting organizations"
"That there are no secrets, kept from NAC members."
"That staff should be made available at all times any information to NAC members"
"That NAC members are the governing body of this organization"
"That open communication should exist.
"That any change in directions of program and the priority of program should be made available to NAC members at ALL times"
"That NAC members availbable for presentation should be involved in decisions"
"That NAC members should be used in any part of the country"
"That NAC membersshould have priv to ALL information effecting organization internally and externally."
"That it is the National Director's reponsiponsibility to periodically advise NAC of all activities taken place"

It was seconded-The vote was unanimious. Following more discussions it was agreed that the National Director is not in a position to make policy that the NAC, as a governing body, has not yet passed on.

The following motion was made:
The National Director is empowered to implement only those policy decisions passed upon by the convention NAC, or Steering Committee. In extreme emergencies a decision can be made through a special meeting of NAC members or by majority consensus of entire NAC by a poll with a rationale of the proposal as to advantages and disadvantages.

A motion was made that we hold the National chairman specifically responsible for the implementation of this resolution. It was seconded and voted for unanimously.

It was then suggested that a letter be forwarded along with a copy of the minutes to the National Director and National Chairman, spelling out specifically what we as NAC members expect of each. There was a consenous of opinion.

Further discussion followed as to whether the National Director appears unwilling to carry out the decisions of the convention or NAC constructive proposals. It was also stated that the National Director must be confronted with these proposals,

herein in order to give him the opportunity to carry them out.

The group was them informed that Ruth Turner and Don Smith were present as Mr. McKissick's representatives.

A brief discussion followed and the following motion was made:
"That staff representatives return in 2 hours(5:00P.M.), at which time they will be informed their participation in this meeting. The vote was 8 for; 1 against

Discussions then followed. It was then agreed that the NAC members should think in a positive and constructive manner with regard to any loss which might face the organization, whether it be financial or for the sake of image or otherwise.

The group was then asked whether or not they had been informed about the forthcoming"mass membership drive". The majority of the members had not been. This led to the discussion of the priorities of the National Organization. It was agreed that the priority would deal with organization and revitalization of chapters rather than massive membership.

A discussion then followed regarding any loss suffered by the organization with regard to financial or image. Furthermore the possibilities of survival and success were discussed.

The following become the priorities of the organization and immediately implemented by the National Director: A second was received-The vote was unanimous.

1. That communication as described in motion on communication be carried out immediately. (page 2)

2. That a National Orientation seminar be held in the latter part of May for the purpose of including creative discussion around goals and direction.

Included in this meeting will be all NAC members, other key people in C.O.R.E. and other key individuals in the movement.

It was emphasized that there would be no radio, press or TV coverage.

be
3. A. That an inventory of chapters made and report forwarded to NAC members one(1) week prior to April 22nd NAC meeting.

B. That a specific set of proposals for revitalization of existing chapters and building new chapters by April 22nd NAC meeting.

C. That an evaluation of chapters be made by the June NAC meeting.

A motion was made and passed unanimously that the National Director spend his energy to build chapters in 50 states other than Harlem.

Another motion was made that following further discussion it was the consensus of the group that the National Director make every effort to be present for the April 22nd meeting.

The motion read:

"This body moves that the next full NAC meeting be held April 22nd, 1967 in Cleveland, Ohio and that the National Director attend. The vote was unanimous.

A motion was then made that the orientation seminar be held in the latter part of May in Lexington, Kentucky, and that Julia Lewis be contacted. It was seconded and the vote was unanimous.

Then discussion followed defining the "requested inventory" as a plan for new and existing chapters and revitalization and development of chapters in 50 states.

It was requested also that this inventory be revised periodically between this time and NAC June meeting as well as included in a monthly report be submitted by the Nat'l Director to the NAC.

A motion was then made that Art Evans be requested to contact the National Director regarding his presence at this meeting.

A second was received "The vote was unanimous."

It was the consensus of the group that action on the above would enable the Director to find solutions to the subject problems. It was taken into consideration that action should be taken regarding priority of these directives prior to convention time.

The group was also reminded that in accordance with our constitution an NAC meeting should be held in June. It was the consensus of the group that this be done.

It was also agreed that the Director's committment with regard to building up of chapters be shown through directives and proposals to strengthen chapters and be finalized and completed by this June meeting.

The East River CORE situation was brought up. It was agreed that this topic be held over to the 2nd part of the meeting (following the presentation to be made by Don Smith and Ruth Turner.)

Don stated that he had no written document or report. He stated that he would share any information regarding the National office that he had. He stated that National's debt is today less than $100,000 as compared to $300,000 previously.

Don also stated that there were now 8 staff members in the National office as compared to 12 in January_

Ruth Turner informed the group that there would be another mailing in May-which would include a circular on J. Kilen's book. A certain percentage of the book will go to CORE.

The publisher will pay the mailing cost. This will be considered a major source of our income. We will also be using outside mailing lists. And it is hoped that we will not over our list.

Ruth also informed the group that:
"The special events committee" was well underway-Clora Coleman is serving as the chairman of this fund raising group. The first project raised $500.00 we were also told that National received a gift in the amount of $450.00 from the Association of Negro Artists for Freedom, for the purpose of developing Arts committee. Ruth Turner will be serving as the staff person.

Ruth also announced other prospective fund raising events:
a cocktail party in the home of Juanita Portier, a party for John Kilen, and a tour to Nassau as well as a major benefit show with artists.

Ruth then described the Adam Clayton Powell tour and visit to Bimini. She stated that more manpower would be needed in order to set up the tour which was now CORE's responsibility-She estimated 2 staff people at $650.00 each. CORE is to receive 50% of Powell's recording "Keep the Faith,Baby" and his latest one.

Many questions arose as to the decision making which took place involving the entire organization; the gain as compared to the loss; whether this trip was of a higher priority than other projects which had been endorsed by the NAC, such as the "Black Power Committee, Credit Unions, Revitalization of Chapters, etc.

The question of lack of communication was then raised-Ruth Turner stated that it was really a problem and that the same problem existed between the National Director and staff also.

There was a motion made for adjournment-There was a 2nd
The meeting was then adjourned until Sunday morning at 11:00 A.M.

The meeting was opened at 12:45-by Arthur Evans-
The question was raised about forms for membership-Ruth stated that the forms were there in addition to the forms for CORE's position on education, a reprint from "Republic" membership envelopes and Black Power posters.

She stated that an attempt was being made to get a contractual agreement in this regard-

The question about mass membership drive was raised-And whether or not it is the organization's intent to get membership through chapters or just money for National, through associate membership-
The question also rose as to the editing of the Convention resolutions on "Black Power" and Viet Nam".

The question was raised as to who decides these priorities and what priorities are discussed in the National Office.

Ruth stated that the present priorities decided upon in the National Office have to do with money and active mailings-

We were then told that the "Viet Nam Ad" would appear in The Sunday's Times.

It was then stated that this ad was to have been returned to the NAC prior to release-
There was dissatisfaction with regard on part of National office for previous priorities established by NAC.

Ruth was then asked for the priorities as considered by the National Office. She stated that out of about 40- it was narrowed down to 8- as follows:

1.Viet Nam Ad
2.Adam Clayton Powell Tour
3.Mailing May 15th
4.Cleaning up old mailing list
5.Baltimore Target City Project
6.Cleveland Target City Project
7.CORE Cars
8.Membership materials related to items 2 and 3
9.Admin of CORE staff (salaries)
10.National Convention-Oakland-July 4th
11.NAC meeting
12.Proposals (written or being written or already in)
13.Cleveland Target City Proposal in Ford
14.Freedom Center (school)
15.Bedford Stuyvesant
16.Special Purpose Fund
17.National Political Alliance
18.Correlator
19.CORE Relationship with SEDF

Following discussion on the above, it was the [illegible] of opinion among the NAC members that items 1,2,5,6,10,11,13,16,17,19 were not the responsibility of National Staff. And also there were items previously approved by NAC which should have been the priority.

The East River CORE situation was then discussed-The following motion was made, seconded and voted upon.

1. That East River CORE be disaffiliated.

2."That the National Director and Associate National Director be directed to cease and desist in any attempt to form or reactivate any group in the Harlem area before they have reactivated such in 50 states and colonies without going through the existing chapters.

The motion was then amended that CORE not be used by East River CORE-

It was then suggested that East River CORE become a "committee of" in accordance with the constitution.

A motion was made and seconded that a directive be sent to the National Office stating that communication be sent to EAST RIVER CORE instructing them to no longer use the name "CORE"

Much discussion then followed the presentation made by Ruth Turner, Walter Brooks, Don Smith the following are the motions made and subject:

Establishment of Boards, Advisory or otherwise-w/regard to special purpose fund-Baltimore's Target City; Cleveland's Target City and Advisory Board- "That NAC members review with the Director the board structure of the Advisory Board Committee.

Unanimous

("Special Purpose Fund")
That no boards be set/up and authorized to use name CORE without prior knowledge and approval of NAC, in extreme emergencies polling of all NAC members"

Unanimous

(Special Purpose Fund)
"That for any board that is set up, that machinery be established, so that the NAC may have ongoing control.

Vote 8 for 2 abstentions

(Use of CORE's name)
"That NAC must disallow the use of the name "CORE" by any group that we do not know about or take part in the establishment of."

(Black Power Committee)
"That the Black Power committee be permitted to meet and begin functioning with or without the National Director-

Unanimous

(Meeting of Steering Committee 4/8/67)
"That points specifically directed to the National Director be forwarded to him in a letter along with a copy of the minutes".

Unanimous

(Communication):

"That this body request of National Staff to receive all material and information pertinent to policy pertinent to NAC meetings."

"That under no circumstances will staff make decisions of policy effecting the entire organization."

unanimous

(National Political Alliance): "That no further action be taken by CORE and its National Director toward preparing a meeting for the National Political Alliance until such time as the Black Power Committee reports to the NAC.

unanimous

(Proposed Cleveland Target City)

"That the next target city project proposed make a report to NAC on April 22nd."

Walter Brooks made a presentation about the Baltimore Target City. He covered the following items:

1. Involvement of local people.
2. Baltimore's Training Program.
3. Communication
4. Independence of the Target City.
5. Corporate Structure of Target City
6. Political Situation
7. Funding of the Target City's future projects

* It was recommended that the two (2) seats for National representation be divided as one representative for National and one representative for the National Action Council.

The NAC were also read a letter inviting them to a meeting the next day in Baltimore. The majority were unable to attend as a result of insufficient notice, thus Art Evans was requested to attend, since he had been invited to participate on behalf of the proposed Cleveland Target City.

Attached is his report. The minutes were held at his request since he felt that the report of Monday's meeting in Baltimore should be forwarded to all NAC members.

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* Pertains to the Baltimore Target City's Corporate Structure.

Respectfully submitted,

Bonnie Barrow

Bonnie Barrow,
National Secretary

BB: br

cc: All NAC members

MEMO FROM 1st VICE CHAIRMAN ART EVANS
ON MONDAY MEETING IN BALT.

Mrs. Bonnie Barrow, National Secretary
CORE
1301 Boston Road
Bronx, New York 10456

Dear Bonnie:

Following is a summary of the minutes of the meeting which took place in Baltimore on April 10th, 1967:

Summary Minutes

Meeting of National Director & Target City Staff, Baltimore, Maryland, April 10th, 1967. Attendance at meeting from members of the NAC and the Baltimore Target City Staff including National Director Floyd Mckissick, Associate Director Lincoln Lynch, Target City Director Walter Brooks, Associate Target City Director Tony Perot, Assistant to National Director Ruth Turner, Target City Board Member Tom Williams.

The meeting was called to order at 2:00 PM by 1st Vice-Chairman Arthur Evans.

Major agenda point was to review some aspects of the Target City Project. National Director Mckissick placed before the body information with respect to certain legal problems raised by the "incorporation" of the Target City Project. The Question was raised to point to certain tax and other legal problems relating from the chapter level to the national organization. It also poses certain questions regarding possible future amendments to the National Constitution of CORE. In any event, chapters and those concerned must be knowlegeable in this area particularly if the target city program is to be extended to other cities, explicitly Cleveland.

It was agreed that poor communication between key persons of both the National Staff and the Target City Staff was a major problem. The discussion revealed that the basic reasons for this situation were the lack of funds to make possible the immediate and extensive consultation needed, the problem of making on-the-spot decisions with no time for consultation with or a meeting of the NAC. Opinions on this question were many and different. No decision was reached, but everyone is acutely aware of the need for improved communication and indicated their personal effort to this end.

Discussion on the hiring of Herb Callender to the Target City Staff. The National Director expressed his respect for Mr. Callender's skills and ability and that Herb could play an important role in Baltimore. McKissick was concerned, however, how Herb was to be paid; and, he would have liked to have heard from the Target City Director Walter Brooks about his plans to hire Herb.

It was agreed that Herb's skills were needed and therefore he was welcomed as a staff person for Target City.

Walter Brooks continued to vaguely question the total operation of the present national structure. He suggested that we are engaged in a new era of operations which means certain changes of present operation must be considered. It was agreed that the scheduled orientation session would be the place to deal with this problem.

Meeting recessed for dinner and resumed the meeting at 6:00 PM and other Target City staff persons and board persons were to be included.

At the evening session Jim Griffin and Tom Williams of Target City raised questions concerning a communication problem they were having with Walter Brooks. Walt and others responded to this question. At that point Director Mckissick spoke toward putting the question in proper focus. He suggested that both he and Walt shared a similar style of work and that he could recognize his own shortcomings in communicating but that it was neither calculated or intentional. Floyd p pledged to do all that he could to resolve this matter for the best interest of the movement and those in CORE.

The National Director and the Project Director agreed to get together at the earliest possible time to resolve this matter and all information pertaining to this would be made available to all concerned.

At that point the meeting moved foward to reports and information concerning the Target City Project reviewing both its present status and the direction we should like to see it take. Reports included; Jim Griffen on Employment; Stu Wexler on Political Action; Milt Holmes on the Youth Program; Ola on the Maryland Freedom Union.

The meeting adjourned at 10:15 PM.

Arthur Evans, 1st Vice-Chairman

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lincoln and Floyd

FROM: Ruth

RE: NAC Meeting

Date: 4/19/67

Here are my suggestions for what should be included in a national staff report to the NAC. The more written stuff in my opinion, the better.

1. Written staff reports (see attached for mine)
2. Copies of the Cleveland Target City proposal. (see pink copies)
3. Projection of staff needs and job descriptions of present staff

   I think people ought to know how vastly overworked we are so that there can be more understanding why things do not get done. (see attached for my opinion on the subject).
4. Lynch guidelines for Target City and other projects (according to Jimmy McDonald who just returned, more needed now than ever before).
5. Have on hand for reference - skill session proposal

Just some suggestions for what they are worth. I will not be able to attend since my sister is getting married Saturday and I am in the wedding.

STAFF ANALYSIS AND STAFF NEEDS

Job Descriptions - Present Staff

National Director

Administration of national organizaton
Implementation of policy directives of the NAC
Legal representation for CORE
Fund-raising
Public projection of CORE philosophy and program through speaking, TV and radio appearances

Associate National Director

Representing national director when he is not present
Special responsibility to New York city and state.
Direct supervision of field projects
Liason with the NAC and chapter

Public Relations Director

Chapter problems
Public media - reltions
Correspondence
Speaking

Comptroller

Financial matters of all kinds - negotiations with creditors, IRS, ETc
Banking on daily basis
Bookeeping payroll

Mailing Department Head

Get out and account for all mailings
Arange for printing and delivery of mailing materials
Operation of all machines involved in mailing, stencils
Heavy hauling, repair, transportation

Special Assistant to the National Director (administrative)

Writing and funding of proposals
Education
Printing of background, memb ership and special materials
Editing of the CORE-Lator
Coordination of the Special Events Committee and Advisory Commitee

Special Assistant to the National Director (clerical)

Typing and shorthand
Handle appointments, scheduling for National Director and Assoc. National Director, travel arrangements
Receptionist
Answer routine letters

_____
_____

Special Assistant to the National Director (volunteer)

Assisting the Assoc. National Director with appointments and scheduling
Preparations of memors, background research
Press relations in cooperation wth P.R.Director
Liason for Long Island

_____
_____

Student Staff

1. Assigned to Parents Group at P.S1 36-125
2. Assigned to People's Board of Education

Receptionist and Swithcboard Operator

1. Open office
2. Assist with mailing, routine correspondence, scheduling of speakers'
3. Secretarial work for Special Events Committee
4. Switchboard
5. Receptionist for downstairs office
6. _____

Additional Staff Required

Fund-Raising

Special Events Committee coordinator
Coordinator of major benefits and fund-raising efforts

Public Relations

Secretary for Director
Field representative (photographer)

Organization

Director of Organization (coordinator of field projects)
Associate Director of Org. (coordinator of chapters) - training
Secretary
Two field secretaries (Northeast and Mid-West)
W

Adminstration

Membership department head
Assistant in the mailing department
Secretary to the Assoc. National Director

Secretary for the remainder of staff
Filing clerk

STAFF REPORT

TO: NAC

FROM: Ruth Turner

RE: Present activieis and projects

DATE: April 20, 1967

My activities since Januarry 1967 have covered five major areas:

1. Proposal Writing

I have had the responsibility (although I havenot done all the writing myself) of preparing and submitting to foundations the following proposals:

a. Cleveland Target City - now at the Ford Foundation. Decision on funding is imminent.

2. Skull Session - now at the Rabinowitz Foundation. Decision due in May. Also version being prepared by Ed Cahn for the New World Foundation.

3. Freedom School Complaint Center - written by Ed Cahn primarily, now at the Field Foundation.
4. SNCC staff support proposals - being prepared now.
5. VEP proposals - being prepared by Southern staff ow.

2. Education

Have consisted of writing on the subject, answering all queries directed to Floyd in this area and working closely with Toye Brown and Sidney Jones from Columbia, who have been assigned to community organization in this area.

3. Printing

Primary responsibility here lies in the area of working with Don to prepare material for printing and following through to see that the printing is done. Refers to most brochures, statemtns, Holiday cards, appeal letters and membership materials.

4. The CORE-Lator

Preparing news items for the CORE-Lator, seeing it is readied for mailing and distributed. Together with Ollie Leeds, working on special Convention issue with advertising accounts.

5. Special Events Committee

Since April 1, the staff coordinator of the women's committee which has come together to raise funds for CORE, primarily in the black middle-class community. Clora Coleman is chairman

5. Advisory Committee

Have served as one of the staff coordinators for the National Advisory Committee and liason with chairman, James Farmer.

ROUGH DRAFT

Minutes of the NAC Meeting Held in Cleveland, Ohio at the Glennville YMCA, April 22 and 23, 1967

Attendance

Willfred Ussery	Arthur Evans	Solomon Herbert
Don Beam	Jim Williams (Phil)	Ollie Leeds
Roy Innis	Floyd McKissick	Bonnie Barrow
Clyde Cleveland	Walter Brooks	Tony Peret
Ben Swan	* Lincoln Lynch	Julia Lewis
	* Danny Gant	

*Visitors

. . . . . .Mr. Ussery opened the meeting at approximately 1:00 PM. The secretary was requested to read the minutes. Mr. Ussery requested that the items in the minutes be included to make up the agenda. He asked ART EVANS to chair this part of the meeting.

The minutes were corrected as follows: with regard to the description of funds raised from the proposed Powell -- Bimini trip. "50% of tour and record following the payment of debts" would be considered profit rather than as presently stated in the minutes.

The motion regarding "Boards" should read All rather than "That for any" deleting "that is".

The minutes were thus accepted.

It was requested that the three priorities listed in the letter, dated April 17, 1967 to the National Director be included in the items for the agenda.

Mr. Lynch, Assoc. Nat'l Dir. stated that in reference to the Chapter Inventory that he did not have a written report

since the stencil was still being cut. Thus he proceeded to give a verbal report. Lincoln stated that 156 chapters existed throughout the country. He told us that pink slips had been sent out requesting how many members, name of officers, new addresses etc. He stated that less than 25% have been returned and that as a result the information remains incomplete. He also stated that his trip reports with regard to West Coast, East Coast and the southern region were available to the members of the NAC. He felt that we are in trouble in terms of the viability of these chapters and also member participation. He also stated that the War on Poverty is a great deal responsible for the deteriorating conditions. He stated that chapters appear unclear in their thinking as to their own direction with regard to working with the people in the ghetto. He informed the group that Alex Hawkins was sent out to help Lou Smith; however he was not working with chapters as such . He told the group that the only functioning chapter in the South (South Central Region) is the Lexington Chapter and the Project in Louisiana which is the Sweet Potato Coop. He continued by saying that Ike Reynolds is running political workshops in Louisiana, Bruce Baines is operating under a project rather than a chapter operation. St. Louis is beginning a revitalization around the imprisonment of Bill Clay and Curtis, and that Danny Gant is working there with G. Tournour. Lincoln informed the group

that there WAS A GROUP IN Chicago (West Side) which wants to affiliate; however that there appears to be conflict with the Core chapter in Chicago. The differences have to deal with internal problems rather than geographical. Lincoln stated that the Chicago Chapter of CORE seems to be barely holding its own.. The question was raised as to whether the National Office has sent anyone to work in this area. Lincoln stated that Danny Gant was now the field representative for this area. ~~Danny Gant~~ It was then stated that communication between the National Office and the chapters was very important. He stated also that there would be a meeting (regional) sometime in May. Lincoln stated that the Northeastern region was more up to date and that the chapters were functioning ~~fairly~~ fairly well as a whole. The only chapter which was not functioning in this region is the Washington Chapter. He stated that the problems were personal and political etc. He informed the group that the chapter in Boston was functioning well with regard to the policy set up by the Durham Convention.

It was then stated that there was a need for strong groups in Washington. It was recommended that Julius Hobson be reconsidered and sought out to get this chapter back into operation. It was recommended that since Julius had been (expended) by

National that a point be made to reinstate him at the convention, whish would clearly show that CORE had in fact taken a new direction. Floyd and Will were questioned as to whether or not they would be in agreement. Floyd stated that he had no objection to getting Julius involved in CORE and that he had been seeing him from time to time. Will also stated that he had no objection, but that he did feel that Julius should not be coerced into being a member. Both Floyd and Will agreed that a chapter should be built in Washington and every capital, and that a chapter should be built in Washington and that if Julius wanted to be a part of that chapter, that there would certainly be no objection.

It was then stated that with regard to the affiliation of other groups that the convention passed a resolution regarding "committee of" etc. and it was suggested that the National Office advise the groups accordingly. It was also advised that we (NAC) look very closely at groups (such as ACT) prior to any steps since many of these organizations only exist on paper.

It was then suggested that there were some civil rights groups represented on college campuses and that CORE should give this idea some thought.

It was then annoumced that Danny Gant was present. It was suggested that individuals who were not NAC members be informed that at any point that it be considered by the NAC that the meeting be open only to NAC members that the individual/s do so. It was agreed by consensus of opinion.

Lincoln then advised that the NAC members that position papers were being written on Education, employment, etc. by the National Office in order that printed matter be available on these subjects.

It was then moved that prior to release of any position papers regarding the National Organization that these papers be given to NAC for approval prior to release. It was then seconded. The chairman then requested the maker of the motion to hold the motion and remake the motion at a later time when Policy vs Administration be discussed on the prepared agenda.

The maker of the motion stated that she would restate the motion during that time requested.

It was then stated that the evaluation was not meant for this meeting, only the invebory; and that specific proposals from the National Office regarding the revitalization of chapters be given at this time.

The Assoc. Nat'l Dir. then continued. The question was then raised as to whether or not an approach which was realistic had been considered with regard to the value of chapter, efforts which we (NAC) can put in for redevelopment and as to whether or not we (NAC) can move forth on Project to develope chapters around the country.

The Assoc. Nat'l Dir. answered that this body can develope plans for redeveloping these chapters since the NAC members have jobs and may or may not many time be available to work on chapters.

The question was raised as to whether he meant that the redevelopment of chapters be placed in the hands of the NAC. The answer was that if the NAC could handle, yes; but that it would be more practicable if the NAC could consider writing plans and/or proposals in this regard. It was then stated that a Director of Organization was needed, and that money should be found or taken from someplace to utilize this position with a small staff. It was then stated that each NAC member make a personal commitment to select three chapters to evaluate.

It was then stated that the questions Where or What is the specific plan for the revitalization of chapters was not answered in the report of the Assoc. Nat'l Dir.

Following this criticism it was asked as to whether or not CORE would expand or not. It was also stated that if Nat'l cannot afford a Dir. or Organization and the Nat'l Dir. give job to someone else that this was unimportant. It was continued that we have to find what else we can do to revitalize these chapters in some meaningful way. It was also stated that the NAC did not want to hear excuses with regard to lack of field staff or money, since this is an indication of the lack of desire to organize.

It was stated that what is needed is use of volunteer help. It was also stated that three people per chapter (N.Y.) are available; however that direction coming from the National Office saying that it can be done is necessary. It was also stated that we(NAC) must get out of the "old fashioned bag" of depending completely on field secretaries.

One member then stated that he was more encouraged to see the reduction of the number of chapters since this shows an indication of working with quality rather than quantity. He continued by saying that the whole concept of target cities is needed, since it appeared that this would be necessary to conduct the movement. It was stated that regions needed to be reduced geog aphically, as well as a regional task force, with a purpose to visit chapters and rebuild. It was also stated that a paper should be written on how chapters should be rebuilt. It was stated that there was such a paper available.

It was then announced that the Nat'l Dir. had a prior committment arranged by the 1st vice chairman in order to raise money. It was then stated that the meeting was planned around the Nat'l Dir. presence and that the members wanted to see and talk to the National Director. It was also stated that the NAC did not want any foolishness regarding Floyd's absence., and that this should be postponed until Monday or the dinner break. It was then decided that the Nat'l Dir. and 1st Vice Chairman

remain until the dinner break. The meeting continued with regard to chapter revitalization. It was stated that one individual was found hanging in a spot in California waiting for something meaningful to grab in order to form a CORE chapter. The Assoc. Nat'l Dir. stated that this was good. The question was raised as to what we could do with one person (with reference to a position paper(The chairman requested that this discussion be postponed in order that it be continued in another part of agenda. It was the feeling that for the past three years nothing had been done and therefore it was important that it be dealt with at that time. The chairman then appointed a committee to work with this problem, and report back after the dinner break. It was then mentioned that the request regarding the revitalization of chapters had been directed to the National Director as his responsibility as discussed at the meeting, April 8, in Baltimore and that in this way it seemed to be taken out of his hands. It was explained that the committee would simply come up with recommendations to the NAC, for the National Director. The National Director was then asked for his report. He stated that he had not received the minutes...he was then reminded to dismiss the mechanics and to discuss what information he had available with regard to priorities, finances, plans for massive membership drive, also chapter

The National Director stated that membership envelopes were at the printers, and that the Adam Clayton Powell tour would build membership. He stated that with regard to chapter organization we have 156 rather than being stuck with 200. He stated that many people and chapters are requesting direction. He stated that all literature which we had is now pase. It serves no purpose. Chapters are requesting CORE's position on Viet Nam, Anti Poverty etc. He stated that all this information in this regard is at the printers being put together in the cheapest form for communication. He said that we must see ourselves in a new direction. He stated that when he was in North Carolina (the week of the 23rd(he collected $75.00 without any trouble at all. He stated that a field secretary was wanted in North Carolina. He continued by saying that we have a multiplicity of complex problems and that no general rules apply. We are not able to tackle everything at one time as a result of finances and lack of manpower, and that many problems are problems of administration. It was then stated that CORE has to be the umbrella organization and thus we need to develope chapters in every capital. The Assoc. Nat'l Director volunteered to prepare paper cutting it down to Ollie's paper.

It was then stated that there are certain things which we (NAC) cannot ignore. For example, the survey sheets sent out by National to chapters must be followed through. The NAC cannot accept as a reason that sheets were sent and were not answered. It was suggested that forms are needed, dues are needed, cards for membership. It was further recommended that all chapters must be be viable and must not be dependent upon field secretaries except where field secretaries are needed. It was felt that position papers are good and useful but not the only solution. There was a feeling that while all the recommendations were made that they might not be implemented by the National office. It was further stated that a plan of action is what is needed and also the realization that the National Director to what work with what he has to work with. The National Director was also asked what he thought. He was criticized since his report did not answer the NAC. The National Director continued that we need chapters, if we do not destroy ourselves from within first. He stated that we have to get a practical recognition about what faces the National Office daily, creditors, non-payment of salaries. A point of order was called and the Nat'l Director was asked to speak specifically about the revitalization of chapters that can be done within the existing structure. The chairman then assigned Roy, Sol, Ollie, Jim W (Phila), Tony and Walter to the committee for the re-

The chairman stated that anyone else who wanted to join this com-committee could do so. It was then stated that there was a basic conflict in philosophy with regard to building the organization. It was stated that these conflicts should be discussed before a committee could intelligently discuss and recommend any plans to the NAC. These conflicts were as follows: building membership vs. building chapters; chapter proliferation vs chapter quality vs concept of the target city. It was felt by another NAC member that the value was lost if we didn't limit these prioritiies. It was suggested that all these points be limited down to Chapter development and Revitalization, Programming and Priority and Debt and the Target City concept. A motion was made "That for a limited time (1/2) hour we discuss points about various concepts of organization building. It was then stated that a new structure is needed since we do not appear to be able to function under the old. It was stated that we should define our objective, then establish program around objectives then examine financial status. A motion was made that the committee has been empowered to discuss chapter building--assumption made that this is the way to determine strengthening organization and building it. The motion received a second. the vote was 9 for 2 against 1 abstention

A lengthy discussion followed with regard to mass membership drive vs organization building through chapter. There was opposition to building the organization primarily through membership. A point which caused a problem was the fact that National would be confusing individuals who contributed or sent their money to the National Office rather than working through the local chapter, and/or being assigned to the local chapter. Others felt that there were many individuals who would give to National but would not contribute to local chapters. There was feeling that these individuals should be called donors rather than Assoc. members. It was also mentioned that the National Office does not like to see strong leaders as a result of competition. It was also stated that the National Office can best identify with that individual who identifies with the National Director by sending to National. Whereas a person who becomes a part of a local chapter takes on the responsibility for the organization. This is the distinct difference between mass membership as compared to membership through chapters. It was also stated that the mass membership drive is good while the Nat'l Office is in such a poor financial; but that after the debt is paid what happens to CORE as an organization. It was also stated that power lies in chapter not in the national office. The chairman stated that mass membership also builds the organization and that basically there is little if any conflict in the concepts. It was then questioned as to whether the National

Office has any forms in printing for chapter membership cards. IT was stated that forms for a membership and envelopes are now at the printers. The time for this discussion was up. The Nat'l Dir. was then requested to give his financial report. He stated that he did not have a written report. He said that the income averaged about $55,000 for the first three months ending March 31st. He said that $21,000 was paid out in wages, with the balance being paid in taxes, insurance. He stated that the debt remains about $175,000. It was also requested at this time to correct the minutes from the last meeting to read $175,000 instead $100,000. The National Director stated that there are disputed accounts such as the car situation. wherein cars were returned. The value of cars is to be computed by April 1st. If the matter settled favorable $10,000 can be applied for purchase of new cars. There will be an amount of $1,400 to firm to audit car situation. The Nat'l Dir. informed the NAC that the books are up to date. The question was then raised as to whether or not any kind of records are kept of income from chapters. Around $1,000 has been received as a result of the Viet Nam advertisement. He also stated that about $55,000 will be given back to CORE from SEDF (from the art show). Floyd stated that Andy Norman has changed his mind about Black Power and that there is an internal matter going on in SEDF. Floyd also gave a rundown on the fund raising

which was essentially the same as appeared in the minutes, dated April 8and9, Baltimore, Md. The group was then told by another NAC member that funds could be increased through chapters. It was then announced that it was time for the National Dir. and 1st Vice Chairman should get ready to leave. The chairman then stated that the meeting would resume at 7:00 PM. A motion was made that we adjourn and reconvene at 9:00 AM. This motion was outvoted. Following (Prior to) the Director's departure a discussion arose as to whether or not the Director should (STAY) or not. It was stated that the NAC members had traveled and spent much money to discuss many important matters centering around the Nat'l Dir. and matters which also effected the success of the entire organization. The question was raised as to whether or not Lincoln could assume Floyd's position at the fund raising meeting or at the meeting of the NAC. Members of the NAC stated their concern and disappointment that the motion" in the April 8th meeting" with regard to the National Director's appearance was ignored. It was then moved "that Art and Floyd be excused for a prior committment and that we continue to work in regular session. 9 yes, 4 abstentions.

The Nat'l Dir. stated that he needed money for Western Union and that he felt uneasy as to where he belonged. The Assoc. Nat'l Dir. stated that we have lost faith and trust. He stated that resolutions passed require money--How can we develope a situation which will bring about trust and faith. The Chair was then asked to convey the thought that dissatisfaction was not personal. It was stated following the departure of the Nat'l Dir. that if he thought it was important he would have not left. It was stated that if the Nat'l Dir and the 1st Vice Chairman were concerned with the issues that developed out of the April 8 meeting that they would not have left. The group was then told that Floyd left because the group had skirted around the issues. The NAC member continued by saying that if the Nat'l Dir had been told directly what was expected of him he would not have left. A motion was then made "that the 1st thing we (NAC) do at 9:00AM on restructuring the organization regarding guidelines for Nat'l Director or any way that we see fit and specifically stating as to whether F. McKissick can fit the bill. There was a second. The vote was 6 to 3 with 1 abstention. More discussion then followed. The chairman stated that we should deal with issues etc. as we saw them, rather than compounding our personal and individual grievances. He asked whether or not this adds up to the NAC doing

work or will our organization go down the drain. He stated that internal problems are the biggest. He reminded the group how we have reached this plateau and that we do not want to go down the drain. We survived the financial debt and are now in the spotlight of the civil rights movement. He stated that we are on the verge of killing CORE--The problems of communication and staff or NAC depend on way it is put to Floyd. The chair was then told that the NAC was simply dealing with issues right now which were vital to the organization. He was also told that it would be unfair to reduce this criticism to a level that we are not concerned as to where this organization is going. It was stated that we are simply raising the deficiencies of the organization. It was stated that we cannot talk about what is going to happen- But where we are and where we are going.

It was also stated that the same excuses had been given over and over again with regard to the organization dying from within, but it was also stated that there is a tremendous gap where the Director is and where the organization is going. It was also stated that there was none of this feeling mentioned in the beginning of the meeting, since it was felt that the agenda would have dealt with this. A motion was then made for adjournment. There a second and the chairman stated that we would meet at 9:00 a.m. sharp the next morning.

The chairman opened the meeting stating the problems confronting the group. He outlined the problem as follows: a) solve problem without killing organization b) NAC unable to perform duties as outlined in constitution c) sufficient respect on how we see to deal with this issue d) motion passed re; Floyd's absence vs directive of NAC e) Lack of respect for punctuality recommended. He continued by saying that we should agree on communication this weekend between each other and that this meeting of the policy body should not upset confidence in Nat'l staff. He stated that he believed that the Nat'l Dir. could develope his own method of operation without interference and for this reason he (Will) did not follow behind him. He described the present Nat'l Director's contribution to the organization with particular emphasis on saving the organization financially and also with regard to the image which he developed for CORE's new direction. He further stated that he wanted this body to go on record for commending him for a job well done. A motion for a "Vote of Confidence" which was later withdrawn. The NAC members were polled with regard to their individual feeling following a discussion as to whether or not the vote should be taken before or after. It was decided to re-word the previous motion. A new motion was made "That the National Director be given vote of confidence". The vote was as follows: (4) yes (2) no (6) abstentions Following the vote The individual members stated why they voted as they did. The subject of the present organization structure was brought up. Questions with regard to the following arose: term of NAC members ineffective? the difference between the Special Assistants to the Nat'l Dir. and the position of the Assoc. Nat'l Dir.? Can the present structure of the organization fit the bill? Does National Office truly want strong leadership outside of the office? Strength of organization

A DETAILED REPORT WILL BE INCLUDED IN FINISHED MINUTES

requires building through chapters rather than through membership. Is the NAC obsolete? Is there much emphasis on money? Is Nat'l image better now than ever before? Absence of other NAC members? Policy vs Administration?

The Assoc. Nat'l Dir. then gave his personal assurance that these 3 priorities listed in the letter to the Nat'l Dir. would be carried out. Particularly with regard to communication. The Nat'l Sec'y then stated that he would not have to contact all the NAC members since she was willing to carry out her responsibility and would work with the National Dir and Assoc. National Director by keeping in touch with them and thereby notifying all the NAC members. It was then stated that the Dir. of organization is the symbol and should make speeches and raise funds and address himself to the debt, muster up money to hire people or whatever is necessary; the organization should be structured accordingly. The Nat'l Dir. then stated that the Nat'l Office had requests for money for the forthcoming skull session. He was reminded that the skull session was to take place with or without financing. The Nat'l Director then continued that he hoped to hire a person (additional) through the money received for conference. He also stated that he had a request in for funds as part of a proposal and if these funds came through he had hopes to hire someone else for the Department of Organization.

Following his statements, another member of the NAC stated that the organization cannot be viable as it exists right now. He stated that Floyd is in a bag that he cannot get out of; therefore he stated a suggested structure as follows by breaking the organization into three categories:

Director (1. Press, publicity, fund raising)

Director (2. Organization (specifically chapters)

Director (3. Dir. of Field Staff and Projects)

It was stated that these individuals be responsible to the NAC and submit a monthly report, have 1 vote on the NAC, have the right to hire staff, be responsible to NAC for carrying out programs in their individual areas. It was stated that this particular set up was tried before and it was stated that the problem arose of the tremendous image built up around one person. It was then stated that what was needed was that the National Director be honest with the NAC and ask the NAC for help instead of waiting for a crisis. It was also stated that this type of structure recommended causes political groups to arise.

A motion was then made "that the no. 1 pricrity of National Core is chapter building and chapter evaluation. There was a second. An amendment was added. The amendment to this motion was in the form of the recommendations from the committee set up to discuss the "revitalization and redevelopment of chapters" as follows:

through a 1. Training program for quality leadership development ("Quality" defined as a) quality leaders b) developing secondary leaders and c) carrying out the CORE program.

2. That a memorandum be developed for curculation to all chapters of CORE which solicits information of their compliance with the requirements listed for membership in the national constitution of CORE and also other specific items of information needed to develope an improved chapter development program. The memo to itemize (spelled out) these points.

3. Two classes of membership: Active/Associate

Local chapter be advised by National of new associate recommendation chapter money (assoc. membership) 50-50 split (see motion to this effect.)

Amendment to motion continued....

4. That the regional Vice-Chairman, regional representative or staff in each region, be responsible for the taking of a census of chapters in each region. This report should be presented at the June NAC Meeting.

5. That affiliation fee for the National Convention be waived so that the chapters' attendance at the convention be considered an obligation. The motion was accepted unanimously. The amendment 12 for 1 opposed.

A motion was then made to "have an NAC meeting at the convention site which is to take place two days before the convention beginning June 30 ending Tuesday night. Unanimous following the second.

[redacted] that the Skull Session be held the latter part of May . Julia Lewis was asked whether or not facilities at Lexington, Kentucky would be available. She stated that they would be. It was then stated that this skull session be held in accordance with the motion made at the two previous NACmeetings.

Another motion was made that Skull session be held in Lexington, Ky. on May 19,20,21 with or without funds. 12 yes 1 against.

The chairman moved the following:

1. That a follow-up memo on each NAC meeting - which spelled out responsibility to tabulate responsibilities; and that this become a formal part of minutes and that this document be forwarded with the minutes.

2. And that a priority tabulation sheet be maintained from the Nat'l office giving work and person responsible including estimate in date and time. (Internal Confidential)

motion continued....

3. That a promotional mail be developed with regard to activities on a once a month or every two months and forwarded to key staff members and NAC. There was a second and the vote was unanimous.

It was also agreed that this motion be adopted in addition to the other motion on communication of the April 8th meeting. (consensus)

It was then moved that these directives be considered for inclusion in the By-laws. This was seconded.

It was also moved that Senior officers be enjoined from interfering with the duties of the secretary being carried out. There was a second and the vote was unanimous.

The following is list of The Natl Secretary's recommendation on how she felt that her duties could be more successfully carried out:

1. Visit to National Office by National Secretary once a week to obtain info (effecting entire organization)

2. Report from National Office to National Secretary (verbal or written) (Director of Assoc. Director) rel/info effecting entire organization activities or BEFORE not AFTER they occur.

3. Information gathered submitted to all NAC members.

4. Information gathered to be compared to Correlator to insure information is up to date.

Following discussion pro and con of the above recommendations the items were put into a motion. There was a second and the vote was 12 for 1 opposed.

The subject was brought up that NAC members should be able to go to office to see procedures with or without minutes.

It was then moved that a By-Law committee be established to select motions passed at NAC meetings to be presented in proposal form to the By-Law Committee prior to convention time, and that all minutes become a document for this committee. There was a second. The vote was unanimous

Sol Herbert Ben Swan and B. Barrow were appointed to serve this committee.

It was then stated that there is no excuse for NAC members not knowing about things. It was stated that the NAC should have known about the political alliance-- It was decided that we should talk about what has to stop. It was stated that the NAC has to know about program or policy., and also what the National Director is saying before he says it not after.

The Nat'l Director then told the NAC that there was a man (Gallous Brown) who he was thinking about hiring as the Director of Organization as soon as monies were available. It was suggested by the chairman to make a special appeal to the chapters for money. It was then felt that CORE was not being realistic in considering hiring a new person when old staff members had not been paid. The Assoc. Nat'l Dir. then read a list of the present personnal and the duties of each. It was then stated that volunteer workers had been turned down in the past and that after hearing Lincoln's report this was confusing since the staff members were over burdened. The NAC members were then reminded of the suggestion to hire a field secretary and pay the salary by contributions from chapters.

It was stated that people don't care about what is happening to the core workers. This statement was followed by NAC members' describing

their sacrifices and contributions. It was then stated that before chapters can be depended upon to give money they must [illegible] up since many chapters couldn't even pay their own rent. The Nat'l Dir. then stated that 50% of our problems were centered money and that he felt that the no. 1 priority was to get a key person TO [illegible] mailing. He stated that he would try to carry every decision we wanted, but that we needed money. He stated that if each NAC member said we're going to raise $500 each to give to Nat'l this would mean a true committment. He also stated that when trying to acquire a loan with Jackie Robinson and/or Bill Hutchinson that they said sign a note $10,000 they would be interested if the NAC members owning property would sign. He stated that the loan would not mean we would be out of debt, since it would be used for back salaries. The discussion of an interim appointment of treasurer came up. It was moved that Gus take up matter of the Treasurer and inform Cecil Brown through whatever method of communication decided upon.

It was stated that since no word had been received from Cecil, even though many attempts had been made that the body was then responsible to see that the duties neglected be carried out. Discussing the situation pro and con it was [illegible] the Director's recommendation that Jim Williams (Philadelphia) act as treasurer during interim until the National Convention to perform duties in accordance with the constitution since he is closeby. There was a second. Jim Williams stated that he would accept if Cecil was still considered National Treasurer [illegible] and when he shows up at the National Convention. It was agreed and the vote was unanimous.

The National Director then requested that the NAC give him ~~memorandum~~ authorization to make a loan. The following was made in the form of a motion "To authorize the Nat'l Director to proceed with making a loan in the name of the Congress of Racial Equality for no more than $100,000 with interest of no more than 6% in the best interest of the organization. There was a second. The vote was 12 for 1 opposed.

It was then stated that the loan would be used to cover back salaries possibly increase staff. It was then agreed by the NAC members that the minutes should not be submitted in order to obtain, but rather the motion alone in a letter.

The discussion then returned to structure of the organization.

The chairman stated the following: 1. Structure to recommend to CORE- if chapter based-think in terms of elected representative that meets once in a while etc. Local representatives sharing decision making. There is an emphasis on chapters. Include staff as policy making -cannot solve today and have applicable two years from today. 2. Regional Action type of thing- organizationations cannot digest its own thinking. - chapter development and leadership development. 3. Have not made as much use as we can with sub-breakdown- sub-breakdown should be used to subdivide into slices of states. The question was then raised as to whether or not this problem could be solved that day. If not it was suggested that we move on to the next order of business. The question was then raised as to what item on the agenda we should return to. It was stated that since there was only about 20 min. left that this item be continued at the next NAC meeting.

The chair then moved that we vote to continue the discussion on chapter structure. There was strong opposition to the Chair's making this motion. It was stated He (Will) had sabotaged the meeting because there had been a motion passed the night before and the intent of the motion was clear to everybody and it stated that the first thing on the agenda would be discussing needed changes in the structure of the organization and the competency of the National Director and his new role, if any, and that he (Will) had taken it upon himself to disregard the mandate of the NAC and evade the issue all day long. This was evident when there was only 30 minutes to discuss the issue. The Chair stated that he was personally offended. The discussion then went on to the Target City Concepts. Questions with regard to how our organization can take CARE of two when it was unable to take CARE of one, the draining of manpower from one target city for use in another (hiring priority). Following a full discussion pro and con it was moved that "we endorse the concept of a Target City in Cleveland provided we get the money for it and subject to the agreement of the National Director and Board with a rationale as to how this project would increase the base and membership of Cleveland Core. There was a second. There was much discussion in opposition. The opposition was centered the following: that NAC members were not opposed the the accomplishment nor the concept of the Target City; but rather opposed to the fact that the completion of the Target City which was in violation to the motion made re: the fact that several cities would be considered based on the research, with a return report to NAC before any final action was taken. (By-passing NAC) There was a feeling of unreadiness since the request that a report be made on the Cleveland Target City by the Nati'l Director to the NAC was not given; against moving on Target City established for specific reasons; possible possibility use of National staff when Natil ;

Minutes of the NAC meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio 22 and 23 April 1967---

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Information should be discussed from previous Target City so that the same mistakes are not made. The arguments for were centered the following: The funding of the Cleveland Target City will possibly STRENGTHEN National'l financial base; This will also provide focus which National could use; important concepts develop with regard to building a whole region as well as a National organization; provides a training ground. There was a call for the question. It was then announced that the scheduled flights would be one hour late so an increase for time for the meeting was called. The Vote was 8 for ;1 no 2 abstentions. We were also informed ~~eBotheth~~ invitation re: World Organization.

The invitation to Hanoi was also brought up. There was much discussion with regard to the fact that the present obligations at home were more important and that going to Hanoi could create more problems with regard to the philosophy of the organization. There was also a feeling that the priorities may not be carried out as a result of trips. It was then moved that we reject going to Hanoi and that we reject the World Organizational support for committee in London. There was a second. Following discussion and the consensus to divide the motion. The maker of the motion accepted.

The vote was unanimous for. It was stated that the Nat'l Office would not accept the present World Organization proposal at the present time since there is a need for these representatives to strengthen their position on Africa. The Nat'l Director recommended that the NAC leave this matter to the discretion of the Nat'l Director and Assoc. Nat'l Director. It was then stated that we use extra precaution since we don't know where this group is going.

Meeting of the NAG held in Cleveland, Ohio 22 April and 23 April 1967--

The discussion then returned to the subject of Boards. The emphasis was placed on the Special Purpose Fund. The Nat'l Director stated the Trustees have been selected, Dr. Irving McCain, his brother-in-law and Mr. Josephson and he himself. It was stated that these 3 people have control of the new board in the extent of deciding who or who will not be on the Corporate Board or with regard to the use of monies. Floyd stated that this group has to spend monies for GCNE and that this was the advantage of a trust fund. There was mention that the Board set up following the [illegible]ship should be made up of NAG members when the opportunity arises. With regard to [illegible] raised the Nat'l Director recommended that the NAG members raising the question, seek legal advice in order to see how such a board functions.

Respectfully submitted,

Bernie Barrow,

National Secretary

P.S. This is a rough draft of the minutes of the NAG meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio April 22 and 23, 1967. These minutes following editing will be mailed to all NAG members by the National Secretary. This copy is for information purposes. (For the Nat'l Director and the Assoc. Nat'l Dir.)

Minutes of the National Action Council Meeting Held May 20, 1967 at Lexington, Kentucky

The following NAC members were in attendance at the meeting above:

Will Ussery	Floyd McKissick	Sol Herbert Arthur Evans
Lou Smith	Tony Perot	Clyde Cleveland
Julia Lewis	Marlene Wilson	Bonnie Barrow
Jim Williams	Roy Innis	Ike Reynolds

The meeting was called to order by the National Chairman, Wilfred Ussery. Danny Gant brought up the recent Midwest Region Action Council meeting wherein an election of officers thus ousting the present officers of that region. Much discussion followed. It was stated that the election was held due to the fact that all regional officers in that area were charged with being direlect in their duties. Gene Tourneur stated that he felt that two factors were involved: 1) that it is rare to be a white chairman and 2) that a meeting had not been called in the midwest since a meeting had regularly been held every other month and also that there had been much activity around the development around a regional training program. Cecil Brown then turned over the minutes of the subject meeting. Lincoln Lynch stated that an answer had been forwarded to Jannetta Robinson, secretary to the region, stating that the election which was held was illegal in accordance with our National Constitution. He cited Articles X, Sections 1 and 2. Cecil Brown stated that for the record, the region is the North Central Region not the Mid West. Clyde Cleveland, at the National Director's, suggestion then moved that the NAC reaffirm the Mid West Regional Action Council meeting held May 6 and 7 as unofficial and illegal. It was then suggested by the National Director to include in this motion "It is hereby declared that the election held by RAC of the North Central or May 6 and 7 is null and void with the exception of the office of Secretary, Jeannette Robimson because of conflicts in the National Constitution.

The vote was 4 for; 6 against 5 abstentions. Discussion which then followed centered around the fact that only one side of the RAC meeting was given and that the other side should be heard. It was also stated that the NAC has no jurisdiction over RAC officers elected; and the following motion was made "that the positions provided for Secretary, Treasurer and member-at-large are covered in the Constitution and may be taken care of by the region at their pleasure. It was accepted unanimously.

The point of staff working in one region should not be permitted to represent another. Brief discussion followed.

Art Evans then moved that we proceed with the agenda. It was the consensus of opinion. B. Barrow then suggested that the NAC meeting be a closed meeting. It was felt by the majority that it would not be necessary at this time. B. Barrow explained that the next two items on the agenda would be very confidential in nature; however the feeling remained the same. It was then moved that to enable counting of votes of NAC members that NAC members sit on one side of the room and staff sit on the other. the vote was 4 for; 8 against and 2 abstentions. Prior to the vote Cecil Brown had recommended that motion be voted down and that the motion was out of order.

A motion was then made that the Baltimore matter regarding Walter Brocks be next. Will Ussery the chairman stated that he wanted to relinquish his chair. Julia Lewis stated that the chair is creating atmosphere to influence the vote. Art Evans supported the right of the Chair to make a statement as his right. Ben Swan then stated that a statement of assumption that a certain kind of report would be given and that he felt that he did not need any kind of preconditioning. Lou Smith then moved that the Chair remain in his seat. The chairman agreed, presuming that this is the most important issue.

Lou Smith then moved that we get into the report without any preliminaries and go on with the report that Mr. McKissick was going to give. The vote was 7 for; for against and 4 abstentions.

The following is a summary of the National Director's report regarding the Baltimore Project Target City issue:

The National Director stated that during the week of the 13th he received word that the Baltimore Target City was closing down. He stated that he knew nothing about it and that he had heard it from Miss Turner. Meanwhile the press was calling for further details. He said that he then called Walter Brooks to ask him to retract this statement that the Baltimore office would be closed. Floyd continued that the statement was not retracted. As a result he issued a statement to the press saying that the statement was made without the consent of the National Office and that disciplinary action would be taken following investigation of the situation.

The National Director continued that the following day he contacted Lincoln Lynch who was then in Ohio and requested that he go to Baltimore. Floyd said that Brook's action was detrimental to the organization. He stated that he also made arrangements to meet with Brooks for consultation over the matter. A full meeting with the Baltimore Target Board was held. He also stated that he had requested an auditing

firm to audit the books and records belonging to the Target City Project. The National Director stated that this was done since this information had been requested long ago; however never received. He stated that following the audit, the accountant criticized how funds had been handled.(Baltimore) He said that Walter Brooks was then sent a letter and told that he was relieved of his duties. The basis of this dis-- missal was based on Failure to abide by the Constitution, dated January, Section 15 page 19. Floyd stated that he felt that this was his administrative duty since bills had also accrued without prior approval from the National Office. Floyd stated that in his letter to Walter, dated May 18th he stated that he would be happy to refer hdm to other employment. Lou Smith then moved that we request that another view be given at this time. It was the consensus of opinion.

The following is a summary of the presentation made by Walter Brooks, Target City Director. In order to complete the minutes copies of reports referred to by Walter Brooks are attached to the minutes.

Walter began by saying that what is at stake goes far beyond Walter Brooks. He read the letter, dtd May 18th received from Floyd and commented on each individual item.

He presented the financial book for 1966 from the Target City Office. He showed the group that there had been $pproxi-- mately $24,000 intake and that the disbursement balanced with the exception of $34.00 which was left in the bank as of March 29th. Walter then stated that with regard to his finan-- cial responsibility to the Project that he had requested that a bookkeeper be established in January to account for every penny made through the use of a check book, and that he presently has a bookkeeper on the project. He stated that money was needed for lights, telephone and gas and that he had contacted Floyd in this regard. He stated that he kept on calling but was unable to get through to Floyd, but that he had spoken to Miss Turner. He stated that Ruth Turner had objected when National was asked for financial help and then the National Director objected. Walter stated that when he finally reached Floyd that Floyd had told him to retract the statement and that money would be forthcoming. Walter stated that the Target City needed money desperately and that the press release was a tactical move. This move worked. Ministers of the community and many Black people came to the aide of the Target City and stated that if they had known the financial needs help would have been offered before now. Walter then stated that he was also given a "Vote of Confidence" by his Target City Board. The copies of the financial report and other reports were requested

by the secretary to attach to the minutes of this meeting, since they were used in the presentation. Walter continued that he realized that he was guilty of some things in lines of authority, but that he had not received correspondence from Mr. McKissick.

Will Ussery then read the many telegrams received from organizations in Baltimore protesting the firing of Walter Brooks. He also stated that he had in hand a petition of 211 names who were against the dismissal of the Target City Project Director. Will then stated that Floyd would be able to defend his position and then that Walter should be per-- mitted to follow-up. It was agreed that this be done.

Floyd continued that the Target City Board was incorporated with the knowledge or prior of the National office. He also stated that the purchase of 4 cars leaves a debt which has to be paid for as well as the purchases of land and buildings. Floyd continued that the Office of Internal Revenue dictates how we spend money, and for this reason Core has not been able to spend money which it wants to spend on just any expenditure. With regard to hiring, he continued that Walter had not been authorized to hire Herb Callender. He stated that Walter had been told that if Herb had been hired to work for the Maryland Freedom Union that this would have been all right but that it was not all right to hire him for the Target City Project through the National Office. Floyd then asked Walter if in fact he had not received a letter in this regard? Ben Swan then stated that the rebuttal must continue without cross questioning.

Floyd continued that we operate on a 90 day basis and the government must get its money the way it decides every three months. He stated that the loan negotiated has been approved in the amount of $75,000. He stated that CORE has an opportunity to get $300,000 to go into Cleveland in addition to about $20,00 additional available to National in the form of a grant. He then returned to Walter's situation and stated that Walter Brooks was the chairman of his board. Floyd raised the following questions: Who is a man responsible to his board or the NAC or the National Director.

He then read a report of recommendations that King Reynolds Co. made with regard to methods of keeping records and books. The secretary asked for a copy of this following the presentation in order that such be attached to the minutes.

Floyd's rebuttal continued as summarized in the following:

Procedure raises with regard to sending money to Baltimore, money being embezzled, checks being taken, money lost, written reports never being received by the National Office, questions raised by the Income Tax people regarding deductions made from their checks and/or violations if this is not done.

Floyd also stated that through the help of Basil Patterson the lights were kept on. He also said that we were developing paranoia. He stated that no one should call the press specifically when internal problems arise in our organization. The remainder of his presentation elaborated further on the points mentioned herein. He concluded by saying that he would like to call on the people who went down there; however Will reminded him that this would not take place at this time since it was time for Walters' rebuttal.

Walter stated that the problem is deeper than he and from the period arrived in Baltimore it was felt that the best should be gotten for your dollar and thus when he was able to purchase a fleet of cars (4) for $2,000, those cars are not in debt to operation, as a whole, and that we should refer to the figures in the report. He stated that the National Office has not been responsible for the Target City Project since it had been self sustaining. He further stated that the Target City was set up without a quarter,

He said that Mike Flug, Steve Wexchler, Howard Quander and he himself had put their money together in order to set up the Target City and open an office. He stated that they had then called the National Office on the hour for help and that the end result was when he, Walter, made loan from his credit union for 300.00 to pay the staff. He stated that the crucial question in Baltimore was whether or not the people stay in CORE or tie in to another organization during their time of desperate need. Great time and planning was given with regard to using the Target City for Black people and building it into CORE. He stated that there was a crisis; however because we have a Super CORE Chapter in New York. Walter stated that further How do we deal with the 135th Street office making decisions when they are away from the issue. He stated that he realized that the real issues would be missed and that the issue would become a Floyd vs Walter decision rather than How do we do and How do we address ourselves to these problems.

He continued that we can wreck this organization this weekend. and that if we leave without addressing ourselves to this questions we have lost.

Many questions were raised following these presentations: Lou Smith brought up the fact that the previous minutes showed that CORE was approximately $100,00 in debt, but that according to the sheet which Floyd distributed the organization was in as much debt as we started. Another question was raised with regard to the writing the constitution for the Baltimore Target City Board. It was stated that Lincoln Lynch had assisted in the preparation of this document, thus illustrating that National was aware of the Board of the Target City being formed. It was stated that the corporation was never approved. It was then stated that the Baltimore Target City Project according to the stipulations of the Labor Department had to be incorporated in order to be eligible for their funds. It was then stated that the Baltimore Target Project was used as the model for the Cleveland Target Project and that it had been explained to the NAC that Baltimore was viable. It was then confirmed that Baltimore started leadership training and was financialy stable. Lincoln Lynch then requested that he be permitted to join the presentations of Floyd and Walter. This was allowed. He stated that Walter's report was grossely exaggerated. He stated that the National office had contributed to the Baltimore Project and had given top priority funds when possible. He continued that the Project had over extended itself and that after raising $24,000 to pay staff had used this money to purchase four (4) new cars. He stated that press releases were released without National's approval. It was then stated that chapters and/or the Target City had always used their own judgement with regard to press releases and that it would be impossible to have to contact National with regard to releasing a press release.

A point of order was raised on the basis that Lincoln was straying from the points of discussion relating to the five charges made by McKissick against Walter Brooks.

Another point was raised with regard to the fact that it is the Director's right to hire and fire. B. Barrow then raised the point that this matter was more serious since this involved the CORE membership as well as a position.

Another question was raised as to how many seats are on the Board and who sits on the Board. We were informed that there are two seats on the Baltimore Board and that one is for NAC representation and one for National Office representation.

The point was raised as to whether or not the NAC was sitting in judgement of the National Director or hearing a report on the Target City Project in Baltimore. It was stated that the NAC had the right to sit in judgement of the National Director's decision based on 1) Baltimore Target City was an experiment, 2) it was a decision of the NAC to be established 3) Another target city (cleveland) has been recommended based on Baltimore's Target City. The question was raised as to whether or not Walter Brooks had ever been told who should do what and how the National Office wanted it and on what basis. It was stated that directions must be given to members of the staff and the staff should be notified when they are not following through. Following this discussion Floyd was asked as to whether or not he would consider granting Walter his project directorship and reinstate him in the Baltimore Target City Project. Floyd stated that he had no objection to reinstating Walter somewhere else because he would not agree to hiring him as the Director, since he had his pride as a National leader, National Director and as a man.

Lou Smith then stated that something was happening in CORE. It's inhumanity. He raised the same question as above. Was Walter taken aside? Was he given a chance to resign. He stated that he made press releases and that he made decisions without National's approval. He stated that CORE was losing it's feeling for people and what they had given up and what their contributions had been.

Tony Perot suggested that the National Director and Walter Brooks get together and discuss the situation based on the previous discussions and recommendations. Floyd stated that he would. The point was then made that CORE has serious problems the majority of which relate to structure. The question was also raised by B. Barrow as to what NAC was to do regarding the letters and telegrams requesting that Walter be permitted to appeal his case to the NAC. She stated that the NAC is not dealing with this problem. She continued that since Walter Brooks was a member of the NAC that it was a problem of the NAC to deal with and evaluate it.

Sol Herbert then moved that this body (NAC) direct the National Director to replace Walter Brooks to field staff and that he be reinstated as the Director of the Baltimore Target City until such time as the final evaluation of the Baltimore Target Project has been made by the NAC.

The vote was 4 yes 9 no and 3 abstentions.

The next item on the agenda was the discussion of the handling of the application of the Special Purpose Fund. This presentation was requested by B. Barrow.

B. Barrow stated that she wanted to bring the matter in front of the NAC, because she felt that a very serious problem was at hand.

Art Evans was requested to take the chair, since the National Chairman's presence was required in the partici-- pation of this topic.

B. Barrow, National Secretary then began as follows:

On Thursday, May 11, 1967 she stated that she was called by Ruth Turner of the National Office for the purpose of her coming in to sign some documents. (as well as be informed about a Baltimore crisis). She said that she arrived at approximately 3:00 P.M., and met with Ruth Turner and Don Smith. She was asked to sign an excerpt from the Minutes with a copy of the motion which authorized our National Director, Floyd McKissick to take out a loan on behalf of CORE, for $75,000 (sementy-five thousand dollars). She stated that she signed this document, since in fact a motion was passed at the NAC meeting in Cleveland on April 22, 23, 1967 which read "To authorize the National Director to proceed with making a loan in the name of the Congress of Racial Equality for no more than $100,000 with interest of no more than 6% (in the best interest of the organization)." She was also requested to sign a statement certifying it as an excerpt from the official minutes of the December 17, 18, 1966 NAC meeting at the YMCA, located at 180 W. 135th St., N.Y.C. (refer to copy of statement mailed to all NAC, May 16th. She stated that she refused to sign the statement since the statement was in fact not an excerpt from the subject NAC meeting and in her opinion she stated that she was not authorized to sign any such statements with out the approval of the NAC. In an effort to comply with the NAC mandate made at the Cleveland NAC meeting of April 8 and 9th, which stated "The National Director is empowered to implement only those policy decisions passed upon by the convention NAC, or Steering Committee in extreme emergencies a decision can be made through a special meeting of NAC members or by majority consensus of entire NAC by a poll with a rationale of the proposal as to advantages and disadvantages." She read also the following motions supporting her refusal to sign the document at this time:

"That no boards be set up and authorized to use the name CORE without prior knowledge and approval of NAC, in extreme emergencies polling of all NAC members". and that "That for any board that is set up, that machinery be established, so that the NAC may have ongoing control.

She also stated that she would poll the NAC members and read the proposed excerpt and that if the decision was positive she would sign.

Ruth Turner then reminded her that there was a time element involved and that this document was supposed to be in the hands of Mr. Josephson's hands by 5PM. The Secretary then stated that she asked Ruth to call Mr. Josephson and explain that this would be impossible since more time was needed in order that the NAC members be contacted. Ruth did so and told the Secretary that they had until 12 noon.

The Secretary left the office and proceeded to call all the NAC members. The next day she called Ruth to explain to her that the vote was 10 for 6 against 1 abstention 3 NAC members who were not able to reach and 3 NAC members holding their vote. These three did not abstain, nor vote yes or no. Each stated that they desired further information and further clarification. The votes included the vote of the National Chairman, Wilfred Ussery.

On the vote which indicated unreadiness on the part of the NAC, The secretary felt that she was unable to sign a document, and in addition to the fact that the vote was to mean the majority of yes votes from the NAC.

She called Ruth Turner to inform her and she was told that she should not include Geneva Tracy and George Raymond. The secretary stated that all NAC members had to be included. She was then told that her signature would not be necessary. The secretary again reminded Ruth Turner that the vote of the NAC was not the required number. She also explained that those NAC members who were holding their votes wanted to vote and intended to vote when they received more information. She also stated to Miss Turner that in a couple of instances the NAC member would vote if members of the NAC could be put on the Board.

In one instance two NAC members requested a brief meeting for this requested clarification. A meeting was called with Mr. Josephson present to discuss the Special Purpose Fund and to answer questions. A brief background of the Special Purpose Fund was discussed and the Constitution of Core's Special Purpose Fund was read and reviewed in part. When all was done. The secretary asked Mr. Josephson what else he needed to follow through and he said nothing. She asked if she needed to sign any documents. He stated that no, he had everything that he needed since Miss Turner had signed the documents and had forwarded them to his office. After the departure of the Attorney, the Secretary questioned Floyd McKissick and Ruth Turner was brought in. Floyd stated that he didn't know what had happened since he had been out of town. at this point the Secretary then told the group that following the first poll upon the suggestion of several NAC members that a telegram be forwarded to National stating that the National Office should cease and desist any further action on the Special Purpose Fund. The Secretary stated that again she told the NAC members that she would have to poll the NAC before sending such a telegram. She stated that she did poll the NAC and the vote was 13 for 2 no 4 contacted who were out of town. Messages were left by the Secretary to call her (emergency). 2 NAC members who could not absolutely be contacted. On this basis a telegram was sent to the National Office. (stated above) The Secretary then stated that despite this, the NAC 's decision was overridden, by staff. The Secretary further clarified her position by stating that once this excerpt had been forwarded already that a Board already existed and that according to the explanation of Mr. Josepheon the By-Laws gave the Board of the Special Purpose Fund the power to do as they saw fit. The Secretary then said that this motion never happened at the December 17th meeting and that furthermore the motion formed and areated as of December 17th and that this was now May and would mean changing all the minutes dealing with the Special Purpose Fund. She also explained that the motions and actions which the NAC had stipulated would thus become invalid.

She also stated that as the National Secretary that she had the sole right to certify the minutes. She reminded the group that a staff person had certified the minutes. She stated that as a result of the falsification the documents were thus illegal and invalid.

Wilfred Ussery was questioned about Ruth Turner's signing of the subject documents. He stated that he had given Ruth Turner permission to sign the document on the basis that there were enough votes. He stated that the time he felt that the odds would be that we would have enough votes. When asked why he overrode the NAC's decision he stated that to his knowledge the Special Purpose Fund had been discussed and questions satisfactorily answered. He stated that he remembered discussions regarding a tax deductible arm for the National organization. He stated that he had not been contacted with regard to the second polling concerning the "cease and desist" telegram. He was reminded that he was on travel and that he had been contacted. He also stated that he felt that this was an opportunity for the organization and since there was a time element he felt that he should go ahead. He was reminded that no one was opposed to the Special Purpose Fund, but that they were opposed to the handling of it. He was also reminded that there was no mention of the Special Purpose Fund at the last meeting of the NAC in Cleveland, Ohio and that the members were asked to get legal advice if they had any questions. A point was raised that Floyd did mention that the Special Purpose Fund trusteeship had been set up but that nothing was in its final stages. It was then mentioned by the secretary B. Barrow that the application had been submitted on March 3, 1967 and that this information had never been given to the NAC even though two meetings had been held following this action.

Floyd was then questioned as to what action he had taken having received the telegram. He stated that he had not received the telegram. Lincoln stated that he had received the telegram, and brought it to Floyd's attention and that a short staff meeting was held. Lincoln stated that he had very little to do with it and that Ruth Turner had handled all the paper work. Floyd then stated that he had called a meeting with Josephson and had attended a meeting regarding the tax exemption. A question was raised regarding Floyd's disregard to the NAC directive by attending the tax exempt meeting. Ike Reynolds then moved, following more discussion "that we rescind all action on the Special Purpose Fund until it is decided who will be on the Board or what the purpose of this fund will have and examine the constitution except or rewrite it, if it takes all night.

The vote was 10 for 3 against 2 abstain.

Much discussion and suggestions followed regarding the revision of the CORE's Special Purpose Fund Constitution. Floyd reminded the group that the lawyerd had stated that he too saw flaws in the constitution and desired to re-- write it as soon as possible. Floyd also reminded the group that the changes and revisions must take into consideration the legalities involved, since certain paragraphs and sections were written in accordance with pertinent laws. It was then suggested that these changes and revisions become effective within the minimum time required after tax exemption is granted. It was agreed. This suggestion was to refer solely with the By-Laws. The suggestion was made into a motion. The vote was 8 opposed 2 abstention. It was also brought to the group's attention that the changes regarding the By--Laws can only be ratified in 72 hours by the Board. Ben Swan then moved that 5 (five) people be selected to add to names of the trustees currently on application. There was a second. It was then recommended that this motion be laid on the table since it was felt that individuals considered should be asked prior to selection. It was decided to deal with this motion the next morning.

Cecil then moved that any person selected by NAC letter sign a letter of resignation which would be kept on hand at all times. 7 for 3 abstentions.

Cecil then moved, following more discussion, that the Secretary be instructed to send a revised letter listing the 5 (five additional names). There was a second.

B. Barrow then reminded the group that if this were done, that the five additional names would have to be approved by the already existing board rather than added since the letter would be dated May, 1967 and the application and minute excerpt were dated respectively March 3, 1967 and December 17-18, 1966. The motions were tabled for the next morning following the approach of those individuals interested in volunteering to serve on the Special Purpose Fund Board.

A motion was made for adjournment. An objection was raised since Ike's motion stated that we would re-evaluate the By-Laws and complete any business that we had. However a second was heard and the meeting adjourned.

Respedtfully submitted,

Bonnie Barrow,
National Secretary
5/29/67

NAC Meeting Held in Lexington, Ky. 5/20/67

This page is to replace the motion with regard to the RAC meeting held on the new election of officers in the Mid-west region....Please cross out motion which appears. and maintain this sheet for your copies.

.....

Clyde Cleveland moved at the suggestion of the National Director that: 1. The NAC reaffirm that the election of RAC meeting of the North Central Region held May 6 and 7, 1967 was illegal. 1 opposed

2. It is hereby declared that the elections held by the RAC of the North Central region May 6 and 7 1967 is null and void with the exception of the office of Secretary, Jeannette Robinson, because of conflicts in the National Constitution. 4 yes 6 no 5 abstentions

Marlene Wilson then moved "that the position provided for Secretary, Treasurer and members at large are covered in the Constitution and may be taken care of by the region at their pleasure.

1 abstained.

Steering Committee Meeting Held in Lexington, Ky., 5/22/67

The members present are listed as follows: (Including visitors)

Sol Herbert, Cecil Brown, Bonnie Barrow, Jim Williams, Roy Innis, Ben Swan, Ike Reynolds, Clyde Cleveland, Lou Smith, Floyd McKissick, James Farmer, Tony Perot, Julia Lewis, Ruth Turner, Lincoln Lynch, Bruce Baines, Rev. Collier, Kenneth Marshall.

The purpose of the Steering Committee Meeting was to take care of unfinished business from the NAC Meeting held May 20, 1967.

The agenda was as follows:

Special Purpose Fund
Structuring of the National Organization
Convention Committees
Target City
regard to

With the Special Purpose Fund B. Barrow moved that the original document regarding the excerpt of a motion for the December 17-18, 1966 NAC meeting be betracted and that a codument be sent to replace it including five (5) names of NAC members. The vote was 4 yes 1 opposed.

Jim Williams is opposed to the Special Purpose Fund and requested that it go on record accordingly. Following much discussion it was moved that we select three people to fully investigate the Special Purpose Fund and contact a lawyer outside McKissick and Schiffer and that the committee take the lawyer back with them to McKissick. The vote was 3 for 2 no and 1 abstention.

It was also moved that this committee also make recommendations at the next NAC member meeting as to how representation on this Board be gotten. This motion was the consensus of opinion. The handling of the Special Purpose Fund was discussed. Roy Innis stated that since The chairman Wilfred Ussery had apologized that this be taken into con-- sideration. He therefore recommended that Special admonition be sent to staff to the National Director and Ruth Turner and Lincoln Lynch telling them of the displeasure of the NAC of this matter. Following more discussion the following motion was made: " That the National Chairman Wilfred Ussery be deleted from the list of guilty parties and that the other parties, Floyd McKissick, Ruth Turner and Lincoln Lynch specifically named be censored." Unanimous

Ruth Turner then apologized to the NAC for the violation and pledged that it would not be done again. Ruth raised a question as to where the violation occurred.

She was told that if someone does something wrong, they should be censored. It was stated that it had gone further than that the vilations must be specific...such as in reality in this instance a series of letters, phone calls toward bringing about a board, over riding the NAC's directives etc.

Roy stated that dealing in the censor explicit, direct, indirect action to circumvent this body..the whole body. He stated that it is almost a total conspiracy-even those directly or indirectly involved and that this action would be to discourage future action of this type. Following this discussion, It was moved that this Steering Committee recommend to the NAC the censorship of the National Director, Floyd McKissick, the Assoc. National Director, Lincoln Lynch and for the following reason: for directly violating the mandate of the NAC regarding the Special Purpose Fund..and it should be voted that Wilfred Ussery, the National Chairman, Ruth Turner has made apology and for that reason we recommend that they not be censored. The vote was 4 yes 3 abstention. Lincoln Lynch then asked why he was censured. He stated that he simply received the telegram and gave it to Floyd McKissick, who then called a staff meeting. It was agreed that this was all he could do.

The Baltimore situation was again discussed. A motion was made that the Baltimore Committee be instructed to continue their evaluation of the Baltimore Project and to submit a report at the next NAC Meeting with recommendations.

carried 1 abstention

It was then moved that the NAC committee on the Baltimore Target City Project be instructed to do all in its power to assist Baltimore CORE and components including its Board of Directors in making whatever changes mutually agreet to to correct the deficiencies in structuring and composition of the Board. (unanimous)

It was then brought to our attention that there is a seat on the board which is vacant. It was moved that Jim Williams, regional Vice Chairman fill the NAC seat on the Baltimore Board. unanimous

B. Barrow also mentioned that there is presently a vacancy on the NAC, It was moved that this be taken up at the National Convention prior to National Convention.

unanimous

It was moved that the National Chairman be instructed to name the Chairman of the National Convention Committees with regard to: Rules Constitution Credentials Nominating

and that the members of this committee be recommended as Chairman. And that the Chairman be instructed to appoint at least 5 chairman in each region to the committee where possible. Unanimous

The group was then informed that Lincoln, Lou Smith and Alex Hawkins are working on it (convention) with regard to accommodations, food and other technicalities involved. The hall was arranged and the matter is proceeding nicely. Lou stated that he has declined to prepare the agenda for the convention since it is the prerogative of the chairman and NAC. We were also informed that Muhammed Ali would be present at the convention. Also that Jimmy McDonald had been hired on a six week basis as the fund raiser for the Convention. The money for Jimmy's salary is coming from the Special Artists Func. This money was made from the services bookleys.

It was then moved that all information regarding the agenda, transportation and accommodations be sent out by 15th of June, 1967. unanimous

The discussion of the officers and members of NAC expenses arose. Ruth stated that consideration for the National Officers expenses at the convention came from the chapter affiliation fees.

It was suggested that the secretary be instructed to see that a call goes out to the chapters and request that they send recommendatinn for the agenda to the National Chairman. It was also recommended that the chairman forward the information to the chapters by the 15th of June in cooperation with Lou Smith.

There was criticism regarding the fund raiser hired, based on past experience and past problems in the California area.

The group was then informed that we had to be out of the "Y" by 1:00 PM.

With regard to the transportation expenses of the officers it moved "that in the event that there are not sufficient funds available that a priority be established for the National Officers first, then staff having a specific function at the convention and then the remaining NAC members. 6 for 2 opposed 3 abstentions

It was suggested that people who receive a salary and have not been paid and are still needed at convention need financial consideration because they have not received a salary for three months and in some cases are six months behind.

Following discussion regarding a Director of Organization it was moved that the National Director present to the NAC a candidate or candidate for Director of Organization for interview. 5 opposed 3 for

It was mentioned that an offer had already been made to a Mr. Callous Brown if he would accept. Much discussion then arose with regard to professional and senior staff positions requiring an interview of the individual by the NAC.

It was felt that a hiring procedure was needed for the organization. Lou Smith stated that there is a section in the Constitution regarding hiring of the subject staff.

The question arose regarding the restructuring of the organization. It was suggested that a proposal be received from the National Director and/or anyone regarding structure. The group then moved into the discussion of censorship.

The National Director defended his position. He said that he was acting in the interest of CORE. It was stated that tieing in with the Baltimore Target City situation re: Walter Brooks that the situation was parallel. Our Director had relieved Walter Brooks of his duties for not following the directives of the National Office and that now he was in a similar situation having not carried out the NAC's directives. Where are we? The secretary then read the resignation of Walter Brooks. (copy attached to Secretary's minutes.

The National Director was very upset about the censorship and there was a great deal of discussion. It was stated that censorship was all together different from firing, in that censorship was merely being recommended to the NAC by the steering committee. THe National Director requested that the motion on censorship be dropped from the minutes. It was discussed and agreed that it remain since it would again be presented to the NAC as a suggestion from the Steering Committee. motions were made and withdrawn. The motions are available in the Diary of the Secretary. R. Turner stated that F. McKissick was not to blame but that she and Will Ussery were.

The National Director then moved that all action regarding censorship be stricken from the records. The motion was tabled. There was discussion around this issue and Robert's Rules of Order was referred to.

A motion was made that we (NAC) eliminate the Department of Organization. unanimous. This motion carries the weight of the Steering Committee behind it.

It was then decided that a list of recommendations for the constitution be given to the constitution committee.

It was suggested that bbefore we continued into that discussion that the Special Purpose Fund situation be resolved. A motion was made that a small sub-committee of NAC of three or four be empowered to meet as soon as possible with the National Director and Josephson so as to be in a better position to deal with the special purpose Fund. Bonnie Barrow, Roy Innis, Ben Swan and Floyd McKissick and Tony Perot. This committee was named by the National Director. As the situation remains now the papers for the Special Purpose Fund are to be withdrawn and held until the subject committee meets.

The group was reminded of the time nearing to catch their ride for their plane flights. The motion was made for adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

Bonnie Barrow

Bonnie Barrow,
National Secretary

BLACK LEADERSHIP WORKSHOP

MODERATOR: KENNETH G. GOODE

RESOURCE: ~~CERRE~~ CHARLOTTE LEWIS

1. Question

OPENING STATEMENT

THIS IS THE WORKSHOP ON BLACK LEADERSHIP.

WE WILL PROCEED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THERE IS A CRONIC NEED FOR EFFECTIVE BLACK LEADERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES.

THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF THE BLACK MAN IN THE UNITED STATES THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN BLACK LEADERSHIP. GRANTED THAT THE STATUS OF THE BLACK MAN WAS SUBSERVIENT AND SUBORDINATE TO THE WHITE MAN, DURING PRE-COLONIAL AND COLONIAL TIMES, DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR ERA, ANTE-BELLUM TIMES, THE CIVIL WAR ERA AND THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA, THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS UP TO THE PRESENT, WE HAVE WITNESSED BLACK LEADERSHIP. THAT THIS STATEMENT IS FACT CAN SURELY BE DOCUMENTED IF WE STUDY THE LIVES OF PAUL CUFFE, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, HARRIET TUBMAN, W.E.B. DUBOIS, MARCUS GARVEY, ROY WILKINS, MARTIN LUTHER KING, FLOYD MCKISSICK, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD AND OTHER GIANTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE BLACK MAN IN THE UNITED STATES.

BLACK LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN CONSERVATIVE, LIBERAL, RADICAL AND EXTREME. BUT NO MATTER WHAT THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MANY BLACK LEADERS, THEIR AMBITIONS AND THE GOALS WHICH THEY SOUGHT WERE GENERALLY IN ACCORD. WHETHER BLACK LEADERS OF THE PAST AND SOME OF THOSE OF PRESENT STANDING HAD OR HAVE PHILOSOPHIES OR CHARACTERISTICS THAT ARE AGREEABLE WITH US COLLECTIVELY IS NOT IMPORTANT AT THIS TIME. WHAT WE ARE CON-

CERNED WITH AT THIS TIME IS WHAT ARE THE QUALITIES THAT A BLACK LEADER MUST POSSESS IN ORDER TO BE EFFECTIVE ~~NOT ONLY~~ IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY ~~BUT ALSO~~ AS WELL AS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. ~~IN ADDRESSING OURSELVES TO~~ IN DEFINING A BLACK LEADER TODAY, THESE QUESTIONS WERE RAISED:

~~THIS QUESTION THERE ARE SEVERAL FACTORS WHICH MUST BE DISCUSSED IN GREAT DETAIL.~~

A. SHOULD A BLACK LEADER BE ARTICULATE?

B. SHOULD A BLACK LEADER HAVE THE ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE?

C. SHOULD A BLACK LEADER IDENTIFY WITH THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE?

D. SHOULD A BLACK LEADER TOTALLY IDENTIFY WITH THE BLACK MASSES?

THE INGREDIENTS THAT A BLACK LEADER MUST HAVE BEFORE HE CAN BE DESIGNATED AN EFFECTIVE BLACK LEADER WAS THE CRUX OF THIS WORK SHOP.

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

EACH OF THE ~~CRITERIA~~ QUESTIONS LISTED ABOVE WAS DISCUSSED IN GREAT DETAIL AND OFTEN HEATEDLY DEBATED. IT WAS THE CONCENSUS OF THE GROUP THAT TRADITIONALLY BLACK LEADERSHIP HAVE GENERALLY BEEN BLACKS WHO HAVE BEEN HAND PICKED BY THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE AND FOISTED ON THE BLACK MASSES, ~~AND THAT~~ AS A RESULT, ~~OF THIS~~ BLACK LEADERS HAVE NOT FELT COMPELLED TO BE RESPONSIVE TO OR RESPONSIBLE TO THE BLACK MASSES. THE GROUP ALSO FELT THAT THE BLACK MASSES HAVE HERETOFORE NOT

HAD RACIAL OR ETHNIC PRIDE AND THIS IS A FACTOR WHICH IS CERTAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LACK OF EFFECTIVE BLACK LEADERSHIP.

THE PROBLEM SEEMED TO REVOLVE AROUND ~~SEVAL~~ SEVERAL THINGS. ~~FIRST~~ THERE IS A TRAGIC NEED FOR THE ~~M~~ BLACK MASSES TO BE TOTALLY BECOME/IMBUED WITH A STRONG SENSE OF RACIAL PRIDE AND DIGNITY AND LOYALTY WHEN THIS IS ACCOMPLISHED THERE WILL BE CREATED A MASS OF BLACK HUMANITY THAT WILL BE ABLE TO ASSERT AND DEMONSTRATE THE CONCEPT OF BLACK POWER. OUT OF THIS MASS OF BLACK HUMANITY WHO HAVE A ~~S~~ DEEP SENSE OF SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND LOYALTY WILL EMERGE BLACK LEADERS. ~~WHO WILL NECESSARILY BE EFFECTIVE~~.

THE GROUP CONCLUDED THAT A BLACK LEADER ~~MUST BE/BE/ARTICULATE///THAT/I/~~ MUST NEED BE ARTICULATE. THAT IS, HE NEED NOT BE A DOCTOR, LAWYER OR INDIAN CHIEF." AS LONG AS HE CAN EXPRESS THE DESIRES OF THE BLACK MASSES EFFECTIVELY. WHETHER HE IS A PROFESSIONAL, SKILLED LABORER OR COMMON LABORER IS UNIMPORTANT.

THE GROUP CONCLUDED THAT A BLACK LEADER SHOULD HAVE THE ABILITY TO COMMUNITATE WITH THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE. THIS SIMPLY MEANS THAT THE EFFECTIVE ~~LEAD~~ BLACK LEADER MUST ARTICULATE THE NEEDS OF THE BLACK MASSES WITHOUT DISTORTION. HE MUST "TELL IT LIKE IT IS'!!!!!!!!"

THE GROUP ~~LEA~~ CONCLUDED THAT AN EFFECTIVE BLACK Leader NEED NOT AND SHOULD NOT IDENTIFY WITH THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE FOR IN DOING SO HE WILL NECESSARILY LOOSE THE IDENTITY OF A BLACK MAN AND THUS BREAK THE TIES OF LOWALTY WITH HIS BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE CONCEPTS OF LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP WAS DISCUSSED AND IT WAS CONCLUDED THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR ONE, TWO OR THREE CHARISMATIC LEADERS. FURTHERMORE, AS PART OF THIS ASSESSMENT OF OUR NEEDS AND RESOURCES, A RECOGNITION THAT BLACK LEADERS WHO ~~PUT THEIR CONCEPT~~ ARE CONSTANTLY EMERGING * AN INDICATION OF SHARED LEADERSHIP WHICH ~~CONSTANTLY~~ ALREADY EXISTS AND IS, DISPITE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES, ONE OF OUR UNRECOGNIZED STRENGTHS.

There was

THE GROUP CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT AN EFFECTIVE BLACK LEADER Ø IDENTIFY WITH THE BLACK MASSES. HE MUST APPRECIATE THE CONCEPTS OF BLACK SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND HE MUST BE TOTALLY LOYAL TO THE BLACK MASSES IN TERMS OF THEIR DEMANDS AND OTHER EFFORTS TO BETTER THEIR LOT.

STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESIS

IT IS NECESSARY TO DENIGGERIZE THE BLACK MASSES. THEY MUST BE MADE AWARE OF THE FACT THAT BLACK PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE A HISTORY AND A HERITAGE THAT IS BEAUTIFUL. THEY MUST BE THOROUGHLY SATURATED WITH FACTS CONCERNING THEIR HISTORY WHICH INCLUDES THE GLORIOUS PAST OF THEIR FOREFATHERS IN AFRICA.

ONCE THE BLACK MASSES HAVE LEARNED AND ACCEPTED THE FACT THAT "BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL" OUR PRESENT BLACK LEADERSHIP WILL BECOME MORE RESPONSIVE TO AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE BLACK MASSES OR SEE WHAT LITTLE INFLUENCE THEY ALLEGEDLY EXERCISE ON VARIOUS SEGMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY [redacted] DISAPPEAR. FUTURE BLACK LEADERS WILL HAVE A SENSE OF LOYALTY WHICH IS LESS LIKELY TO BE QUESTIONED FOR THEY WILL HAVE EMERGED FROM A BROAD BLACK ORGANIZATIONAL BASE THAT IS RANK WITH SELF-IDENTIFICATION. THEY WILL KNOW THAT TO "SELL OUT" MEANS EXTINCTION AND IF SUCH OCCURS THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO FOIST THEM BACK ON THE BLACK MASSES AS WAS THE CASE AND TOO OFTEN [redacted] STILL IS THE CASE.

METHOD OF IMPLEMENTATION

IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE AN AFFLUENT BLACK MASS [redacted] WHO ARE [redacted] KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT THEIR PAST AND INDENTIFY WITH IT, STUDIES IN BLACK ORIENTED SUBJECTS MUST BE INJECTED IN ALL SCHOOLS AT ALL LEVELS OF EDUCATION AND IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THESE SUBJECTS BE TAUGHT BY BLACK INSTRUCTORS WHO CAN "TELL IT LIKE IT IS" AND LIKE IT WAS. THIS FAILING, THE BLACK MASSES MUST EDUCATE THEMSELVES THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT BLACK SCHOOLS. THE INITIAL UNIVERSAL DENIGGERIZATION IS VITALLY IMPORTANT BUT IT IT IS EQUALLY AS IMPORTANT TO PROVIDE THIS EDUCATION IN RACIAL PRIDE AND [redacted] DIGNITY.

STATEMENT OF RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS, the black masses have traditionally been denied their rightful place in history;

WHEREAS, notwithstanding the above, black leaders have continuously emerged in an atmosphere of subservience and subordination;

WHEREAS, it is imperative that effective black leadership is necessary to the human survival of the black masses in the United States AND the economic survival of the United States;

WHEREAS, historically, because of white chauvinism, the black masses have not been able to produce effective black leadership who can demand as well as deliver the wished of the black masses;

THEREFORE, it is hereby resolved that Core

Commit itself to the establsihment of

A. An effective black power base throughout the United States;

B. Encourage and stimulate the continuous emergence from this Black Power base black leaders who are:

1. Absolutely responsive to the black masses;
2. Absolutely responsible to the black masses;
3. Strong, and creative and agressive
4. Imbued with an unbreakable sense of loyalty to the black masse
5. Capable of articulating the demands of the black masses.

METHOD OF IMPLEMENTATION

IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE AN AFFLUENT BLACK MASS [redacted] WHO ARE [redacted] KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT THEIR PAST AND INDENTIFY WITH IT, STUDIES IN BLACK ORIENTED SUBJECTS MUST BE INJECTED IN ALL SCHOOLS AT ALL LEVELS OF EDUCATION AND IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THESE SUBJECTS BE TAUGHT BY BLACK INSTRUCTORS WHO CAN "TELL IT LIKE IT IS" AND LIKE IT WAS. THIS FAILING, THE BLACK MASSES MUST EDUCATE THEMSELVES THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT BLACK SCHOOLS. THE INITIAL UNIVERSAL DENIGGERIZATION IS VITALLY IMPORTANT BUT IT IT IS EQUALLY AS IMPORTANT TO PROVIDE [redacted] THIS EDUCATION IN RACIAL PRIDE AND [redacted] DIGNITY.

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B. ~~Put of this effective black power base will cont~~ Encourage and stimulate the continuous emergence from this Black Power Base ~~continuously evolve black leaders who are absolutely responsible~~ of black leaders who are:

1. Absolutely responsive to the black masses;
~~to and responsible to the black masses~~
2. Absolutely responsible to the black masses;
3. Strong, and creative and agressive
~~C. Such black leaders will and necessarily be strong~~
4. Imbued with an unbreakable sense of loyalty to the black masse
5. Capable of articulating the demands of the black masses.

~~and aggressive, imbued with an unbreakable sense of loyalty~~,

~~having the ability to communicate the demands of the black masses and be creative.~~

CHAPTER DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP (Chapter Base)

moderator: Ollie Leeds

Core National Convention 1967

CHAPTER DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

We see the development of CORE chapters as arising from the implementing of the six (6) points of Black Power.

We see chapter development as the means of growth, influnence, power and also a means of i unifying all chapters and the National Core structure.

We see chapter development to bring about Black Power as largely a self help, do it yourself concept.

For chapters to implement the six points of Black Power and to grow we recommend the following ideas :

(1) That each Core chapter and each Core member implement the 6 points as a part of the core chapters program, initially, to the best of their ability. Eventually to carry the 6 points on 6 fronts in the chapter program.

If a chapter is not now able to carry out point Two (2) " Developing Economic Power" through setting up Coops, Credit Unions, Black Investment Groups, then this should be their goal.

If a chapter is not able to participate in a full blown political program, then at least all Core members should be registered voters, and associated with the local political apparatus in his neighborhood as a condition of Core membership.

We feel that most of the 6 points of Black Power can be implemented immediately at the Core chapter level, As an example, as a port chapter membership meetings we recommend t at all Core chapter set aside time for developing the Black Self-image thru discussion, Afro-American readings, lectures, etc.

Example of Black Power self helpism at the chapter level should be readily identifiable and Core chapters as well as members held to account

for promoting it.

(2) We recommend that the Core membership meeting, the Core store, the Core financial apparatus and Core Orientations be unified nationally.

In other words, just as a particular religious denomination is instantly recognized by its services, it architectural appearance of dress - so too should Core, just as one can spot a chock-ful-onuts restaurant franchise - a full block away - so too should be the case with Core.

Specifically we recommend uniform formats for Core membership uniform set of financial books, dues system and a uniformap appearance for the Core store in terms of Core outside signs and the general appearance of the Core store.

We do not feel that this move toward uniformity would infringe on the autonomy of the chapter anymore than the "franchise" concept of churches, businesses or trade unions have not hurt them.. Black people like all people want to join what looks like and acts like a going concern and which is identifyable in symbal, appearance and universally understood program.

(3) While any chapter of core can begin to do some of the above proposals, there is a clear need for the national organization to give direction and to promotethis at the chapter level.

There could be no uniform dress system of uniform bookkeeping system for example if it is not set up by national, with the national officer's staff and field staff, Regional apparatus - and the use of the U. S. post office - being actively used and records kept.

We are fully aware of the serious financial crisis of National Core, we do not expect miracles in the implementation of the above proposals by National Core. Just that they move in this direction.

We feel that Core ideals (Black Power) Core program and Core uniform organization must be quickly reduced to writing and made available in quantity to all Core chapters. Together with this, the use of such paid and

unpaid personnel available together with the U.S. Poat Office, the road to Black Power can be entered on.

Like the old Core Rules for action all three elements shouldd be in ink. (4) Leadership training a leadership training progr m on three(3) levels must be maintained. National Regional and in chapters.

In summary we recommend that National give more direction to chapter and less propaganda to the press. We propose that chapters implement Black Power through chapter and member - as a condition of membership in Core.

We propose that uniformity of Core activity be instituted wherever feasible.

Finally, the Core of old was chiefly characterized by 3 things:

(1) Direct action
(2) Non-violence
(3) Militant autonomous groups

We propose that Core chapters and members continue to be characterized by 3 things:

(1) Direct action
(2) Defense & self - helpism
(3) Militant autonomous groups

6 Point Programs

The chapter development workshops was a very small group it based its work mainly on the Paper called "Implementing Black Power - a Core approach " by Olly Leeds. prepared for the natioanl action council - copies of which were d distributed to Core chapters early this year.

N. McGhee - Moderator
June Ellison - Recorder

Background Material

June 1, 1967

CULTURAL TIES WITH BLACK AFRICA WORK SHOP

I. American Negro - Product of African Culture

A. Emphasis on African Culture in our country
1. Hair, Dress, Beards

II. Discussion of Negroes with White Names

A. Is it necessary to change name to change identity
Thought: It is not the name that is significant.

It is the identification with roots and group conscienceness.

III. African feeling toward American Negroes in Africa

A. Mixed Feelings.
1. Natives, people in village; warm, welcoming
2. Cities: Resentful to those who come with nothing to offer.
a. Knowledge of culture
b. Acceptance of people of Africa
c. Sensitivity to culture.
d. Skills

IV. Negroes Who Do Not Wish to Identify With Negroes.

A. Movement to identify is growing
B. Choice must be made by all Negroes.
C. Those who Do not will be in minority

V. Mixing of Races.

A. Mixing of races has lessened Puritanical modein America.
B. Negro will need to hate white man more, then return to brotherhood?
C. New (old?) Trend: Black man - White woman.
D. Too much emphasis on how much racial mixture we have. (Indian, Irish, etc.) We are all Black should be the thought.
1. The has not been too much mixing of the races.

VI. How to get Black Man to accept family Responsibility.

VII. How much will we Identify with Africa.
A. Beyond: Hair, Dress - Important to Emphasize Blackness.
B. Need to acquire land, develop co-ops.
Negroes will own cities due to concentration of Negroes in cities and city jobs.

VIII. Retaliation

A. Opposition to total violent revolution
B. Need to retaliate through cultural, economic and political revolution.

IX. Need to learn more about African culture and the history of Black Man in this country.

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS Black men in the world have been successfully subjected to devisive techniques until recent years - [illegible]

WHEREAS most Black men in American have little direct awareness of the relationship between our present culture, and its roots in Africa.

WHEREAS white psychology is directed to increasing distrust and ignorance of Black groups about each other.

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the Congress of Racial Equality develop a program for one to one contact between our Black Brothers at home and in the mother country. We propose this program be called Umojo Makono,*

*Swahili: Hands together in brotherhood and unity.

As a starting point the following plan is suggested:

ACTION STEPS

I. African Student Tie-In.

A. A "Hands Across the Waters"
B. Pen pals.

II. African History Study Groups

A. Send lists of Records, books.
B. Cross fertilization between study groups.

III. Trips to Africa and related areas.

A. Mexico (Black Sculpture 2,000 years old).
B. Statues or monuments of famous Negroes (Send to Standard Oil Co.).

IV. Discussion Groups on African Hairstyles.

A. All natural hair does not have to be short.

V. Visit to Museum to African Artifacts.

A. U.C. Berkeley

I. C.O.R.E. to take a National Stand on

A. Arab-Israli conflict
B. Vietnam, etc.

II. Communications between Study Groups.

A. Book lists on Africa.
1. Send to list of participants.

Black Self Image

Moderator: Henry Ramsey

Whereas, Black history, Literature, Art, Music, and the cultural heirtage of black people has been distorted, minimized, and in some cases outrightly suppressed, and,

Whereas In many cases, inadequate material, and in most cases no material, is made available to black people in publicly supported educational institutions regarding their true history, cultural origins and contributions to literature and the arts, and,

Whereas Their appears to be a conspiracy by the white mans media to distort and suppress the activities significant comtemporary blacks, and,

Whereas Devisive images resulting from terms such as "Middle - Class Blacks" "Grass - roots blacks, " " Uncle Toms " , and " Bourgloise Blacks " detract from the essential elements of Black Unity and make no contribution toward the development of Black Power, and,

Whereas Positive self - images are essential to the development of pride and dignity of my people.

Therefore C.O.R.E. RESOLVES:

Black Self Image

1 To solicit, encourage and aid Black artist, writers and scholars to create and develop materials dealing with Black History, Literature, Art, Music and the curtural heritage of Black people.

2 To demand that all publicly supported educational institutions include in their curriculum, courses and course materials which accorately and meaningfully portray Black History, Literature, Art, Music, and the cultural history of Black people.

3. To encourage and assist existing programs, and where as we exist, to initiate and support such programs, within the Black community as are designed to bring about a positive awareness of the value and worth of Black history, Literature, Art, Music, and the cultural heirtage of Black people.

4. To refrain from and discourage all devisive techniques which alienate and separate members of the Black community, especially in the Area of public criticism of fellow black leaders and organizations aligned with the cause of the black community.

5. That C.O.R.E actively pursues the definition and projections of contemporary black heroes and hero images, including deeds, symbols, and ideals which exalt blackness.

Five general areas were considered with a view towards better enforcement of federal laws: These areas were as follows:

1) Law Enforcement

2) Housing

3) Education

4) Welfare

5) Employment

Each area was considered separately. The problems and possible solutions within each area were considered. It was found that there were both general and specific solutions within the broad areas.

L A W E N F O R C E M E N T

PROBLEMS:

1) Disproportionate number of minority people being arrested;

2) Reluctance of District Attorney to prosecute when minority member is the victim;

3) Police Brutality;

4) Denial of rights of juveniles.

GENERAL SOLUTIONS:

1) Mass education of community as to their legal rights;

2) Inform community of various sources of free legal assistance;

3) Create a dialogue between potential victims in the community and the various agencies and organizations that can assist with problems;

SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS:

1) Raise defense of unconstitutionality of statute where unusual nu number of minority members are arrested. Example: People vs. Harris

Fed. Laws

2) Encourage minority members to file complaints with the United States Attorney when their civil rights have been violated;

3) Encourage interested organizations to assist victims in filing complaints;

4) File civil suits in case of police brutality;

5) File suit contesting the refusal of courts to grant bail to juveniles.

H O U S I N G

PROBLEMS:

1) Insufficient number of low income housing;

2) Substandard housing;

3) Inadequate relocation plans;

4) Destruction of minority communities;

5) Reprisals when tenants complain of substandard housing.

GENERAL SOLUTIONS:

1) Formation of tenant unions i.e., organize the community;

2) Educate community as to Code requirements;

3) Encourage community to register complaints with appropriate federal agency;

4) Educate community as to available federal funds and programs.

SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS:

1) Incorporate community groups to act as possible plaintiffs when suits are to be filed;

2) Have the incorporated group act as an informational source for community;

3) Have incorporated group get information concerning available

Fed Laws

federal funds and federal programs. Example: 221 & (3) housing;

4) Make inquiries of all federal agencies in the community as to the expenditure of federal funds;

5) Apply for federal funds so community can submit a redevelopment plan;

6) Get community involved in redevelopment as an organized group prior to the submission of redevelopment plan;

7) Attack unfeasible relocation programs as a violation of 42 USCA 1455 (c);

8) Attack relocation program that breaks up a community on basis of violation of 1st Amendment;

9) File complaints with H.U.D. whenever a relocation plan appears unfeasible;

10) Defend retaliatory eviction suits on theory of deprivation of constitutional or statutory rights. 1st Amendment;

11) File suit attacking F.H.A. and V.A. lending policy as discriminating against poor people. Poor people cannot buy houses.

E D U C A T I O N

There was a workshop on Education so we touched briefly on a few legal problems.

1) De Facto Segregation;

2) Disparity in quality of education;

3) Need to elevate quality of education.

GENERAL SOLUTIONS:

1) File suits attacking De Facto Segregation;

2) File suits under Civil Rights Statute 1983 where federal funds

are used to support segregated schools;

3) File complaints with federal administrative agency that grants funds to the schools;

4) File suits on basis of denial of equal protection where minority groups receive inferior education;

5) Educate community as to their rights and inform them of where complaints may be filed.

W E L F A R E

PROBLEMS

1) Regulations requiring a period of residency;

2) Denial of full benefits under welfare laws;

3) Reprisals when recipient complains of injustice;

4) Welfare recipient in private housing getting some allowance as recipient in public housing;

SOLUTIONS:

1) Educate community as to rights under welfare laws and regulations;

2) Encourage organization of welfare groups;

3) Encourage welfare groups to incorporate;

4) Encourage organizations to keep abreast of federal regulations.

SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS:

1) File suits attacking any residency requirement;

2) Use corporation as plaintiff to avoid reprisals;

3) Use corporation as plaintiff in suit to test any problems concerning disbursement of welfare funds;

4) Have the corporation file complaints with Secretary of H.E.W;

FED LAWS

5) Bring suit to declare invalid same housing allowance for welfare recipients when there is a difference in the rents.

E M P L O Y M E N T

1) Discrimination in hiring;

2) Discrimination in firing;

3) Use of Federal funds on projects where discriminatory practices prevail;

4) Discrimination by union hiring halls;

5) Creation of jobs for minorities.

GENERAL SOLUTIONS:

1) Educate community as to rights under State and Federal laws;

2) Encourage the filing of complaints with the appropriate federal agency;

3) Ascertain what local projects are financed by federal funds;

4) Encourage the compilation of statistics to show patterns of discrimination.

SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS:

1) Enjoin the use of federal funds when discrimination is practiced;

2) Appoint a federal receiver for union that discriminates in the hiring hall;

3) Investigate possibility of federal grants to local groups so that community can get involved in building, etc., 221 & (3)

4) Investigate S.B.A. loans for local businesses.

FED LAWS

OF

RESOLUTIONS OF THE WORKSHOP ON BLACK ECONOMIC BUILDING POWER

MODERATOR: Kermit Scott

~~Urban Redevelment is basically a non-profitable scheme to the Negro.~~

RESOLVED: That the use of political action--where this is unsuccessful, we shall attempt to recover losses using the funds to:

1) Develop a credit union
2) Land purchasing co-ops
3) Construction companies (contracting)

I. WHEREAS conditions for black business may become more/or less favorable--

BE IT RESOLVED: All business ventures reflect dual possibilities, parrallel or separate, from the American business system.

II. WHEREAS Black (economic) survival is doubtful--relying solely on the American economic (society) attitudes;

BE IT RESOLVED: All business, redeveloped to trade with world (import, export) 2/3 dark skin communities, worldwide whose interest is now centered economically.

III. WHEREAS Redevelopment of Urban Renewal should be prevented because Urban Redevelopment is basically a non-profitable scheme to the Negro;

IV. WHEREAS in Redeveloped Areas are settled by higher income groups;

V. BE IT RESOLVED: Capital from this property should be used to establish business opportunities within the community.

V. WHEREAS This convention (inpart) is being held in order to encourage black economic development;

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National organization (CORE) should start to develop a type of business; such as, beverage (suggest black power wine) etc. within the national Negro communities which can provide on spot training.

VI. WHEREAS American Labor Movement has exhibited no regard for the rights of Black workers;

BE IT RESOLVED: That we severe our traditional ties with organized labor until such time as organized labor sereres racism; parallel black labor unions should be organized.

RESOLUTION OF THE WORKSHOP ON BLACK ECONOMIC BUILDING POWER

TECHNICAL SKILLS

WHEREAS: It has been established that within the communities there is a minimum of technical direction for setting up economic structures,

WHEREAS; due to the lack of direction many well-meaning enterprises have floundered and subsequently failed, and

WHEREAS; Cries have come from culturely deprived communities asking for expert technical advice and assistance, BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that it become a national policy of this convened body of C.O.R.E. that seminars and workshops be ~~initiated~~ initiated at the local level involving local businessman, technical adminstrators ??, both national and local, to meet with prospective businessmen to discuss economic structures.

RESOLUTION OF THE WORKSHOP ON BLACK ECONOMIC BUILDING POWER

COMMITTEE OF TECHNICAL INFORMATION

WHEREAS, with the rapid revision of technical information and
WHEREAS, this information has been disseminated selectly;
WHEREAS, there has been a lack of this same disseminated ~~by~~ information to key communities,
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the national body of CORE facilitate the dissemination of technical information of those agencies to the various key communities.

RESOLUTION OF THE WORKSHOP ON BLACK ECONOMIC BUILDING POWER

AUTOMATION

WHEREAS, many benefits will accrue from automated businesses and machines and
WHEREAS the advantages of automation will benefit the whole populace, the disadvantages to poor, culturally-deprived, visible minorities of our communities more than outweighs the advantages,
It is therefore suggested that a checkmate be established to counter-balance the eminent imminent disadvantages.
IT IS THEREFORE RESOLVED that the federal state and local governing bodies be made aware of the increased tax potential based on production and income.
WE THEREFORE RESOLVE that a special tax be levied against those businesses in proportion to their automation and FURTHER RESOLVE that these funds should be used in services to the disadvantaged people in that locale, in cooperation with that local community.

RESOLUTION OF THE WORKSHOP ON BLACK ECONOMIC BUILDING POWER

DISCRIMINATION IN JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

WHEREAS, there is a credibility gap existing in minority communities concerning the current and projected job opportunities and
WHEREAS, many new job categories are being created and
WHEREAS, counselors, teachers, and students have not been adequately informed on these creations,
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that it become a policy of CORE to investigate, collect and disseminate this information to the "Grass Roots" and seminars be held periodically to inform and encourage local students and be it FURTHER RESOLVED that pressure of necessity be applied to local school boards to set up classes in major current and projected job opportunities.

RESOLUTION OF THE WORKSHOP ON BLACK ECONOMIC BUILDING POWER

PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS TO THE ACQUISITION OF ECONOMIC POWER

A. PSYCHOLOGICAL VALUES

The psychological effects of the value system result in a major inhibiting of black potential in that the value system is determined by the power group and all institutions are set up as arms of the power group to maintain those values (religious, education, political, medical, scientific, military). The elite is isolated from the poor by the creation of a large middle class that upholds the status quo and keeps the poor immobile. These values are entirely contradictory with those of the black community; blacks must adopt this value system absolutely to "make it"; they must embrace the values made for whites to "succeed." Blacks who do not accept these values are punished; neurotic people result who identify with the whites and deny identification as black--a self-destructive syndrome.

Black people are not utilizing their natural resources. Many are undeveloped; if developed, they are hampered by their acceptance of the dominant value system and by their location in the enemy's camp. Black men go to college and emerge without self-identification.

Frequently, a man who has power in his own neighborhood has trouble dealing with members of the white structure because of psychological blocks and not because of inability. Other psychological effects show themselves in several ways. For example, the black businessman-shyster in many cases preys only upon the black community and avoids opponents in the overall white world. This is because he has been psychologically deformed in that he is unsure of himself or still believes in the white superiority myth.

B. IMPACT OF RELIGION ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL POSTURE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Other psychological barriers come from religious practices in that the amount of investment is extremely disproportional to rewards received and dividends paid. These kinds of investments are made from an emotional base without any economic discipline or know-how. Consequently, this currency finds itself without a return route to the mainstream of the economic system as churches have very low resale and exchange value but represent a sizeable proportion of the black community's capital.

C. IMPACT OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE GETTO

The psychology of the ghetto encourages and sustains vices. The following symptoms are frequently noted: desperation, lack of propensity to save, the dehumanizing effect of various drugs, and the destruction of black potential. One of the results of the psychology of the ghetto is that black people do not patronize black businesses because they have been brainwashed to believe that their technical abilities are insufficient or inferior. This is promoted primarily by the white business world and results in part from the way in which a product is promoted.

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE PROBLEMS, WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING SOLUTIONS:

A. PSYCHOLOGICAL VALUES

L. A value system should be created and reorganized so that the posture of the black community could become erected.

2. The ghetto community should create a system of communications designed for communication with the balck bourgeoisie. The black bourgeois should be made aware that his help is needed and necessary for his own psychological health as well as for his technical abilities. The ghetto resident should be made to realize that his bourgeois brother had to pay a certain price in the white world for his technical skills.

3. A community center and/or training courses should be created which would be devoted to the psychological problem and preparation of the college kid or child before he goes into the white world that would emphasize the importance of his returning to the black community.

B. IMPACT OF RELIGION ON PSYCHOLOGICAL POSTURE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

1. Churches should be encouraged to build office-buildings for the same amount of money which they might otherwise use to construct an elaborate building and to locate the church facilities in an annex or basement. Thus, the investment would be in the form of an enterprise and would pay dividends to the black community instead of being an additional liability to the black community.

2. A group of people, sold on the idea of economic investment by churches, should visit churches and try to sell this idea.

3. An economic core in the community should be developed to handle all community allotments of funds. The economic core could be set up in a way where research of possible business enterprises could be done by economists and economic people, and the money for the corporation could be collected from the constituents in terms of holding stocks in the corporation. Based on the research, they could proceed to invest. This has been done by the Harlem Development Committee which was headed by Roy Innis of the Harlem CORE.

C. IMPACT OF PSYCHOLOGY OF THE GHETTO

1. Blacks should take control of operation of vices in their community, should turn them into economic enterprises, and should eliminate those most harmful to the psychological health of the community.

2. Businesses who have a common product and are a similar business could pool their resources and build a common facility, thereby giving better service and being more inviting to the black community and to the community in general.

3. Black ghetto dwellers should understand the handicaps of black businessmen.

RESOLUTION OF THE WORKSHOP ON

"BLACK ECONOMIC BUILDING POWER

WHEREAS; the economic condition of Black people throughout the nation primarily results from a lack of political and economic power and,

WHEREAS: these Black people reside in isolated geographic areas throughout the nation and

WHEREAS; the total gross income of these black residence is in excess of 20 billion dollars per year and,

WHEREAS: this sum is spent on goods and services produced, distributed and retailed by whites who reside in other communities thus limiting the Black residents participation in the American economy to the role of unorganized consumers and,

WHEREAS; the consumer is the most vital participant in the economy because he is the target of the producer, distributor and retailer and,

WHEREAS: It is crucial to the economic existence of Black residents throughout the nation to organize and unify their awesome power as consumers behind a well designed program of selective and/or discriminatory purchasing for the purpose of creating effective dialogue with the foreign producers, distributors and retailers who are the prime beneficiaries of the over 20 billion dollars spent by Black residents throughout the nation. The purpose of this dialogue shall be to secure a return of a portion of these monies to the impoverished Black slums for the benefit of the Black slums, now,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that a foundation be established in heavily populated Black communities throughout the nation in order to marshall resources for the purpose of planning, developing and owning shopping centers, manufacturing plants, retail establishments, and other commercial enterprises within the communities. Moreover, the foundation shall create a research team or staff for the purpose of identifying and ~~listing~~ listing those producers, distributers, and retailers who are the chief beneficiaries of the Black consumer dollar and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED; that these community foundations, either create or select a community corporations for the purpose of surveying, assessing and gathering information relating to the economic development of the community. This corporation shall plan, design, and develop proposals for the economic development of the community and submit these proposals to the foundation for funding

A Scott

7/1/67

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BLACK POLITICAL POWER — Moderator: Ronald Dellums

I. WHEREAS: Historically, Black people have systematically been excluded from meaningful participation in the American political structure, and

2. WHEREAS: The present two-party political system has not functioned inthe best interests of Black people, and

3. WHEREAS: This condition has prevented Black people from participating in decisions that affect their lives and interests,

WHEREAS: Political power is essential to survival and the achievement of Peoples goals and desires,

4. WHEREAS: Black people must consciously move to develope political power inthis country,

5. AND WHEREAS, we define BLACK political Power as the ability by Black People to move in their ownbest interests; using all of the resources at their disposal; i.e., cultural, economic, electoral political educational to guarantee Black survival and achieve desired goals by continually implementing a program to develop Black political indépendence; a national Black Body Politic; and, ultimately, an independent National Third Party.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Congress of Racial Equality adopt the following program to achieve the aforesaid objectives;

1. A massive voter-registration drive for the purpose of mobilizing the Black Community.

2. A political education pro ram to

a Orient Black People to Fundamental operations of American Politics.

b. Educate Black People to the limitations inherent inthe present two-party political system.

c. And provide an alternative to the present system

d. Create community workshops utilizing all available resources to help black people to develope techniques for dealing with immediate needs.

e. Mount campaign to mobilize Black people around the issues of lack of representation of Black People in Washington, D.C.

~~educate blacks the~~

d. Encourage the development of a National Black political communications system

~~BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the Congress of Racial Equality move to mobilize the Black Political potential by~~ ???

By

Ralph Williams, Oakland Economic Development Adv. Com.
Bob Smith, L. A. Core (West Coast Rep. for AGT)
Nathaniel Everett, Flatlands
Maurice Williams, Oakland, Afro-American Students Union
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Personal Copy for Floyd McKissick

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Edited

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

NATIONAL CONVENTION

1967

Report and Recommendations of the Education Workshop

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A word of thanks goes to the Black Students of Merritt College who set up all night typing this report and compiling the materials contained herein.

Special thanks go to Miss Elendar Barnes and Miss La Verne Tribble (students) and to Miss Margaret Traylor (faculty member)

Workshop: CONTROLLING BLACK EDUCATION IN BLACK COMMUNITIES
(National CORE Convention)
July 1 and 2 , 1967
By Dr. Clyde E. DeBerry, Director of University of Oregon
School Desegregation Training and Research Institute
and Chairman of EugeneChapter of CORE, Eugene, Oregon

A. PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

A whole generation of black people has grown to adulthood since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision to desegregate the schools. The Supreme Court ruled that separate or segregated education is, by definition, inferior. Flyd McKissick testified before a sub-committee of the United States Senate late last year,

> that this represented the removal of the major roadblock to full citizenship and real participation in the mainstream of American life for black people....
>
> But the law of the land was not enforced. After thirteen years, only 13% of the Negro children in the South attend integrated schools. In New York City over fifty percent attend segregated schools. What is at the heart of the issue is inferior education, second rate education, second class education, if you please, for black Americans.

Again quoting from McKissick's testimony before the U.S. Senate,

> From the time a black child enters the public schools, he is fighting an uphill battle not to be pushed out of the educational system.... Teachers rarely teach; they keep order and impose discipline. The Harlems of this country are public school disaster areas. The continuing failure to educate black and poor children when education is a necessary ingredient for success in this society amounts to genocide. The fact that the "mindkilling" may be unintentional is irrelevant to the victim and of little comfort to the bereaved family.

As a conceptual framework, school systems must be viewed as made up of several components. Each of these components is built into other community political systems. One of our problems must be to name and describe these components. It is predicted, after seeing how the components are operative (already most of us know the working functions of these components), that we will be able to build an effective program of quality education for black people within or outside these components in our respective communities.

Component number one is the school board which, in a majority of cases, is white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle class dominated. Curriculum content is representative of middle class attitudes. The lower class child, and particularly the black child, is purposely neglected in curriculum planning, counseling, and teaching programs. The school board makes policies that affect the total climateof public education in urban communities.

The school administration is our second component. It consists of those school administrators whoexecute the policies of school boards. In most cases school administrators are not hired as professional educators, but rather as implementors of board policy. ~~The school board represents white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class attitudes, consequently~~ NOT NEEDED REDUNDANT

~~the school administrators that represent the same set of narrow attitudes.~~

Teachers, curriculum specialists, and counselors represent the third component, and as such reflect similar attitudes. We indeed see other related components of the school system as being potent factors. The role of community influentials, the fourth component, is an important part of this picture. They both influence and are influenced by the value systems of the community. The fifth component in our school system is the public - that is, the parents and the pupils. In light of all the components mentioned and the deplorable conditions of our national education system, our main objectives is to construct programs which would remedy the situation, or at least begin to treat the conditions of our education systems.

B. OBJECTIVES OF THE WORKSHOP

The objectives are two-fold in this structure of our current education system.

1. How does the individual view the problem of quality education in his own particular locality?

2. Given the types of school systems in the various areas of our country, what can we do as individuals, and as an organization in concert with other groups, to bring about quality education for black children?

RECOMMENDATION #01

Each CORE chapter should undertake a Power Structure identification and analysis of its community.

I. RATIONALE

For the implementation of Black Power as related to the problems Black people have with education in the United States, CORE ~~realizes that it is necessary to~~ recognizes the inter-dependency of education with many other institutions and interest groups.

Therefore, CORE recommends that local chapters undertake a community power structure identification and analysis in their respective localities. In a serious program of implementation of Black Power it is not sufficient to operate on guess work, hunches, common knowledge or "what everybody knows." A community power structure influences ~~decisions~~ discussion in all areas of community life, including education. To achieve the kind of education Black Americans desire and need, a realistic knowledge of the distribution of power in a given community is essential. We have to know "where it's at," not just generally, ~~so know that~~, but very ~~specifically~~ specifically

in terms of particular ~~persons~~ people, particular organizations, and ~~factions~~ groups. With this accomplished, the determination of exactly how to proceed can then be programmed.
- We will know the configuration of power in specific communities
- We will know which power blocs must be changed;
- which power bloc must be eliminated,
- which power blocs must be neutralized, and
- ~~and~~ which power blocs can be ~~used~~ enlisted

II METHODS

It should be possible to identify and analyze a community power structure with the resources available to individual CORE chapters. It can be done without a large staff of "experts" with 20 doctors degrees. There should be at least one or two people in each chapter able to oversee such a project. If not, professors or graduate students from a nearby university can be used to explain the process and lay out the design. At all times, however, the chapter must control and supervise the project. A basic understanding of procedures can be gotten from a number of source books. Two such are:

1.) Community Power Structure - by Floyd Hunter
2.) Men at the Top - by Robert Presthus.

1

The community power structure identification and analysis should encompass parallel studies of the dominant community (White) power structure and the sub-community (Black) power structure. Methods will be the same for both components.

A. Identification

There are two major methods for identifying community power. They are the decisional technique and the reputational technique. Both should be used.

Decisional Technique: This method attempts to identify the persons or groups who have been publicly connected with important community decisions. This is done by going through the local newspapers for the past year or if possible the past two years. Make a listing of people or groups who appear to strongly influence or make decisions on all important community issues. List these names under headings of the type of issue: for instance, Educational Issues, Economic Issues, Real Estate Issues, Political Issues, Taxation Issues.

Reputational Technique: This method attempts to identify the persons or groups who have a reputation among ~~knowledgeable people~~ intellectuals as being decision-makers in community issues. Select a panel of 7 to 10 people to do this work. These should be ~~persons~~ who have lived in the community for

a long time and are in ~~positions high enough on the socio-economic ladder~~ ENOUGH HIGH SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITIONS to know who the most important people and organizations are. This panel should be drawn from a number of areas of community life; business, labor, churches, education, and politics. ~~These~~ The panel members should be interviewed personally with a few questions such as: ~~follows~~:

1) Who are the most influential persons in the city's economic life.
2) Who are the most influential persons in the city's political life.
3) Who are the most influential persons in the city's ~~school related~~ educational issues.
4) Which are this cities most influential organizations, groups or clubs.

Names of individuals and groups gathered by the decisional and reputational methods should then be compared and cross-checked. A listing should be made of those names that appear a number of times, or most frequently. This list should be of the top twenty to fifty persons (depending on the size of the city). This can be further refined by listing the top people under the headings of the types of ~~issue~~ community issue they are influential in. A person might be influential on ~~only~~ one kind of issue or on many. Another

listing can be made of persons influential in more than one type of community issue. ~~A list~~ and dyds

A listing of influential organizations should be drawn up representing the 10 to 15 mentioned most often as being influential on community issues. The individuals listed earlier should be connected with these organizations and clubs.

B. Analysis

On completion of the above process, the CORE chapter will have identified specifically who are the existing holders of power in the community. ~~core~~. The next task is to analyze those in power and determine exactly where they stand on community issues. This analysis should follow two modes:

1) The kinds of positions they have taken in the past and the kinds of decisions they have made should be examined and recorded.

2) The top influentials? ~~as determined by the above methods~~ should be interviewed personally from a prepared questionnaire. This questionnaire should CONTAIN ~~acquire~~ the following information:

a) Demographic data: age, sex, occupation, education, income, background, political affiliation, organizational affiliation, etc.

b) What does the person think are the most important issues facing the community, what positions does he take on these issues and how actively is he involved in these issues

c) Who would the person seek support from if he were active in different issues and who would he expect to oppose his position.

d) A series of questions (30 to 40) aimed at determining the person's attitudes toward controversial issues should be included. This could be an anonymous mail-back questionnaire. The design and analysis of this questionnaire requires at least some experience with psychological testing.

III TIME SCHEDULE

CORE chapters should begin their community power structure identification and analysis immediately after the 1967 National Convention of CORE. Depending on the size of the community, this project should be completed in from 3 to 6 months. On completion, a full report should be sent to the National Office for dissemination to other chapters.

The application of Harlem CORE'S proposal to urban areas with sizable Black Communities

2.

In Harlem-type areas a necessary program is that of establishing separate educational systems which are black controlled.

Throughout history, the role of the schools has been to " groom" youngsters, to program them to take their"place" in the society. White control of our schools has meant the programming of our black youngsters to play roles the white power structure wants them to play. The control of the schools by black people will mean that black children will be ideologically prepared to address themselves effectively to the problems of controlling their environment--in short, our black children's education must be consistent with the needs of Black people.

AN INDEPENDENT BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR HARLEM

For many years the civil rights movement in America addressed itself singlemindedly to one problem: the desegregation of all aspects of American society. This goal was predicated on the idea that as an American the black man had every right to participate without restrictions in all segments of the society. There can be no question that in the early days of the movement many gains were made: It is now possible for a black man to travel South without having to sleep and eat in his car. It is now possible for a few carefully selected black children to attend integrated schools. Many jobs and opportunities have opened up in the North. All around one can see evidences of the work of the early civil rights movement. But, in this year of 1967, more than a decade after the movement started in Montgomery when a seamstress refused to move to the back of the bus, people in the movement have taken stock of the situation of the black man in America and have noted that for all the gains made, the lives of the masses of the black people have remained essentially unchanged. In searching for the cause of this situation, these new observers wondered just how the civil rights movement failed; what didn't it do? They found an answer in the fact that never, during all the years of picketing, of sit-ins, of petitioning of Congress for civil rights bills, during all those years of labor no one, at any time, gave thought to the psychology of the black man. No one wondered "What now?" after the desegregation of a cafeteria. In short, the civil rights movement addressed itself to the surface conditions that contributed to the black man's second class status, but did not consider any program that would erase the self-defeating self-hatred that is so prevalent among black people, and the absence of control by black people of their communities.

A PROPOSAL FOR AN INDEPENDENT BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR HARLEM

Some leaders of the early civil rights movement are now resting on their laurels, secure in the false notion that things are getting better all the time. But things are not getting better; indeed, for many black men, particularly those in urban areas, they are getting worse. Despite civil rights bills, despite the poverty program, despite all the efforts of the old civil rights movement, there continues to exist in the black communities of this country a reality of powerlessness which will perpetuate itself forever unless we strike at the very root of the problem— the black man's image of himself and his lack of control over the institutions which control his life.

But where to begin? We suspect that for many adult members of the black community it is already too late in the day. We therefore have to look to our black children and to the schools, the chief molders of their minds, for a beginning. We look to the schools, however, and we are confronted by a bulwark of mediocrity, a powerful instrument for perpetuating the very ills we seek to erase. At this point, despite appearances to the contrary, the school situation is not beyond hope. We propose to outline in this paper an idea for bringing about complete change in the Harlem schools. There have been so many proposals presented to correct the schools, so many analyses made of The Problem, so many "bold" new concepts studied and forgotten that one may legitimately approach any new proposal with a certain amount of cynicism, convinced that it too will not solve the problem. We submit, however, that many programs failed because they were based on utopian or piecemeal concepts that had absolutely no relation to the reality of life in Harlem. The children of our race can no longer be sacrificed while we wait for some distant utopia. We are hopeful that the proposal to follow will be one around which Harlem parents and all community groups concerned with quality education can rally.

THE SCHOOLS IN HARLEM

The schools in Harlem, like many schools throughout America, face similar problems. Harlem is the largest black community in the world, and is many times the size of many autonomous communities throughout the country. Yet, we have in Harlem a city within a city that has no control over its own destiny. The schools in Harlem offer a most dramatic illustration of this fact. To repeat statistics documenting the worsening conditions of Harlems schools is tantamount to belaboring the obvious. One need only go to statistics compiled by the Board of Education itself to find support for the charge of criminally inferior schools. In every conceivable way, education in Harlem is markedly inferior to standards maintained in schools in surrounding areas. The physical condition of the school buildings is poor. Old structures are in constant need of repair and maintenance an uphill fight to avoid complete obsolescence. Buildings which were adequate decades ago cannot meet the present requirements of space and safety equipment.

The most damaging indictment that can be made of the Harlem schools is that they are failing to produce students who have a good working knowledge of the basic skills required to function in this highly competitive society. Not only are general achievement scores lower than in other sections of the city, but 85% of the students are at least a year below their supposed grade level in reading, and even lower in mathematics. Moreover, the schools are failing to provide children with a positive image of themselves and of their fellow black Americans. Staffed, for the most part, by white, middle-class teachers, who bring TO THE CLASSROOM, preconceived notions about the inability of black children to learn, ~~to the classroom,~~ the schools are little more than mills for nourishing and re-enforcing the self-hatred already harbored in a black child when he enters school.

Similarities Between School Segregation in Harlem and in the Sout h

For all practical purposes schools in Harlem are operating under a condition of segregation, and there is no really valid difference between segregated schools in the South and segregated schools in the North, for the chief characteristic of a segregated system is that it is imposed on a group of people and they have no control over it. They do not control policy or direction and are powerless to bring about meaningful changes. In New York City, as in the segregated schools of the South, the people of Harlem have no control over their schools. As in the South, we have a situation where white overlords are overseeing the education of black children. The elements of choice and control are the deciding difference between a system that is segregated from the rest of the school system and one that is separated from the rest of the school system. It's an undisputable fact that neither of these elements exists in the South's segregated schools or in Harlem schools. To entertain the thought that the segregated schools of the South, in some ways, might have a slight advantage over the segregated schools of Harlem may be horrifying to some people, but it is not too far-fetched. In the South, black pupils do, after all, get a chance to see black people in positions of authority in the schools. Lest someone seize upon this last statement with the intention of making capital, let us hasten to emphasize that we hold no brief for segregated school, North or South.

The Failure to Achieve Integrated Education

Attempts to integrate the New York City school system have failed completely and undisputably. We seriously doubt that there is anyone around who honestly believes that this is a goal that can be reached in the foreseeable

future. Many of the groups that campaigned for years for this "pie-in-the-sky" solution to the problem have ended their efforts and have now turned their attention to the pursuit of quality education. Integration failed in New York City because of (1) shifts in population and (2) the Board of Education's responsiveness to pressures from white groups opposed to any integration plan. This responsiveness was demonstrated again and again during the various campaigns for integrated schools when even the most half-hearted attempt on the part of the Board to carry out an integration plan was met with instant opposition from white groups. The Board would then procrastinate or capitulate entirely. However desirable a goal integration may be for the future, its pursuit today will continue to end in failure.

The Failure of Compensated Education

In a recent report, the Civil Rights Commission noted that special programs such as New York's Higher Horizons consisted " more of showmanship than solid education" and that some of them "may be fraudulent window-dressing to divert Negro parents who want a fair deal for their children."

The various special programs instituted by the Board of Education have failed. The Reason can be found in the fact that these exercises in pacification were panaceas that did not take cognizance of the larger problem. Like the doctor who doesn't really know what is wrong with his patient and decides to pacify him with an innocuous drug, special programs are simply an illustration of the extent of the system's lack of understanding of what is needed in the Harlem schools.

THE SOLUTION

It stands clear that any idea for improving the shcools in Harlem, or in any other place in America, is doomed to fail if the idea is to be carried out under the Boared of Education as it is presently structured. The educational system of

Most large cities including New York City is lrge and cumbersome to administer. It is an old institution run by a settled and conservative bureaucracy that is inflexible and averse to change. Faced with runnin the world's largest school syste, the Board has shown a singular lack of vision in dealing with American schools. Boards respond quickly and favorably to the white majority and makes as few concessions as possible to the black minority. In most cities the School Boards are confronted by a group that is different from most of the people to whom it is responsible, and, more importantly, has less power. The Board has not met this challenge, and it now appears that it will never have the will, the understanding, of the know-how to do so. In short, the Board has abdicated its responsibility in most communities and should therefore be replaced by an independent board of education.

An independent board of education for black children can be effective in bringing about changes needed to improve the schools because:

1. It will not be confronted with two groups with conflicting interests.

2. It will not be the entrenched bureaucracy thatis the main drawback of the present Board. As a result, it willbe completely open to new ideas, new programs, and new concepts that may seem like heresy if viewed in light of the standards maintained by the present system.

3. The people themselves will not feel that they are dealing with an alien group that does not have their best interest at heart, and will therefore be more likely to participate actively in the building of better schools.

SUGGESTED PRELIMINARY PLAN OF ACTION IN OUR AMERICAN BLACK SCHOOLS

Our first step towards making this proposal a reality has been to form committees of parents, community organizers, teachers, lawyers, and varied social scientists to make a study of its feasibility along five broad lines: educational, sociological, political, legal, and economical. We are in the process of organizing groups for quality education around the idea.

Work has begun on assembling information about precedents. Data on the number of pupils presently enrolled and expected in the next few years, on staff, salaries and other resources are being summarized.

Liason with interested universities, unions and other organizations has been begun and will be expanded. Black residents will be canvassed on their priorities in the education of their children; they need to be asked this before the educational philosophy and administrative structure are set down in concrete form.

* * * * *

We recognize that our proposal for an independent board of education is a radical departure from everything previously tried, but we are convinced that the aspirin-feeding of American schools had to end and we can think of no other way of ending it.

OF AREAS
OUTLINE IN WHICH RESEARCH HAS TO BE DONE FOR A FEASIBILITY STUDY OF AN INDEPENDENT BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR BLACK COMMUNITIES

I. Economic and Financial
   A. Sources of Money
      1. Governmental institutions
      2. New sources
   B. Methods of Allocation and Spending of Money
   C. Use of School Funds as a Program of Economic Revitalization
   D. Needs

II. Educational and Prosessional
   A. The Structure of the System
   B. The Administration of the Schools
   C. Integration and Continuation of Present Projects
   D. Continuity with Present System
      1. Safeguarding of interests of present participants
      2. Integration of present staff into new structure
      3. Necessity of teacher retraining
   E. Discovery of Potential Recruits Among Community People
   F. Ways of Selecting Board
   G. Determining Curricula, Materials, Texts
   H. Special Professional Conditions

III. Sociological
   A. Community Reaction
      1. Creation of grass-roots support
      2. Support by professional groups
      3. Readiness of community to involve itself fully
   B. Benefits for Community
      1. Institution for social change
      2. Improvement of community image
      3. Opportunities for creation of greater self-realization
      4. Stimulation of intellectual life
      5. Reduction of anti-social behavior
      6. Correct impotence of ghetto life
      7. Concept of self-help for slum inhabitants
      8. Incorporation of ghetto inhabitants into social life

IV. Legal
   A. Research Into Existing Legal Mechanisms and Systems
   B. Determination of Most Effective Method Toward Proposed Goal
   C. Need for New Legal Programs and Legislation
   D. Research into Existing and Corresponding Situations
      1. Status of individual service instituions in a political community
      2. Status of institutions that straddle political boundaries

V. Political and Psychological
   A. Research into Political Effects of Proposal
   B. Research Probable Human Problems
   C. Determine Ways to Minimize Intergroup Antagonism and Conflict
   D. Determine Means of Publicizing Program, Benefits and Effects
   E. Research into Most Effective Means of Creating a Political Climate Favorable to the Plan
   F. Determine How the Plan Can Bring Various Communities Within New York City Area Closer Together

SUGGESTED MODELS OF CONSULTANTS FOR FEASIBILITY STUDY OF AN INDEPENDENT BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR BLACK SCHOOLS

Dean Allen Ballard	CCNY (political science)
Dr. Kenneth Clark	HARC (psychology)
Dr. Richard Cloward	Columbia University (sociology)
Dr Seymour Gang	Principal (P.S. 192 Manhattan)
Dr. Marilyn Gittel	City University (political science)
Dr. Edmund W. Gordon	Yeshiva University (Educational psychology)
Dr. Edward Gottlieb	Principal (P.S. 165, Manhattan)
Dr. Vera John	Yeshiva University (psychology)
Dr Elenor Leacock	Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute of Technology (anthropolpgy)
Dr. Kenneth Marshall	HARC (sociology)
Dr. Steven Polgar	Columbia University (public Health)
Dr. Frank Riessman	New York University (educational sociology)
Dr. Sophia Robinson	Columbia University (social work)
Dr. Rachel Weddingbon	Queens College (education)
Prof. Preston Wilcox	Columbia University (School of Social Work)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS REGARDING INDEPENDENT AMERICAN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

1. Q. What is meant here by an independent Harlem school system?

   A. The Harlem school system would be chartered by the New York State Legislature and would be responsible directly to the State, just as is the present New York City School District. It would negotiate its own contracts with staff and suppliers.

2. Q. What is the long-range goal ~~xxxxxxx~~ in this move for independence in education?
   A. Some have felt it is to create a permanently separate educational system. Others have felt it is a necessary step towards long-range eventual integration. In any case, the ultimate outcome of this plan will be to make it possible for Harlem to choose.

3. Q. Is not the move for an independent school system in Harlem a roadblock to integration in Harlem?
   A. In a multi-racial society such as ours, integration may be the most desirable end. However, three factors will make it necessary to postpone the struggle for integration in Harlem-like communities:

      1. The existence of racism, which has organized against and defeated any significant moves toward integration.

      2. The growing number of non-white children in New York City public shcools. At present, the Manhattan elementary schools have a non-white population of approximately 75 per cent.

      3. The existence of Harlem as an extensive isolated solidly non-white community.

   Any movement towards effectice integration, moreover, would be thwarted by the fact that Harlem is educationally a disaster area. Nobody wants ~~xxx~~ to send his child into a burning house.

   All of these factors make it necessary to address ourselves first and foremost to the problem of quality education for the children of Harlem.

4. Q. Will an independent school system in Harlem be a roadblock to integration efforts in other communitites.?
   A. No. On the contrary , the experiences of the Harlem school system in motivating and successfully teaching Negro children could indicate fruitful directions for teaching Negro children anywhere, particularly in situations where ~~xxxx~~ integration is possible due to integrated housing patterns.

5. Q. What are the boundaries of the Harlem shcool ~~xxxxxxx~~ district? (Will the Harlem school district include Spanish Harlem?)

   A. The plan has grown out of central Harlem and today it ~~xxxxxxx~~ reflects Harlem CORE's best understanding of the central Harlem community. The same or similar plan for Spanish Harlem can only be worked out through consultation in depth with that community. The dialogue has only just begun.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS REGARDING INDEPENDENT HARLEM SCHOOL SYSTEM

6. Q. Isn't the proposed Harlem shcool district too large an entity for effective community participation?
A. The Harlem school district will be decentralized into sub-districts to whatever extent necessary for effective community involvement.

7. Q. How will the school board actually be run?
A. It will be run by an elected school board and a appointed administrator as most school boards are. The elected members will be Harlem residents. It is important that much of the detailed planning and structure be the work of the Harlem community. To this end we plan to call a convention of the people in the Harlem community.

8. Q. Where will the money come from to run the proposed Harlem school system?
A. The sources of money will be the same as those at present—the City, State, and Federal governments.

1. City money: A separate lump-sum budget from the City. Ultimately the appropriation should be based on a "needs" formula. However, an appropriation based on present criteria is acceptable. Great strides will be made using the existing means of appropriation.

2. State money: State aid would be appropriated directly to the Harlem school district on the basis of school population.

3. Federal money: As a separate school district, Harlem would be eligible for and entitled to Federal aid. (the district may well receive more money than it is presently getting through Federally financed projects.) The Harlem school district would be able to have its own Washington lobby if it thought it desirable.

9. Q. How much money will be needed to run the Harlem school system?

A. The final sum will be contingent on the number of school comprising the Harlem school system. At present the average operating budget of individual schools involve approximately one million dollars per year.

10. Q. How would an independent school system in Harlem result in quality education for Harlem children?

A. The system would be committed from the outset to educational innovation. It would not be committed to the continued use of educational techniques and procedures which have not worked. It would be committed to preserving the best aspects of the present system and to seeking out and developing new techniques. It would welcome the help of experts,

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS REGARDING INDEPENDENT HARLEM SCHOOL SYSTEM

11. Q. How would an independent school system benefit Harlem?

A. Such a system by its very existence addresses itself to many of the basic needs of Harlem (and Harlem-type communities).

1. The need to involve ghetto inhabitants concerning educational life in their community.
2. The need to intensify the intellectual life in the community.
3. The need for the provision of opportunities of greater self-realization for the children and adults of the community.
4. The need for improvement of the community's image of its own eyes and in the eyes of others.
5. The need for correcting the fact of impotence of ghetto inhabitants vis-a-vis the institutions which affect them.
6. The need to make accessible to the parents and residents their board of education--a board which is accountable to them firstly, because the community plays a central role in its selection, and secondly, because there is provided a structure which guarantees the community's right to be a continuing partner in the enterprise.
7. The need of a board of education which addresses itself full-time to the needs of the Harlem community.
8. The need of a school system which can become the rallying focus of community self-help projects as well as serve as a vehicle for guiding many of the as yet unchannelled creative forces in Harlem along constructive paths.

12. Q. How could an independent school system in Harlem benefit the rest of the city?

A. The proposed system stands a better chance of reaching the tens of thousands of Negro children which are presently lost every year. This represents a tragic waste of human beings.

The proposed system would help bring peace to the city. The Negro community presently has no faith in the present Board nor in the school asministrative bureaucracy(s sincerity to succeed concerning their children's education. Under these circumstances, protest and unrest around schools--which are now a frequent occurrence--may only intensify and grow increasingly desperate.

RECOMMENDATION # 3

This 1967 CORE National Convention should demand that Merritt College(Oakland,Calif) do the following:

1. End the perpetuation of racism by Merritt College as evidenced by the obvious absence of Blackness in its curriculum and in its administrative staffing.

2. Employ a Dean level Black Administrator to develop,implement and articulate the Black curriculum.

3. Provide Black Students with course offerings by the Fall 1967 quarter or the WINTER 1967 quarter at the very latest.

4. Provide funds for the implementation of this Black Curriculum even if this means cutting back other programs not as directly related to the needs of the Black community.

5. Provide a catalog supplement and other printed materials to publicize this BLACK CURRICULUM in the Black community.

All CORE chapters should utilize the guidelines provided by this Black Curriculum to implement similar programs suited to their particular local needs and interests.

DISCUSSION

It is vital that CORE take a militant position on this recommantation due to the strategic value of this program to other cities throughout the Nation. Merritt College is about the only known school in the nation that has such a proposed program. It is well known that school districts do not relish the thought of being the first district to "experiment" with a new program,they always seek precidants. This program at Merritt College has a good chance of going through and will serve as a national model for CORE chapters across the nation to use as a lever to force reluctant school districts to provide similar programs.

This Black Curriculum is primarily a curriculum built around courses related to Blackness,degree programs in Afro-American studies and Black holidays.

The Black Curriculum is a step in the direction of the position taken by the Harlem CORE chapter. It will be a much smoother transition when Black people in the urban areas take over the school systems because there will be the element of Blackness already present as a result of this curriculum.

(1st of 2 pgs)

NATIONAL BLACK CURRICULUM MODEL FOR ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY AND HIGHER INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING

(OUTLINE FORM) (Full text available upon written request by interested persons)

I. Introduction based upon appropriateness.
   A. appropriate where black people are to be educated
   B. appropriate in terms of Black definition of EDUCATED
   C. appropriate for any type institution

II. Problem Identification
   A. Black people feel self-determined needs are not being met by PRESENT institutions.
   B. Tired of witnessing the rape of our heritage and the futile attempt to explain away our heritage.
   C. High degree of failure on part of Black students in white oriented schools using white oriented materials.
   D. First step in overcoming the self-hatred that the "Negro" has for himself.
   E. We want true history of Afro-Americans and our role in present day society.
      Need to give our people knowledge of self.
      Build basis for relating to other facets of society.
   F. "Negro" history treated as second class or remedial.
   G. Absence of Blackness in institutions of learning.
      Most schools are primarily white oriented institutions teaching white oriented values to whites and "Negroes" alike.
   H. Two-track systems are expedient means of dumping Black students into inferior classes.
   I. Black students conditioned NOT to think, tax minds, or to question or care about their heritage.
   J. Real reasons why whites do better than Black students on college entrance or classifications tests.
   K. Behaviorial psychology; responding to societal stimulii; self-destructive AIMS got them nothing; 50 to 75 riots in 3 yr period got results; conditioned to one factor: White racist America will listen to us and act in our best interest IF WE RAISE ENOUGH HELL!
   L. Meaningless dialogs and inactivity perpetuate violence; only choice is via bullets, burnings or books--Brothers on the block say choice is CHANGE OR DIE!
   M. No true community schools because they neglect the self-determined needs of the Black Community.
   N. Black person must develop, coordinate and articulate Black Curriculum programs. Whites operate out of needs of fear, or worse yet, duty without love or commitment. Black persons dedicated to uplifting Black consciousness needed to articulate and convey our message for us.
   O. Black communities will not wait any longer or listen to white lies; survival at stake and must change institutions by any means necessary to have human dignity.
   P. Black curriculum more representative of Black communities needs and interests as DETERMINED BY BLACK PEOPLE FROM THOSE COMMUNITIES WILL HELP RECTIFY THE PROBLEMS FACING BLACK AMERICA.

III. Objectives of the BLACK CURRICULUM

A. Enhance Human Relations, as defined by and meaningful to Black People

B. Develop and build Black Image and Identity

C. Provide NEW job openings for Black people

D. Further the knowledge and understanding of the contributions made to American society by significant Black people like Malcolm X.

E. Provide educational institutions with a national model of a Black Curriculum.

IV. Procedures and/or Guidelines for local CORE chapters to follow in the implementation of this model Black Curriculum.

A. List Black Holidays on school calendars as official school holidays.

B. Develop Black Curriculum comprised of courses listed in section V of this model.

C. Offer degree programs with a major in Afro-American studies.

D. Articulate college programs with elementary and secondary schools in area.

E. Demand funds IMMEDIATELY to meet the special needs of disadvantaged students.

F. Pursue possibility of funding these programs through the National Endowment for the Humanities.

G. Contact Sid Walton(at home) 480 60th Street apt. #2
Oakland, California 94609
Area code 415- 653 2263
653 2142

or(at work) Merritt College
5714 Grove St.
Oakland, Calif
94609
Area code 415
655 6110 ext. 12

V. Department and Course titles for the Black Curriculum

VI. Letter concerning Malcolm X Memorial Day

A. White American press created negative image of Malcolm X

B. Whites didn't understand what Malcolm X did to uplift Black people.

C. Malcolm condemned WHAT whites collectively have DONE to our people collectively.

D. Attack the society that created the need for Malcolm X to have to give his life rather than attacking Malcolm X for reacting to this messed up society.

E. Malcolm X got Black people off their knees and reminded middle class "white aping" "Negroes" that it was extremists who made their success possible.

F. Malcolm X agitated for immediate freedom for everybody in America, not just Blacks.

G. He died in the cause of Brotherhood.

H. Bay Area Black Groups planned 4 day conference and memorial day.

I. Soul Students Advisory Coundil partof nationwide campaign to make Feb. 21 a national holiday in honor of Malcolm X.

J. Conference details.

K. Request to faculty to excuse absence based upon conscience and dedication to the cause

L. Malcolm X was chosen by and for Black people.

M. Support rather than challange this self-determined holiday.

N. White holidays Blacks are forced to celebrate.

O. Subject: Love.

VII. Faculty Senate memo supporting Malcolm X Memorial Day.

TO: Instructional Council Members and Other Interested Persons
FROM : SID WALTON
SUBJECT: SPECIAL MEETING-- Development of a Black Curriculum and A.A. degree major in Afro-American Studies

Since this meeting is related to Black people and since no Black people were consulted about the implications of the various changes through which you are presently going, let me request that the Instructional Council at the present time consider not only the token topic of "Negro" history but also the key topic of a BLACK CURRICULUM which was highly endorsed by more than 300 people at the BLACK EXPERIENCE and by nearly 1000 people representing Black groups at the at the California Black Conference which I attended in Los Angeles on May 26-28,1967.

On Friday,May 19,1967 the Black Experience addressed itself to the topic "Black Culture and the Student's Dilemma--Getting an Education or Getting Jived". The Black student panel,without exception,expressed feelings that the present educational structure of most schools in the United States were not meeting the needs of Black Students

Black people are tired of vital decisions being made which affect them and are tired of not being part of the decision-making process until the very end. Black students are tired of witnessing the rape of their heritage by institutions of higher learning offering "Negro" history courses. The term "Negro" is a futile attempt to explain away our heritage a nd to make Black people believe that they have no roots other than in America. The course under consideration should rightly be called Afro-American history.

To my understanding, one of the arguments against the offering of a Cal transfer course in Afro-American history was the high degree of failure expected on the part of the Black students who would be taking the course. To me, this represents a gross misunderstanding on your part of what is required to motivate Black students whose needs have not been met or satisfied by the present educational structure. The point that you fail to realize is that these students failed in "white-oriented" courses using materials which were not about them or their culture.

The teaching and counseling staff could encourage "Negro" students to break the 400 year old pattern of trying to be white to get ahead in life. Instead of reinforcing that sick "gotta think white" form of behavior in " Negro" students, they could encourage them to stop trying to be white and to attempt to learn something about their true heritage. This is just a first step in overcoming the self-hatred that the "Negro" has for himself.

Black students want an education that teaches the true history of Afro-Americans and our role in the present day society. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

I firmly agree with the employee of SanFrancisco State College who recently told a Merritt College student that we " shouldn't tolerate the Merritt College administration numbering Negro History with the remedial or second class courses".

What we really shouldn't tolerate is the absence of Blackness about Merritt College period! Merritt College is a white college teaching white values to whites and "Negroes" alike. The power structure of Merritt College has to be taught to think Black so that when they,for example, change the number of a Negro history course from a 50 to a 65 they will know why Black students get angry--especially when the course ends up being the last one in the listing of history courses. Being naive or ignorant about how we feel is no excuse. American Institutions 50A could have been restored to its Spring 1958 number of History 67B thereby not affecting the numbering or placement of Negro History just because,to quote Mr. De Ford's explanation for the changes* "the Office of Instruction made a mistake". *(made at the Quarter System information meeting held in E-4 May 11,1967)

Another point that seemingly causes some concern in rela tion to the issue of the Negro history courses is tha t of the two track system. If the two track system of course offerings is not suited for Black students in their own history, then the two track system is not suited for them foraany other courses --unless it is your expedient means of dumping the Blsck students into an inferior program so that the business of education may continue at the Cal transfer level. There is also the subtle implication that you have to dedide for Black students which level course they might want to take. It is quite conceivable that a Black student eligible to take a Cal transfer course may elect to take the lower level course requiring less reading,etc due to his full-time work committments to support himself and,possibly,a family also. It is true that some Black students need remedial help, but don't limit your thinking to the point that you feel that all Black students or the majority of them can't handle Cal transfer courses that relate to them and/or their cultural background.

We want an adequate number of remedial reading teachers and a reading program to compensate for the many illiterate Black students being run through that poor excuse for an educational system operated by the Oakland Board of Education. The college must stand up to its feeder schools and tell them to quit jiving the kids by allowing teachers to offer "Be quite and earn A's" type of courses or by allowing kids to sit in classes with transistor radios to their ears instead of making them learn vital communicative and computational skills. Without these skills the kids are like intellectual cripples at college.

We are fed up with the fact that Black kids are being trained not to think,not to tax their minds, not to ask questions, not to care about their heritage! We want Merritt College to join us in pointing to the real reasons why students from Skyline Highschool tend to do ratherwell on the School and College Ability Test while the students from McClymonds Highschool tend to do rather poor on the same test.

Anyone familiar with behaviorial psychology will readily see that Black students are responding to stimulii created by society. Uncle Tomism,tokenism,be-white-ism and all the other self-destructive isms got them nothing. Watts 1965, Hunters Point 1966 and all the other 29 to 30 some odd riots across the nation in the past three years have conditioned the Black students to one factor: You will listen to us and act in our best interest IF WE RAISE ENOUGH HELL. The Black student is determined to get people aware of Black consciousness by any means necessary. The Black professional is determined to create new channels if your channels of communication and action are clogged.

Those who would label the above paragraph as threats of violence or intimidation are the very ones who perpetuate violence through dialoge and inactivity. Action is needed if you want to break the vicious cycle of violence. Black people are going to do something whether you like it or not! Your only choice is whether it will be via burnings, bullets or books. Only a fool would choose any but the latter.

The Black community wants a share of the pie called" Merritt College". This is supposed to be a community college,but it isn't a true community college because it is neglecting the self-determined needs of nearly 40% of the community. We are going to see to it that Merritt College becomes a representative community college by the institution of an interdepartmental,interdisciplinary,multi-tracked curriculum culminating with an AA degree with a major in Afro-American Studies.

It is my sincere recommendation that a Black person develop,coordinate and articulate the program. A Black person is needed because whites seemingly operate out ofthe needs of fear, or worse yet,duty without love or committment. We want someone dedicated to the uplifting of Black consciousness to articulate and convey our messege for us. We want no nore of the silence that surrounded the acceptance of History 50 A/B by the University of California.

Merritt College stands at the crossroads where it must choose between being a truly great representative community college or remaining a perpetuator of Afro-Americans second-class citizens. Black people in the community will not wait any longer or listen to the age old lies told by white America any longer; we feel that our survival as an ethnic group is at stake and that we must change the educational institutions of this country by any means necessary if we are to enjoy the fruits of human dignity.

Although the preceding indictment is rather grim, there is hope if the College is willing to make a total committment to right the wrongs being done to Black students coming to Merritt College. That the college can reflect Blackness is evident in the May 18,1967 issue of the Merritt College REPORTER -- of the approximately thirty-four articles in that issue, eleven were specifically related to Black people.

To those who sincerely want to improve the educational environment in which the Black student finds himself, the following program to revise the Merritt College catalog and curriculum to be more representative of the Black students needs and interests as determined by Black people is offered:

1. List in the College calendar February 21 as an official school holiday in honor of Malcolm X Memorial Day(See attatched memo dated Feb.15,1967 to Mr. Jowise, Subject: Malcolm X Memorial Day) (Also see Faculty Senate Meeting minutes and decision on same)

2. Develop a Black Curriculum comprised of courses listed on attatched sheet entitled BLACK CURRICULUM.

3. Offer an Associate of Arts degree program with a major in Afro-American Studies. The courses for this major to be selected by the student from the Black Curriculum.

4. Articulate with San Francisco State College concerning the dove-tailing of our program with their proposed Institute of Black Studies. (This was proposed by the Black Students Union to the Academic Senate via the Instructional Policies Committee)

5. Request the Peralta Junior College District to contribute funds immediately to finance work to develop this curriculum beginning this summer. Funds are available via the $20,000 study of how junior colleges can meet the special needs of disadvantaged students. This is covered by the study funds in that the study is seeking to discover possible ways that junior colleges can meet the needs via remedial instruction and special programs which should be offered to the disadvantaged.

6. Pursue the possibility of funding this program on a long term basis via the National Endowment for the Humanities. Particular interest is given to proposals which employ interdisciplinary approaches between the humanities and the social sciences, and those which seek, through basic research or teaching, to emphasize the relevance of the various disciplines of the social sciences in understanding and improving the quality of public and private life.

7. Advise anyone interested in supporting my efforts to get this proposal implemented by the Fall or Winter Quarter 1967 to contact me at school or at home (653-2263). I will be available June 20-July 28,1967.

THE BLACK CURRICULUM

DEPARTMENT	COURSE TITLE
Anthropology	Introduction to Afro-American Anthropology
Business	Development of Black Businesses and Financial Institutions
Community Planning	Current Problems of Afro-Americans in Urban Communities
Drama	Introduction to the Black Theater
Economics	Current Economic Problems of Afro-Americans
Education	Education of Black Americans(Afro-Americans)
English	Contemporary Black Literature in the Ghetto Language
	Introduction to Black Prose and Poetry
	The Study of the Black Novel
Foreign Languages	Contemporary African Languages
History	The History of Black America
	The History of Afro-Americans
	United States History from a Black Perspective (This course would be used to satisfy the American Institutions requirement)
Home Economics	Introduction to the Preparation of Soul Food
Human Relations	Human Relations in the Black Community
Humanities	Arts and Ideas of Afro-American Culture
Journalism	Study of the Black Press
Law Enforcement	Black Perspectives of Law Enforcement
Music	Survey and History of Afro-American Music
Philosophy	Introduction to Current Black Philosophy
	Introduction to African Philosophy
Physical Education	Contemporary Afro-American Dance Techniques
Political Science	Political Problems of Black Americans
	American Government from a Black Perspective (This course would be used to satisfy the American Institutions requirement)
Psychology	Personal and Social Adjustment of Afro-Americans
Sociology	Social Origins of Black Nationalistic Behavior in America Social Problems of Black Americans
Supervision	Elements of Supervision for Black Americans

February 15, 1967

To: Mr. Pete Jowise, President, Merritt Faculty Senate

From: Sid Walton, Faculty Advisor to Soul Students Advisory Council

Subject: Malcolm X Memorial Day

White America saw Malcolm X negatively because they didn't understand that he changed the way Negroes thought about themselves. True, this new perspective caused the whites in America problems because now the Negroes responded to white America's "Look what I've done for you!" with "No! Look what you've done to us!"

Just as we Black people saw Malcolm X as a positive force in our society, many whites saw him as a negative force because they didn't understand what he did to uplift Black people. Malcolm X was the first current Black leader who spoke the truth to whites and the Uncle Toms. It was their guilt that upset them, not Malcolm X. When he said, "All Negroes are angry and I am the angriest of all," he said for many of us what all of the Martin Luther Kings, the A. Phillip Randolphs, the Whitney Youngs, and other "responsible Negro Leaders" had failed to say for so many years.

Perhaps many did not understand Malcolm X because they didn't know that he had a growing respect for whites who ignored on a personal basis the things he said about whites and who jousted with him as a man. Malcolm X believed that whites were human beings as long as this was borne out by their humane attitude toward Negroes. He did not condemn whites for being white, but for their deeds. He condemned what whites collectively have done to our people collectively.

Although he was labeled a racist, Malcolm X recognized every human being as a human being and responded to idle racist charges with, "So as a black man and especially as a black American, any stand that I formerly took, I don't think that I would have to defend it because it's still a reaction to the society, and it's a reaction that was produced by the society; and I think that it is the society that produced this that should be attacked, not the reaction that develops among the people who are victims of that negative society."

Malcolm X was a man--our living black manhood! This was his meaning to his people. In honoring him, we honor the best in ourselves. He told black people to "get off your knees and fight your own battles. That's the way to win back your self-respect." He felt that every Negro who did not challenge on the spot every instance of racism, overt or covert, committed against him and his people, who chose instead to swallow and go on smiling, was an Uncle Tom and a traitor, without any commonly accepted aspects of manhood! He constantly told the moderate Negroes who were getting somewhere in life of their need to remember that it was extremists who made it possible.

Ossie Davis in response to a magazine editor's question: Why did you eulogize Malcolm X? stated, ". . . No one who knew him before and after his trip to Mecca could doubt that he had completely abandoned racism, separatism, and hatred. But he had not abandoned his shock-effect statements, his bristling agitation for immediate freedom in this country not only for blacks, but for everybody. . . ."

To further understand the man, consider his statement made shortly before his assassination, ". . . It's a time for martyrs now. And if I'm to be one, it will be in the cause of brotherhood. That's the only thing that can save this country. I've learned it the hard way--but I've learned it. . . ."

A Black Holiday and four-day conference commemorating the sacrifice of Malcolm X has been planned by several Black San Francisco Bay Area groups.

Soul Students Advisory Council of Merritt College, one of the sponsors of the memorial, announced the beginning of a nationwide campaign to establish February 21, the date of Malcolm X's assassimation, as a national holiday. Sponsors of the holiday are also in the process of informing the members of the State Board of Education of the proposed holiday. This is not a request, not a demand, but instead, a statement of what the Black groups intend to do.

The conference will feature workshops on politics, economics, and community defense, as well as plays, music, and poetry reading sessions. It is felt that the Malcolm X Memorial Day conference will give Black People in the Bay Area a chance to come and commemorate one of the Black World's truly great leaders as well as exchange information with the people who are really doing work in the community.

As a faculty member, I urge you to support the students in their efforts to make this a national holiday. You can do so, specifically, by encouraging the faculty to excuse the absence of any Black student on that date. Obviously, the giving of tests or quizzes on that date would also pose an academic handicap to these students. This is an absence of conscience and dedication to the cause for which Malcolm X sacrificed his life.

Malcolm X was chosen as a symbol of Black Leadership by and for Black People. If Americans who enjoy unquestioned First Class citizenship are sincere in their statements implying that they endorse democracy for all Americans regardless of race, creed, or color, they will support this effort by Black Students on this campus and throughout the State.

Instead of challenging this self-determined holiday (or providing the names of "more responsible Negroes" to honor), the schools could follow through with discussions centering around the life of Malcolm X so that the school becomes meaningful to the Black students instead of continually alienating them by the obvious absence of supporting discussion about all but the selected few "safe, responsible Negro leaders."

To those who will, however, challenge this holiday, let us consider all the Black students in parts of this nation who must miss school to celebrate legal holidays commemorating Robert E. Lee's birthday (January 19), Confederate Memorial Day (April 26 and May 10), or Jefferson Davis' birthday (June 3). None of these dates, by any stretch of the imagination, can be said to be truly representative of the interests of Black Americans. Therefore, if Black people can miss school on such dates, surely we can take one day to commemorate the sacrifice of a man dedicated to the uplifting of Black people.

My request will probably be labeled "racist, nationalistic, revolutionary, or irresponsible" by those not in touch with the reality of the new Black man and his committment to reach the peak of human dignity and self-determination in this generation. To those people, I can only advise them to re-read the November 28, 1966 memo from Pat Smeltzer. Subject: Love.

cc: Dr. Redford

- EXCERPT FROM LETTER -

To: Faculty Date: February 17, 1967

From: P. Jowise, President, Faculty Senate

Subject: Senate Actions at Meeting of February 16, 1967

.....3. The Senate passed a recommendation to the Faculty of Merritt College that it excuse the absence on February 21 of those Black students who are missing school in observance of Malcolm X Memorial Day. A letter from Sid Walton, advisor to the Soul Students Advisory Council, to the President of the Senate presents the background both of Malcolm X Memorial Day and the students' request for this faculty support. A copy of this letter has been given to you. You may desire to read it to your classes as a devise to shed some light on this terribly tangled area of social relationships.

Even if you do not choose to consider absences on February 21 as excused in your classes, you might consider the not giving of quizzes or exams on that day so that absent students do not put themselves in double jeopardy by their observance of this Black holiday.....

RECOMMENDATION #4

Each CORE chapter should involve itself in demanding in-service workshops for all school personnel to give them some idea of the how and why of educating and respecting Black students. Representatives of the CORE chapter, the community and the student body must be incorporated as integral parts of the planning and execution of these workshops.

DISCUSSION:

These workshops should precede the opening of the school year and should continue periodically throughout the school year. The workshops should not be merely a program of lectures, panel discussions and suggested reading, although some of this should be included. It has been found that the most effective method of training is the use of small group discussion along T-Group or Sensitivity Group lines, wherein participants come to grip with themselves and others in an intensive way.

These groups should contain a mixture of school personnel, CORE and other community representatives, and students. The groups should not number more than 10 or 12.

In many areas, state and local funds are available for in-service training. In addition, federal funds are available under a number of bills. Two of these are the National Defense Education Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV. Most areas have probably already got some form of in-service training. These programs must be eliminated or changed to conform more to the above suggestions. The key element of any in-service training program will be the inclusion of CORE, the community, and the students in the planning and execution of that program. This element must be demanded and achieved by local chapters if school personnel are going to learn anything and cease destroying Black children.

RECOMMENDATION #5

CORE insists that the public schools expand immensely the use of sub- professionals in school systems , with respectable salaries and built - in upward mobility.

DISCUSSION:

Many school systems are beginning to use sub-professionals as teacher-aides, recreation-aides and school-community agents. This concept must be greatly expanded. There should be at least 2 sub-professionals for every professional in the school. Almost universally, the sub-professionals now being employed are merely a source of cheap labor for the school system and one are in dead end jobs. This must be stopped. Therefore:

1. Sub-professionals must be paid a salary approxi ating what beginning teachers now earn.

RECOMMENDATION #5

DISCUSSION:

2. Upward mobility must be built into the programs Sub-professionals must be given college or university credit for their on the job employment and be given the opportunity to attend night and for summer classes to supplement their learning. a promotion ladder must be incorporated so that after about 6 years of combined work and schooling, these sub-professionals would be able to become full teachers at higher pay than teachers now earn.

CORE chapters should begin immediately to pursue this program in their localities. This will involve putting pressure on local colleges and universities as well as the school system. Without the colleges and universities, the upward mobility component would be missing and this component is absolutely vital to the entire concept.

RECOMMENDATION #6

Local CORE chapters should demand and support free lunch, free medical and dental care, and other such programs in poverty area schools. To avoid the stigma and degrading practice of a "pauper's oath," these programs should be applied across the board to every child from a poverty area.

RECOMMENDATION #7

CORE goes on record and will protest on the national and local levels any and all practices by the federal government such as is now being carried out in the Job Corps. Youths in Job Corps are being "trained" to the point where they can meet draft qualifications and are then drafted before they finish their programs. Job Corps was conceived as a "poverty program" and is now being used to supply Black cannon fodder for the United States' racist wars. We insist that persons in any and all educational or training programs, public or private, be draft exempt.

EDUCATION WORKSHOP PARTICPATES

Name	Adress	Phone No.	Organization
Sylvester Hodges	1620 Harmon Oak	654 - 3113	Merritt College
Leo Bazile	1061 105th Ave Oak		Merrit College
Doug Jones	7749 Sunkist Dr.	562 - 3344	Oakland CORE
La Verne Tribble	740 - 60th St. Oak	653 - 2142	Merritt College
Sid Walton	480 - 60th St. Oak	653- 2263	Merritt Clooege
Gerald Johnson	780 Chestnut apt.#3 S.F.		
Carolyn Scott	698 39th St. Oak	652 - 35 72	Merritt College
Yaris Greves	2536 Grant St. Berkley	845-8513	
Agnes Lyons	1713 Dwightwy #B Berk.		
Karl A Klee	1843 E. 17th, Eugene, Ore.	342-1411 ex.1015	Univ. Oregon
Savannah Bells	8305 Flouds Ave.	235-9741	CORE
Marge Martin	2233 Grant St.#8 Berk.		
John R. Greene	533 SO. 22nd St. , Rich.		
Samuel Burns	886 Carlson Blvd, Rich.		
Arville M. Williams	2570 Mabel st. , Berk.		
Parthenia Williams	2570 Mabel St., Berk		
J.E. Ruhnond	6870Charing Cross Rd. Berkeley		
Victor Solomon	307 W. 125 St. Harlem N.Y.C.		CORE
Jackie Robinson	307 W. 125 St. Harlem N.Y.C.		CORE
George Kelly	307 W. 125 St. Harlem N.Y.C.		CORE
Cassandra A Miller	1720 - 12th Ave Oakland		
Don A. Provost	8928 D Street, Oakand		
Esther Gutenplan	[illegible] Broadway, L[illegible]	234-8331	LA CORE
Russell Johnson	5358 Shafter Ave Oakland		
Sam C. Amugurelson	2025 Mcgee Ave. Berkeley		
Elsie Drayden	1331 Blake St Berkeley		
Betty Bishop	2228 McKinley Ave.	Th9-3938	CORE
Mr.&Mrs. Walt Stephen	1940 Webster St. SF	931-6524	
Mr. & Mrs. Julian	2723 - 121th Ave	536-9245	
Mrs. Benjamin Mundine	1351 E. 26th St., Oak		
R.E. Inghram	1368 N. Commonwealth LA		
Eva A. Newton	3915 Coco Ave. #10 LA		
Bessie Gogal	2190 Talmodze LA		
Alice Lylte	1127 Ranyan St. Oak.	658-1267	
Mildred McKee	215 40th St. Oak.	1267	
Octavia Hollins	5859 Occidental St Oak.	655-0387	
Ken Stewart	208 E. 75th St. LA	759-1023	LA CORE
Ernest C. Gambrell	San Jose, Calif	298-5257	
Margaret T. Amoureux	Oakland Calif.	451-3552	
Delores Urarrea	Castro Velley, Calif.	537-9752	
Gregorey Pete	834 Calmar Ave. Oak	TW38720	
James E, Dennis	Los Angeles, Calif.	234-4171	
Donald F. Williams	Berkeley Calif.	841-1905	
Thomas D. Gingerich	Berkeley Calif.		
Mary Dennsison	Harlem, N.Y.C.	Ex. 212 Un4-8809	
Roy Innis	Harlem, N.Y.C.	Ex. 212 UN4-8809	
Virginia Scarborugh	Harlem, N.Y.C.	Ex. 212 Un 4-8899	
Ruthellla Pollard	2912 Otis St.		
Ken Hansem	975 Drake Marin City	EX. 415 332-2688	